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TADAO YANAIBARA

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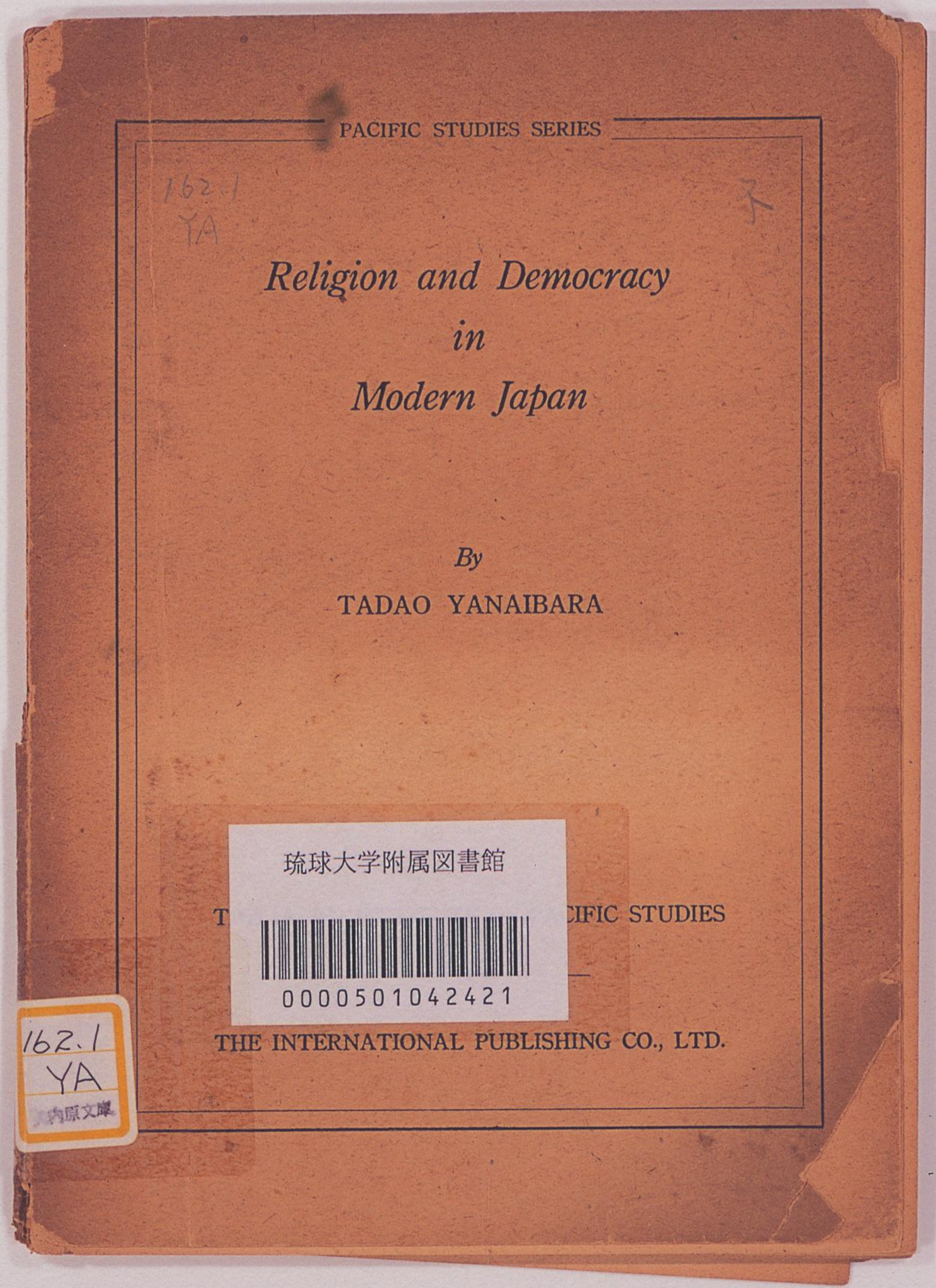
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in
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Tadao Yanaihara

RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY
IN MODERN JAPAN

By

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This is an English version of Prof. Tadao Yanaihara's contributory article to 'A Symposium on Democratization of Japan' under preparation by the Japan Institute of Pacific Studies. The author alone is responsible for all statements of fact and opinion.

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I. State and Religion

The separation of State and religion is one of the great principles of modern democratic States, and this was achieved through the spirit of toleration won as a result of political and scientific strifes that lasted for several centuries. This principle involves the following two main points:

1. A State neither extends special financial or administrative aid to any religion nor does it impose any restriction on it. A State should assume an equal and neutral attitude toward all religions.
2. A State should not interfere with any individual regarding the religion he believes in. Religion should be left to the free decision of each individual, for it is a private affair of the individual, whether he believes in a religion or not or what religion he chooses to believe in.

It follows, therefore, that, as a matter of principle, all affiliations which the State had with any specified religion has now been denied, the freedom of religion established, and the State secularized. This does not mean, however, that all problems relating to the State and religion have entirely become extinct, for all States possess some spiritual or ideological foundation for their existence, and make it one of their important national policies to propagate or educate any specified thought among their people. A large number of Christian States today still possess the institution of the Established Church. Has not Marxism a near resemblance to the State-recognized religionism in the case of the Soviet Union, or democracy a near resemblance to the same

in the case of America? A State on no account can take an unconcerned neutral attitude toward its people's thought. Nor should it take such an attitude. So long as religion is one of the ideological forms of mankind, the State should recognize the principle of freedom of religion and at the same time it itself should not be unconcerned about or indifferent toward religion. The principle of the freedom of religion should not be a sign of indifference on the part of the State toward religion; rather should it be the result of a respect which the State should entertain toward it.

Explanations of the origin of State power from a religious standpoint have been furnished from ancient times. It was the teaching of the Apostle Paul that all men should obey authority above them, since all authority was established by God. All terrestrial things, however, are accessible to violation by Satan, and even State power is no exception to it. According to the Revelation of John the Roman Empire was symbolized as a Beast and it was depicted that its power would evidently be Satanic. The Roman emperor deified himself, caused sanctuaries dedicated to him to be built, and forced the people to worship him as a living deity. And apparently it was for this reason that the author of the Book of Revelation said that the Roman emperor's power emanated from Satan.

A State should be founded on truth, and it should safeguard it. But neither is it the State to decide what is truth nor is it the people who should decide the same. No matter how democratic an age we live in, no one probably would think that truth would be decided by a majority popular vote. What decides truth is truth itself, and truth is proved through history, that is the long experience of mankind. All truth has a self-proving nature. Truth, however, cannot be

established simply by asserting that it is true. It is through history that truth will be acknowledged for the first time by mankind.

In the past, Japan had religionists and moralists of unusual ability. Among them, a Buddhist priest, Nichiren, who appeared in the thirteenth century, bluntly remarked, concerning the relation between a State and religion, that the State prospers by its approval of right religion and interdiction of heresies and that the advent of a right religion does not result from the upkeep of the State. His speech sounded like that of the Prophets of Israel. Nevertheless, it was not until a later age that Japan began to learn the principle of the freedom of religion.

II. Problems Relating to State and Religion in Modern Japan

I.

As a result of the Restoration of 1868, Japan emerged as a national-state in the modern sense. Compared with the unity as a national-state attained by Germany and Italy, the emergence of Japan as such was not chronologically belated, but it is characteristic of having occurred in an Oriental country. At that time the establishment of unified national-state was necessarily found concomitant with the rise of democratic thought. The Japanese, however, were a nation that had no traditions related to the Greek philosophy or to the Christian faith, though they had their ancient Oriental culture and long national history. Accordingly, Japan, in achieving her national-state, had to introduce democratic thought and institution from Europe and America, and learn them from the very beginning.

The Government of Meiji absorbed, with resolute determination and zeal, Western institution and culture. There was but one exception, and this was Christianity. During the formative period of a unified national-state, it is customary for anti-foreign ideas to be in vogue. Japan was no exception. Even Buddhism that had a tradition of several centuries was confronted with the movement for "abolishing Buddha and destroying Sakya" on the ground that it originally came from abroad. Therefore, Japan did not open her doors immediately to Christianity which had been interdicted during the Tokugawa period. The main reason for interdicting Christianity

during the period was that it was feared its dissemination would give rise to political and territorial ambitions on the part of foreign countries. On this same ground probably, the Government of the Meiji Restoration continued its interdiction of Christianity. Recalling that the death of two missionaries led Germany to find a pretext for occupying Shantung, such fear could not be interpreted as a mere unfounded one, but in the main it was due to the development of nationalistic thought in Japan. At the same time it was because Japan as a modern State had not realized fully the importance of the principle of the freedom of religion. For this reason, in 1872, when the delegation headed by Ambassador Plenipotentiary Tomoyoshi Iwakura was dispatched to America and Europe for the purpose of revising unequal treaties, their attention was called to the fact that Japan had interdicted Christianity, and the argument advanced by every government visited was that it could not think of concluding an equal treaty with so uncivilized a country. As a result, they were surprised to realize the unexpectedly grave importance of the problem of the freedom of religion.

Ambassador Iwakura was advised to introduce and spread Christianity positively in Japan, in America as well as in the different countries of Europe. He was told: "It is a matter of great felicitation for Japan to open her doors and adopt Western culture and institution. However, Western culture and institution was not achieved in a single day, for it was brought up to what it is after several centuries. And it was none other than Christianity from which Western culture and institutions were fostered. It follows, therefore, that Japan, in introducing Western culture and institutions, must at the same time adopt Christianity in order to cultivate the root of the former, etc."

Had the Meiji Government followed this advice, the history of later Japan would have been remarkably different. But no incident occurred in Japan comparable to Constantine the Great's conversion. Ambassador Iwakura personally witnessed and heard about how freedom of religion was considered important in America and Europe, and consequently the edict interdicting Christianity was repealed on February 21, 1874, based on the report he made of his inspection. In consequence of this the people were given freedom in either preaching or believing in Christianity; but it was different from the sudden spread of Buddhism among the nation when it was introduced to Japan more than a thousand years ago. At that time the members of the Imperial Household and the high officials of the Government took the lead in believing in the new religion. At the Restoration of Meiji, on the contrary, the members of the Imperial Household did not adhere to Christianity, and almost none of the high officials of the Government converted himself to Christianity. The result was that Christianity was regarded exotic and was not liked by many of the Japanese people. Under such circumstances, even after seventy years since the Christian missionaries first came to Japan (after Meiji Restoration) it still has no more than 300,000 followers in Japan. Thus the Government and the people were arrogant and indolent in the attitude which they took toward Christianity, albeit they were so industrious and earnest about adopting Western culture and institutions. Assuming that a democratic spirit cannot be understood or democratic man cannot be brought up without depending on Christian faith, the Japanese Government and people at that time attempted at transplanting only the blossom and fruits of democracy to Japan instead of cultivating the root of it. Despite the establishment of a superficially constitutional government in form, it did not possess the foundation of a true democratic spirit and it was like a castle built on sand. It

was thus destined to crumble down deplorably, once it was lashed by the turbulent current of militarism. Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan, as a modern State, had been following a democratic course, but she fell an easy prey to militarism and ventured to start the last World War. The fundamental cause that led Japan to take such a step must be her stark indifference toward the propagation of Christianity, though she was earnestly introducing Western culture and institution.

2.

One of the old books that introduced Japan to the world was the "Bushido" written by the late Dr. Inazo Nitobe in 1899. In the preface of this book the author described his motive for writing it, the substance of which was as follows:

Dr. Nitobe, in replying to a question posed to him by a jurist named de Laveleye, of Belgium, stated that religion was not taught in the schools in Japan. De Laveleye was astonished at hearing this and exclaimed, "How could moral education be given to the people if that was the case?" Dr. Nitobe pondered over these words, realized that "Bushido" (the Way of Samurai) constituted the backbone of moral education of the Japanese people, and so wrote this book in order to introduce the Way of Samurai to the Western peoples.

"Bushido" was written in English, translated into many foreign languages, and has been widely read by the peoples of the different countries of the world. Through this work it was made clear to the world that Japan was not a barbarous country having no morals or philosophy, for she had her own moral code to adhere to and moral

life to lead, though she was not a Christian country. So far as this was concerned, what was asserted by the book was correct and the purpose for which it was written has been achieved.

But as pointed out in the conclusion of the book by the author himself, "Bushido" was considered inadequate as a future guiding spirit of Japanese national morals, and the need for supplementing it with some new spirit was felt. It can be readily imagined that the new spirit hinted at by the author was none other than Christianity, as he himself was a Christian. In fact, Dr. Nitobe and all other able Christian leaders of the Meiji era were born of mothers' womb from whom they had imbibed the Way of Samurai, and as Samurai's sons they passed their childhood. They all regarded Christianity which was grafted upon the Way of Samurai as being the guiding spirit of New Japan. Not only were they advocates of Old Japan toward the world, but they were at the same time prophets who consistently dwelt on the necessity of rejuvenating Japan through Christianity.

The guiding spirit of New Japan which the Japanese Government and the nation in general adopted was different from this. It was the "Nipponese spirit" centered on Emperor-worship. At the time when Japan should have adopted a cosmopolitan spirit, they advocated a reactionary national spirit that led New Japan's national thought that was to be democratized. This in effect was a sad anachronism, and was the fundamental error that brought today's miseries to Japan and the world.

The Emperor of Japan was the chieftain of the head family of the Japanese race throughout history, on whom the national thought and respect was centered, but during the Tokugawa period the real authority fell into the hands of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Emperor was made politically powerless. With the Meiji Restoration, however, he was given the post of overseer of State power. At first, he had but little power, which could hardly be compared with the military and financial powers of the Tokugawa Shoguns or of the influential Daimyos of the different localities. Accordingly, what the leading statesmen of the Meiji Restoration had in mind particularly was to enhance the actual power of the Emperor and thus stabilize the foundation of a centralized national State. An army under the direct command of the Emperor was thus organized and effort made to stabilize his financial position.

On the other hand, with the opening of Japan to foreign countries, a wholesale introduction was made of ideas of J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, etc., relating to individual rights and freedom, and political philosophy of utilitarianism, while demands for popular rights, promulgation of a constitution, or the establishment of a diet was earnestly made by the people. There were even radicals who stood for a republican form of government. After all, it became inevitable that the Constitution should be drafted. The leading statesmen of Meiji Government, however, planned to retain as much of the Emperor's power as possible within the provision of the constitution and thus to maintain the so-called peculiarity of the national constitution

of Japan. This peculiarity was none other than the character of the State based on absolutism, rendering absolute the sovereignty of the Emperor, in name as well as in reality. Under such circumstances, the Meiji Constitution established in 1889 fell short of being democratic, and was called a "Constitution granted by the Emperor."

In 1890, the year after the constitution was established, the Imperial Rescript on Education was promulgated, which was respected as being the guiding principle of national morals for a lengthy period since. As a practical moral system, it was found appropriate and comprehensive in the main, and the Emperor's attitude as provided for in it was modest, though it was attended with dignity. The Emperor solemnly swore that he, together with the nation, would personally put into practice the moral precepts indicated in the Rescript. However, the Government and educators, who were advocates of absolutism, forced the nation to hold in high esteem the Rescript and made it the object of idolatry on the ground that it was granted by the Emperor Meiji, not because of the moral precepts contained in it. As a result, moral education in schools became considerably formal, and any lack of formal respect toward the Rescript on the part of any educator was considered a grave fault, for which there were some educators who even lost their positions. The major case of lese-majesty and the first of its kind was committed by Kanzo Uchimura in the First Higher School of Tokyo in less than three months following the promulgation of the said Imperial Rescript on Education.

In January, 1891, the Rescript-Receiving Rite was held in this school when all its teachers and students were requested to bow with awe toward the roll of the Rescript as if they were bowing before God or Buddha. The reason for this was because the roll bore the

signature of the Emperor. On this very occasion Kanzo Uchimura, one of the teachers of the school, failed to pay homage to the roll in deference to his Christian faith. Then all of a sudden he was accused of being disrespectful and traitorous to the Emperor by those within and outside the school, until he finally lost his position and had to spend the following several years in abject poverty. And it was this very Kanzo Uchimura who advanced anti-war arguments when the Russo-Japanese War was about to break out. He also published a monthly magazine entitled "A Study on Bible" and rendered distinguished services to the cause of propagating Christianity, until he died on March 28, 1930. He was the greatest prophet of modern Japan.

When the lese-majesty case involving Kanzo Uchimura was brought to light, vituperative attack was hurled not only upon Uchimura himself but also upon Christianity by the general public. There were then two influential scholars who led the anti-Christianity move. One of them was Baron Hiroyuki Kato who held the presidency of the Tokyo University for years; the other was Dr. Tetsujiro Inouye, a professor of the Literature Department of the same university. Baron Kato was a disciple of Spencer and a materialist who exclaimed that all religions, including Christianity, were superstitions. In particular, he railed at Christianity on the ground that it superimposed Jehovah on the Emperor, and treated it as being pernicious. Dr. Inouye was an erudite philosopher of Confucianism who also attacked Christianity as running counter to the traditional national constitution of Japan.

Since then the idea that Christianity runs counter to the national constitution of Japan, or, in other words, that it contradicts with emperor-worship became the common idea of the educational circles of

Japan; efforts made by the followers of Christianity in order to do away with this prejudice proved of no avail. Such constituted the obstacle that frustrated the spread of Christianity among the Japanese nation. It constituted great obstacle that frustrated the democratization of the thought of the Japanese nation.

4.

The Meiji Government caused the Meiji Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education to serve as the two great fortresses to safeguard the traditional national constitution of Japan in the course of her modernization. In other words, it was through these that the Government attempted to maintain the characteristics of Japan as a State founded on absolutism. This attempt, of course, stunted the growth of democracy in Japan, but it failed to check it entirely. The general trend of Japan's politics and thought began to move toward the direction of democracy since. In 1925, universal manhood suffrage was instituted in Japan. Although woman suffrage was not instituted then, its adoption was a question of time, in view of the fact that even in England it was approved only in 1918. Since the formation of the Hara Cabinet in 1918, the party cabinet system was becoming a political practice in Japan. Following the London Disarmament Conference held in 1930, there was a controversy as to whether or not the treaty concluded at the conference would affect the sovereign power of the Emperor with reference to the constitution, but the constitutional interpretation made by the Government concerning it was approved to some extent. And the tendency since was that the practice of a democratic government was gradually being approved. Reactionary nationalists, however, were found to be harboring dissatisfaction.

The world-wide economic depression following the First World War also visited Japan, and the then Hamaguchi Cabinet not only executed its deflationary policy in an attempt to rationalize industry, but it also tried to create a sound finance by enforcing disarmament. But this policy not only brought considerable depression to those engaged in small and medium-sized industries, as well as to the peasants, but, at the same time, it brought about unemployment among many professional servicemen (as a result of the disarmament.)

Spurred by such a political and economic situation, the reactionary reformist elements began to crop up within the Army, which gave rise to the outbreak of the May-15 incident of 1932 and February-26 incident of 1936, respectively, with the result that many influential statesmen, who were advocates of constitutional government, were assassinated and the national policy was forced to make a volte-face toward the rightest course at the point of the sword. This, in turn, led the internal form of government to be founded on Fascism and an aggressive policy with armed force against Continental Asia was adopted, with the resultant preparation made for the Manchurian Incident, China Affair, and the Pacific War.

To push forward such a volte-face in Japan's policy, the Emperor was utilized as the spiritual power to unify national thought. Never in the history of Japan was the Emperor more deified as at this time and lese-majesty was considered the gravest crime, and those charged with it were found guilty with no extenuation. The simple remark that "the Emperor is a human being" was enough to constitute lese-majesty. I myself was one of those who were charged with the crime. However, the successive Emperors themselves had never asserted their divinity and requested the nation to worship them. Particularly the

present Emperor is suave and modest by nature and is not the kind of person to force the people to worship him as a deity. Those with power founded on Fascism set the Emperor up as a living human deity for the purpose of banning and bringing pressure to bear on criticism about, and opposition against their policy. The same kind of policy whereby Antiochus IV was called Epiphanes, and Octavius was called Augustus, was being carried out in the twentieth-century Japan.

Together with Emperor-worship, shrine worship was forced on the nation. Each time when a soldier went to the front all the inhabitants of the village or town concerned were ordered to pray for him at a local shrine. Besides, when a street car or bus passed in front of a chief shrine, all its passengers were told to make a silent bow to it, whose attention was called to it by its conductor. Each home was also asked to install an altar dedicated to the Ise Shrine's hempen rope. The school-inspectors of the Education Ministry used to ask any student they came across: "Who is greater, the Emperor or Christ?" while inspecting the mission schools. Thus, the same question once put to the representative followers of Christianity by Dr. Kato, was again asked of the boys and girls, who were students of a secondary school, in their class-rooms by government officials. Everything thus savoured of a religious trials of the Middle Ages. This was the policy that was carried out by the military and the bureaucrats during the war to control and unify the people's thought, and it was more strictly carried out in a colony like Korea and Formosa than in Japan proper.

It is not that there was no growth of democratic thought before Fascism was carried out by the Government. Rather this policy was carried out by it as a reaction toward the democratic trend which grew particularly since World War I. In addition to Kanzo Uchimura and Dr. Inazo Nitobe, whose names were previously mentioned in this treatise, the number of religionists, scholars, and statesmen who fought for the democratic spirit are numerous.

As in the case prior to the outbreak of the last war, there were numbers of persons on whom the authorities brought pressure for advocating justice and peace. I am one of those who abhor self-propaganda, but I would like to be permitted to say a few words because I am obliged to do so for the sake of record. Since I made public my critical attitude toward the Manchurian Incident, I was not liked by the military. In 1937, when the China Affair broke out, I opposed it and advocated peace, and said that Japan founded on Fascism should be relegated to oblivion and that the Emperor was a human being. As a result, I was compelled to resign from the chair of Professor in the Tokyo Imperial University. And within the next few years, four of my friends who entertained socialistic and liberal ideas were expelled from the same university likewise.

Such events occurred also at other universities. Many in the religious circles, particularly those who were engaged in the propagation of Christianity, for advocating justice and advancing anti-war arguments were oppressed, confined, fined or ordered to abolish the

publication of their magazines. There were also those who conscientiously refused to serve in the army, though few.

Though small in number, it was not that there was no one in Japan who endeavored to uphold the lamp of truth during the war. But what was more remarkable was that the intelligentsia of Japan including idealists, critics, educators, and religionists, readily chimed in with the Fascism-supporting policy of the military and played the role of propagandizing it. And this very intelligentsia has readily chimed in with the democratic trend after the war. This fact brings into being a great problem relating to the national character of the Japanese. The Japanese people easily agree with anything, but they likewise readily change their minds. They are like the "tami-kusa (meaning 'people-grass') in the autumn field bending to the wind, and it might be that they are not self-conscious enough of their individuality. Generally, the Japanese are a good Samaritan having no ill-will, and are rich in their adaptability to any new state of affairs, but the idea about their individual personality is inconsistent, and their self-consciousness regarding their individuality is not profound. But a deep-rooted democratic spirit cannot be cultivated where the individual idea about personality is indefinite. That the democratic institution and thought could not be brought to fruition and was readily subject to collapse by Fascism of the military, was due to the fact that the Japanese people were not fully trained in possessing democratic spirit. Democratic institutions can be introduced to Japan from the Western countries and adopted; democratic ideas can also be introduced and studied; but democratic men cannot be raised in any way other than by having the Japanese themselves renew their life so as to possess definite ideas about personality. And this new life, by nature, must necessarily be a religious experience. Furthermore, it may be said that

there is no other religion but Christianity that has the power to enable men to possess a definite individual idea about personality, judging from its teaching or from the precedents established by America and the different countries in Europe. It may not be too much to conclude that the stunted growth of democracy in Japan can be attributed to the insufficient dissemination of Christianity among the Japanese nation.

The fact that Japan, during the eighty years following the opening of its country as a result of the Meiji Restoration has not been able fully to imbibe the democratic spirit cherished during a period of several centuries by the Western countries in the course of their Renaissance and Reformation, the spirit of democracy was the result of historical experience, which it takes "time" to learn. Be that as it may, the obstinacy and indifference with which the Japanese Government and the people studied Christianity since the Meiji Restoration cannot be left unnoticed. In this sense the wise and the learned who declared that "Christianity is not adaptable to the traditional national constitution of Japan" must be included in the category of the A-class war criminals.

III. Democratization of Religion

I.

Following her defeat in the last war, Japan had to learn democracy from its very beginning again, for her acquisition since the Meiji Restoration on this topic had been incomplete. The Potsdam Declaration required of Japan to establish freedom of speech, religion, and of thought, and along this line SCAP issued a series of directives to the Japanese Government. Above all, the most important was the memorandum issued on October 4, 1945, directing Japan to remove all restrictions imposed on the political, social, and religious freedom. Equally important was the memorandum requesting the Japanese Government to discontinue its guarantee, support, maintenance, supervision and propagation of State Shinto and Shinto Shrine.

In connection with the former, the Japanese Government was directed to repeal all regulations and ordinances providing for restricting the freedom of thought, religion, assembly, and of speech; it was provided that free unrestricted discussion concerning the Emperor, national constitution, and the Japanese Government was to be granted. Thus the foundation of thought-control set up by the reactionary absolutists since the Meiji Restoration collapsed all of a sudden, and no one since then was found guilty for calling the Emperor a human being or for remarking that there is a higher deity than the Emperor. And it came about that the Japanese people was able for the first time to enjoy freedom of thought and speech in the true sense of the

word. The people rejoiced, feeling as if they had been released from a suffocating solitary cell and had come out to a vast field where it could freely inhale fresh air. For this joy over the freedom obtained thus, we felt even our defeat in the war not humiliated.

The present Emperor declared personally through the Imperial edict promulgated on January 1, 1946: "I am not a living deity." Since the Emperor has never asserted himself as a deity, he simply made public the self-evident fact about his person; but there was no doubt that his declaration had a distinctly negative effect on all thought deifying the Emperor, and consequently the people felt freed and enlightened.

The directive issued by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers concerning State Shinto and Shrine Shinto also had a revolutionary effect on the traditional policy of the Japanese Government for controlling national thought. Since the Meiji Restoration, the Government had made the shrine worship the nucleus of the spiritual life of the nation, and made the shrine a State enterprise to be safeguarded by it. Besides, by the explanation that the shrine was not a religion, it was said that the support of a shrine by the Government did not conflict with the principle of freedom of religion and of the separation of State from religion. They maintained the interpretation that it was not a religious act but a public act on the part of the nation and under this interpretation it was considered proper to pay tax for the maintenance of a shrine or to pay homage to a shrine in connection with some State public affairs.

There was something unreasonable, however, about this interpretation made by the Government. In reality, the shrine was regarded

with importance as an object of worship and prayer, and the Shinto priest was found engaged in the religious act of holding religious services, offering prayer, and presenting an amulet. As concerns the interpretation that a shrine is not a religion but is a national monument, it could not be prevented from conflicting with the principle of freedom of religion. Indeed, there were several cases in which pupils, whose parents were followers of Christianity, refused to participate in a prayer, when a school-teacher took them to pay homage to a shrine. At least such was an act that frequently was a ferment to the religious conscience of the followers of Christianity. Immediately prior to the outbreak of, and during the war, the enforcement of the shrine worship and the deification of the Emperor particularly invalidated the freedom of religion.

Notwithstanding the enlightening effort made by a large number of luminaries since the early part of the Meiji era, what fundamentally blocked the infiltration of the democratic spirit and the propagation of Christianity far and wide among the nation was indeed the problem relating to the Imperial Household and shrine. How can a democratic government be established without firmly recognizing the fact that the Emperor is also a human being? Or how can the truth of Christianity be propagated? Similarly, unless the nation enjoys freedom in worshipping a shrine, the principles underlying the separation of government from religion and of the freedom of religion can hardly be established. Since the early part of the Meiji era the traditional thought-policy of the Government called for making the Emperor and shrine an idol and violation of the same by it always meant either a legal or social persecution in some way. Herein lay the obstacle Japan was obliged to surmount for her democratization. A limited number of those who tried to surmount it was subject to pressure

brought to bear on them, while a larger number had to mark time in vain before the obstacle.

There are a number of reasons for this. In the first place, popular feelings toward the Emperor and shrine are antiquated. The Emperor commanded the respect and love of the nation for his position and character as the chieftain of the Japanese race. He was regarded as a tutelary god and the respect held for him savoured of religion. The shrine was befriended by the people as the place where the spirit of the ancestor of the Japanese race or historically noted men enshrined. Amid such national sentiment toward the Emperor and shrine, there is an historical spontaneous factor that cannot be rejected offhand as being idolatry.

In the second place, the actual condition then was that, should any one directly oppose the government policy calling for the deification of the Emperor and the enforcement of the shrine worship, he was always found guilty and punished, or at least was subject to social sanction and placed in a disadvantageous situation. It was doubted by many people whether such venture was effective in propagating democratic thought and Christianity, and it was often argued that the solution of such problem should await the natural development of the national thought.

Under such circumstances, the problems relating to the Emperor and shrine worship had been left unsolved, and it was apparent that this would restrict the freedom of the nation's thought and religion. Idealists and religionists of Japan managed themselves to take the safest course in order to avert a direct clash between the Government and the conservative traditionalists among the nation in general. For

this reason, it was superficially or within a limited scope that the propagation of the democratic spirit and Christian faith was conducted among the nation. As a result, the nation had to pay dear for what these idealists and religionists tried to avert, and what followed was the removal of the greatest obstacle lying in the course of the democratization of Japan by dint of the directive issued by the Occupation Forces supervising Japan. This obstacle, which the Japanese hitherto had no means of removing by their own power, was suddenly taken away as a result of the defeat Japan suffered in the war. We cannot but appreciate SCAP's directive through which "Providence" is guiding Japan with grace.

2.

The directive issued by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, dated December 15, 1945, concerning State Shinto or Shrine Shinto, comprises three important points.

First, this directive recognizes Shrine Shinto as a religion. But it is somewhat problematical whether this recognition is perfectly in accord with the national sentiments of the Japanese people, because Shrine Shinto is a poor philosophical system, and should rather be taken as an expression of the naive sentiments of the people about life. However, considering the fact that rites and ceremonies of Shinto Shrines and practices of Shinto priests include some elements that could be regarded as religious observances, especially in view of the policy adopted in recent years for enforcing the people to pay visits to Shinto shrines, it would be more reasonable to give it the status of a religion than to deny it.

Secondly, the directive forbids the sponsorship or protection, either administrative or financial, of Shinto by the State as inconsistent with the principle of the separation of religion and the State.

Thirdly, Shrine Shinto, after having been divorced from the State, is recognized as a religion if the people so desire. By this it is made clear that in accordance with the spirit of the freedom of religion, Shrine Shinto is granted the same protection as any other religions and that the present directive is not aiming at the abolition of Shinto shrines. It forbids affiliation with the propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology not only to Shrine Shinto but also to all religions, faiths, sects, creeds, or philosophies, in this country. This is the supreme order given to the Japanese people, which is reasonable on all accounts. So long as it is a political principle, even such basic principles as the freedom of thought or religion cannot remain aloof from restrictions due to political necessities under the given circumstances.

When importing Western culture and institutions into this country at the time of the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese Government adopted, as it was mentioned already, a policy of basing those foreign elements with the Way of Gods or Shinto spirit, for launching the modernization of this country. It was under this situation that Shrine Shinto was formally construed by the Government as not forming a religion, while being substantially granted the status of a State religion, for avoiding its conflict with the freedom of religion vis-a-vis foreign countries. Since then administration and education in this country have been carried out unerringly along this line. It has become the custom that, irrespective of his professed religion or faith, a newly appointed State Minister visits the Grand Shrines at Ise, to report on

his assumption of office; local Government officials are ordered to pay visits to the Government or State Shinto shrines at their grand festivals; school children and college students are compelled to visit in groups Shinto shrines in charge of teachers or professors, and local inhabitants are demanded to make contributions to the festivals of Shinto shrines as their parishioners.

For these practices which have been followed in general without much trouble, three reasons may be mentioned. The first is the comparative meagreness of Shrine Shinto in religious character. Devoid of a systematic theology and characterized only by a simple concept of Gods, Shrine Shinto lacks, to a great extent, super-natural, miraculous elements, being natural and human in nature.

This shallowness of the religious character has served a great deal to impress on the people in general that a visit to Shinto shrines in no way conflicts with the principles of religious freedom, leading them easily to admit this practice simply as a matter of habit.

As the second of the reasons, it may be pointed out that, historically, Buddhism in Japan has rarely been pitted against or struggled with Shinto, either in theory or practice but, in most cases, it has maintained a good relationship of cooperation or affiliation or co-existence with this original religion of the Japanese people. Since the early years of Japanese history, the relationship of harmony, coincidence and co-existence between Shinto and Buddhist deities was theoretically established by the doctrine of the manifestation of the prime noumenon, which regards the former as the incarnations of the latter; it has become the universal practice to erect within the precincts of a Buddhist temple a shrine dedicated to its guardian deity of

Shinto origin, while on the other hand, the majority of the people coming to profess Buddhist faiths concurrently as the parishioners of their tutelary Shinto shrines. It was taken for granted that as individuals they were the followers of Buddhism but as members of the nation they were adherents of Shinto. Their peaceful life in spite of this contradiction in religious faith, should, of course, be attributed to the dissemination policy adopted by Buddhism, but it should also be interpreted in the light of the simplicity of the religious character of Shrine Shinto. Be that as it may, this dual life in regard to religious faiths, which has been led as a matter of course by the Japanese people for more than one thousand years, has been responsible for leading the people to admit without much trouble the State policy in regard to Shinto shrines, which was adopted at the time of the Meiji Restoration.

The third of the reasons is the fact that the religious consciousness of the Japanese people nurtured by Shinto and Buddhist faiths, has failed to be sufficiently susceptible to the problem of religious freedom. Since both Shinto and Buddhism are pantheistic or polytheistic in doctrine, being essentially different from such a personified monotheistic religion as Christianity, it is no wonder that they have had hardly anything to contribute to the cultivation of the idea of basic rights of man among the Japanese people, deterring them as a result from going deep into the recognition of the importance of the principle of religious freedom. They may claim to be the greatest cause for having prevented the people from considering with any real importance the visiting of Shinto shrines as conflicting with the principle of religious freedom.

Under these circumstances, those who were concerned gravely with

the problem of visiting Shinto shrines in connection with freedom of religion, were confined to a limited number of Christians.

While it was still being practiced not very frequently as a sort of ethical duty of the people, the visiting of Shinto shrines was taken even by the Christians in general as a matter of no serious nature, although it was opposed and criticized by a few of them who were keenly alive to their religious conscience. But under the Fascist rule, set up in this country following the Manchurian Incident, Shinto shrines came to be utilized as a means of attaining a nationalistic unity of the people through the infusion of militaristic ideas and the propagation of a policy of aggression, the situation was suddenly aggravated. Since then Shinto shrines had been employed as a tool of suppression of the liberalistic ideas of the people and as a means to supply a spiritual basis to the war of aggression designed by the militarists, making it compulsory for the people to pay frequent visits to Shinto shrines and impeaching those who would not participate in it as a sign of refusing support to the national policies. Shrine Shinto was thus finally turned into State religion in the worst form. In this way that the official interpretation maintained by the Government since the early years of Meiji, denying to afford a status of religion to a Shinto shrine, was discarded by the Showa Government itself with utter indifference.

Visits to Shinto shrines were enforced with a far greater degree of compulsion in the colonial territories such as Korea, Formosa and other overseas areas than in Japan proper, bringing about effects of far-reaching nature on the inhabitants there. The colonial policy of Japan was strongly keynoted by the assimilation of the natives of these territories. Instigated greatly by the Manchurian incident and others

which took place in succession, the assimilation policy was remarkably strengthened in all activities of the colonial governments. Especially, in Korea, was it made compulsory not only for local bodies and educational institutions, both public and private, but also for Christian Churches, to organize their members for paying group visits to Shinto shrines. No small number of Christian ministers and believers were kept in custody for refusing to obey the order. The situation was worst in Pieng-yang, where one of the most influential Churches was closed on this account. When wide differences existing between the Japanese people and the Koreans or the Formosans in regard to their historical and racial backgrounds are taken into consideration, it is easy to see what tyrannical oppression and Fascist pressure were imposed by this assimilation policy on their freedom of religion.

In Manchuria, North China, and South Seas areas, which were not colonies of Japan, the policy for assimilating the natives into Imperial subjects was not carried out in so thoroughgoing a manner as in Korea and Formosa. Nevertheless, there were also signs of the enforcement of the practice of visiting Shinto shrines upon the native people in those foreign territories. Although it is generally attributed to the initiative taken by the Emperor of Manchukuo in person that the "Kengoku Shimbyo" (Shrine to Solemnize the Founding of the State) was erected to enshrine the Japanese Sun Goddess, on the divine virtues of whom the founding and prosperity of Manchukuo were professed to be entirely depending, the secret motives of the creation of this Shinto shrine are yet to be disclosed. Objectively observed, however, it should be considered as the extension to Manchuria of the assimilation movement of the native people into Imperial subjects.

On the other hand, the words "Hakko Ichiu" (the Whole Universe

under One Roof) were picked up from the edict issued by Emperor Jimmu on the occasion of the founding of the Japanese Empire, to be utilized as supplying the guiding spirit of the so-called Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere policy pursued by this country. Opinion differs even among the Japanese themselves as to the correct interpretation of the words "Hakko Ichiu," some construing them as meaning an ideal of co-existence of all peoples through their cooperation, which breathes the same air with internationalism, while others take it to mean, in the light of the attempted conquest, the whole world by bringing all nations under Japan's rule. What is most important about this question is not the meaning of the words themselves, but the problem as to by whom they were utilized, for what purposes they were used, and under what circumstances they were quoted. If this be true, who will dare to believe that under the militaristic rule led by General Tojo, the Premier, they were utilized for the propagation of a policy abiding by world peace?

In view of the fact that Shrine Shinto has thus been transformed into the State religion serving as a means of carrying out militaristic and ultra-nationalistic policies, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers should be regarded as acting quite proper when he took steps for recognizing it as a religion and at the same time, divorcing it from the State for clarification of the principle of religious freedom in this country, while on the other hand, prohibiting the propagation and dissemination of all ideas and ideologies of militarism or ultra-nationalism.

3.

Among the laws which were ordered abolished by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers' directive under date of October 4, 1945, there was the Religious Organization Law. This Law, which was introduced to the Diet in 1939 by General Araki, Education Minister in the Hiranuma Cabinet, and was passed by it in the same year, stipulates that the reorganization of Shinto and Buddhist sects into major sects and Christian churches into a federation; that the appointment of their superintendent-priests and chief abbots as well as its superintendent-ministers require the authorization by the State Minister in charge; and that the founding of a Buddhist temple or a Christian Church requires the authorization by the prefectural governor concerned, thereby providing the supervision of religious organizations and the protection of their properties. It is a patent fact that the object of the Religious Organization Law consisted in the Fascist control of religious organizations. By means of this Law, the Government aimed at the propagation and dissemination of its militaristic policies through religious organizations, which were to be unified and placed under the control.

Under this policy the Government effected the unification of all religious sects and denominations into major organizations, going to the length of attempting at the unification of Buddhist sects, each with a history of its own extending several centuries. Although the Government failed to reap much from this attempt, the greatest success it achieved in this connection was the amalgamation of various Protestant Churches into the Japan Christian Federation. Admitting that

there existed a movement of some kind or other for the amalgamation or union of Protestant Churches in this country prior to this event, the attitude of the Protestant Churches, which, catering to the wishes of the Government, set up a structure for furnishing support to the execution of the war, should really be censured together with the mistaken religious policy taken by the Government in the formation of this federation. Leaders of the Japan Christian Federation were pleased to see that by the Religious Organization Law it had been granted the same legal treatment with Shinto and Buddhist sects, deeming it a great honor that its superintendent-minister was vested with the privilege of proceeding to the Imperial Palace along with the chief-priests of Shinto and Buddhist sects. It was, indeed, the folly of Esau who traded his birthright for a pot of porridge. As would be expected, after the formation of the Japan Christian Federation, the Government's interference with its activities extended to the substance of its doctrine, the formality of prayer, the equipments of the chapel, etc., finally employing the Christian Churches as the means of propaganda for national policies, of soliciting the purchase of war bonds and defense contributions, and what not. In this respect the Catholic Church in Japan was no exception. During the war it was obedient to the Government and helped its policy of as one body.

Independent churches not belonging to the Federation were recognized by the Religious Organization Law as being incorporated with the authorization of the prefectural governors concerned. There were some churches or Christian societies, however, which remained without taking the legal procedure of incorporation. It soon proved that almost all these independent churches were placed under official oppression, as in the case of the Todaisha, the Holiness Church, the Seventh Day Adventist Church, the Salvation Army, etc., which were

ordered to dissolve, or in some instances the detention and arrests of some of the ministers and followers.

Besides these Churches, there is in Japan a group of Christians commonly known as "Non-Churchism" which was first advocated by Kanzo Uchimura, characterized by a theological doctrine supporting the orthodoxy in regard to the Bible. What this group of Non-Churchists advocated is that man can be saved without belonging to any institutional church. It is worthy of mention that most of the Christians who were oppressed and persecuted by the Government for their declaration for peace and their opposition to war during the war extending ten years, were the Non-Churchists who were once taught by Uchimura.

For the oppression exerted by the Government on certain groups of Christians, there were two reasons. The one was that the faith in the second advent of Christ was regarded as lese-majesty in connection with the positions of Christ and the Emperor on the day of the Last Judgement. The other was the opposition offered by them to the war waged by the Government under a Fascist policy. As for the Salvation Army, however, its leaders were arrested on a charge of espionage. There were also some, if only a few in number, among the members of the Churches belonging to the Japan Christian Federation, who were persecuted by the Government for their advocacy of peace and opposition to war. Even among the Buddhists, some of the followers of the Nichiren Sect were brought under official oppression for their declaration for greater weight on the Buddhist faith than on the State, while some adherents of the Shinshu Sect refused their service in the Army on account of their religious faith. These people were not large in number, nor were their conducts an organized

movement. Yet, it really deserves attention that under the stern militaristic rule there existed in this country some people who fought unorganized and singlehanded for the sake of truth in the face of all sorts of oppression.

As regards freedom of religion, the Old Constitution stipulated in Article 28: "Japanese subject shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." It is provided for in the New Constitution, which was enacted in the aftermath of the defeat, as follows:

"Article 20. Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all.
No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority.
No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious sect, celebration, rite or practice.
The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity."

By these provisions of the New Constitution absolute freedom of religion has been guaranteed, while at the same time, the separation of State from religion is declared in the most distinct and concrete manner. In a sense, they may be said to be the teachings of the wartime experiences of the people in regard to religion which have been crystallized into the law. In fact, in these provisions can we discern the concrete historical facts experienced by the people under the wartime situation.

Replacing the Religious Organization Law which was abolished after the surrender, the Religious Corporation Law was newly enacted.

By this new law, which adopts a registration-system in regard to the organization of a religious corporation in the place of the permission system under the old law, it has been made possible for all Shinto and Buddhist sects and Christian Churches, as well as all independent religious bodies, to reorganize themselves as corporations by having their formations registered. As a result, a large number of Shinto and Buddhist sects, as well as Christian churches, have been newly incorporated. Statistics as of June 10, 1947, show:

	Number prior to the enactment of the Religious Corporation Law	Number of newly established sects, etc.	Total
Shinto Sects, etc.	13	75	88
Buddhist Sects, etc.	51	38	89
Christian Churches	2	11	13
Others	-	7	7

The establishment of so large a number of new Shinto and Buddhist sects, as well as Christian churches, may after all be attributed to the following facts:

1. Some of them have been released from the forced unification under the Religious Organization Law to seek independence;
2. Newly granted the status of a religion, some Shinto shrines have established themselves as independent sects by following the necessary procedure of registration;
3. Religious organizations, which were dissolved during the war, have been revived under the new law;
4. Various superstitious beliefs widely spreading in the period of agitation and unrest in the aftermath of the war;
5. The dawn of a democratic age is giving impetus to free religious activities.

All considered, it may be concluded that in the atmosphere of freedom left by the emancipation of ideas from the extreme oppression under which they were placed during the war, religious sects and denominations of various kinds and characters were recklessly brought into being in an increasing number, by taking advantage of superstitious beliefs taking hold of the people in this period of social unrest and living difficulties following the war. All religions, both old and new, irrespective of their sects and denominations, have been given the freedom of disseminating their doctrines and faiths on an equal footing, while the State has been prohibited to have any special connection with them, no matter whether it be protection or interference.

Thus, the democratization of Japan's religions has been initiated, leaving, however, two problems yet to be settled. They are the purge of undesirable persons in the religious world, who cooperated in the execution of war, and the dissolution of the Japan Christian Federation.

After the close of the war, the purge of undesirable elements in all fields, political, official, financial, educational, journalistic, etc. was extensively carried out. As the only exception to this, the same religionists who cooperated with the Government in the execution of war, are permitted to remain in the post, which they occupied during the war, to engage in religious activities. Since a purge in other spheres of activities is not more essential than in the religious world, which essentially devotes itself to spiritual activities, nothing is more regrettable not only for Japan's religious circles but also for the democratization of the Japanese people at large, to see that the same old leaders, who helped the execution of war, are retained in post.

As already pointed out, the Japan Christian Federation is an

organization which was brought into existence in accordance with the Fascist control policy adopted under the wartime situation. When all the controlling organizations in other fields of activities, which were established according to the same State policy, were ordered dissolved after the surrender, it is strange to find that this body alone should continue its existence, neither effecting its dissolution on its own initiative nor being ordered compulsory dissolution.

Of Oliver Cromwell's rule, which enabled England to establish its democratic spirit in the seventeenth century, it is said that the two institutions "Ejectors" and "Electors," which respectively handled the purge and appointment in religious and educational circles, made the greatest contribution to that end, by giving full play to their functions. Unless purge of the religious and educational worlds, as the seat of spiritual leaders of the people, is effected so thoroughly that all undesirable elements are replaced by those who are deep in faith and insight, being possessed of ability and alive to the spirit of the new age, it would be impossible to bring the task of democratization of this country to full success. The fact that the purge effected in the educational world after the surrender has not yet been extended to the realm of religions, is a matter which is tantamount to forgetting to put the finishing touches to the democratization work of Japan.

IV. Democratization Through Religion

1.

By the directive of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, all special relations between the State and religions have been entirely removed, and freedom has been awarded to all religions and religious sects as they stand against the State entirely in the same position as one another.

From the viewpoint of religious system, it may be said that Japan at present enjoys freedom of religion more perfectly than any other country in the world. This fact by itself, however, may not fully guarantee that the Japanese people from now on will be educated as a nation having a democratic spirit.

Of all the sects, denominations and orders that were registered as religious corporations, 88 belonged to Shinto, 89 to Buddhism, 13 to Christianity, and 7 were of miscellaneous sects other than stated above (as in June, 1947). Not a few thereof, however, are dubious in substance, vulgar and inferior in thoughts, and may be classified as superstitious beliefs. May we rightly regard it as democratization of religions to give to all of those doubtful religions an equal opportunity for propagation and belief, besides equal treatment, as we give to all religions of sound and healthy nature? Can we really effect the democratization of our people through the influence of religions if we are satisfied with such a superficial principle of equality?

Plainly speaking, the Japanese people have been studying the thought and system of democracy ever since the Restoration of Meiji. But, they can hardly be said to have become fully accustomed to democratic thoughts and systems. It is to a society like this that a system far more democratic than is enjoyed in any other country in the world, has been conferred all of a sudden.

In a way, Japan after her defeat in war, seems to have become an ideal stage for an experimental study of democracy. The Japanese people, who are hard-working at anything and can easily adapt themselves to any atmosphere in which they find themselves, will be able to cope with the experiment, gather in all the fruits thereof, and effect a democratic reform of their country. But, in order that they may effect a complete spiritual reform instead of a superficial and external change, the experiment stated above must be accompanied by a real reconstruction of man through the influence of religion and education, and not by temporary institutional reforms.

Japan's democratization in a true sense of the word may be brought about only after dissemination among the people of a religion that may create really democratic persons. This means a starting point, but not the object, of Japan's democratization in religion to give a formally equal opportunity to all religions and sects and recognize their status quo. It is a question of vital importance to Japan's democratization to determine which of the numerous religions of present-day Japan are useful for the creation of persons having a democratic spirit, and which of them are useless, or even harmful, for the purpose in view. It is in accordance with the principle of the freedom of religion that an important question like this is left alone to be decided by the claim and merit of each religion, but not by the State.

This may be right from a formal and metaphysical point of view. Under the present state of affairs in Japan, however, is it allowable for the country to deal with the religions of her people in such a negative and disinterested manner?

Investigations into the number of believers in different religions as they were at the end of July, 1946, show that the believers in various Shinto sects were 10,719,108 in total; those in various sects of Buddhism 41,174,000 in all; and those in different sects of Christianity 323,672 (Jiji Year Book). These statistics are very imperfect. For instance, the number of Non-Churchist is not included in the figures given above, while not all of those who are included in the number of Buddhists or Shintoists are real believers in Buddhism or Shinto. Many of them allow themselves to be registered as either Buddhists or Shintoists only once in life, i.e. at the time when they want to have their relatives to be buried. Therefore, it is improper to regard these statistics as representing the actual influence of respective religions, and conclude that the respective religions, in proportion to the figures given therein, have greater or smaller bearings on Japan's democratization, even from a static point of view. It goes wider of the mark if these figures be regarded, from a dynamic point of view, as measures telling the power of respective religions in propelling Japan's democratization. In order that Japan be reconstructed as a democratic state and recognized as a member of the international society, which may contribute to the progress of mankind and the peace of the world, our efforts must be exercised, not for the maintenance of the status quo of our religious circles, but for their renovation.

In his letter sent to Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, the then Prime Minister

of Japan, at the beginning of the current year, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur pointed out the importance of Christianity as the guiding spirit for Japan's democratization. This, I understand, by no means suggested the advisability of treating Christianity as the state religion of Japan, but only expressed the personal faith of the General. For his lofty views and frank announcement, I pay my profound respect.

Not all of the numerous religions and sects, which exist in our country from the pre-war days and are growing larger in number in the post-war days, are useful for the construction of a democratic Japan. As I have repeatedly remarked, the spirit of democracy may be given a sound foundation to stand on only through the establishment of the idea of personality and it is such religions which contribute to the establishment of the idea of personality that most profoundly contributes to Japan's democratization. That Christianity is the only religion that is most likely to play an important role like this is verified both from historical and doctrinal points of view. Candidly speaking, for Japan's democratization, a genuine belief in Christianity must be planted among the Japanese people deeply and extensively. I do not mean that Japan must adopt Christianity as her State religion. I only mean to say that, unless the belief in Christianity is implanted in the hearts of the Japanese people, Japan will not become a real and well-founded democratic country.

The Potsdam Declaration has marked itself as the Second Restoration for Japan. The Restoration of Meiji was a revolution that came

from within the Japanese people, whereas the post-war reform of Japan is based on the demands from abroad due to her defeat in the war. There is a considerable difference between these two Restorations. But, if regarded as a discipline God has been pleased to impose on the Japanese people with a view to perfecting them as a nation that may contribute to the peace of the world and the progress of mankind, we find in the second Restoration the same grace of God as we find in the first one. As the ideas and systems of democracy, which had been steadily developing in our country since the Meiji Restoration, were sadly distorted by the prejudice and ignorance of the Government and the people, eventually to form so great an impediment to the Japanese citizens that they could not remove it by themselves, God was pleased, by means of the Allied Forces, to dispose of the fallacy of the Japanese people, smash their arrogance, and remove the impediment from their way, thereby opening a level and flat road for Japan's democratization. Thus, "every valley has been exalted, and every mountain and hill made low, and the crooked have been made straight, and the rough places plain." From now on, the Japanese people will be in a position to go on developing and realizing the spirit of democracy for themselves. What fruit they may gather in is a question that must be decided by their own efforts.

If the Japanese people may, as they must, effect their revival as a really democratic country, Japan will find a reason for her being in the world. Then, and then only, will the Japanese people be in a position to carry out a noble mission which, from a historical point of view, they believe they are entrusted with, namely—the interfusion of the civilizations of the West and the East. They will also be placed in a position to exercise their level best to carry out the noble task which has been newly imposed on the shoulders of the people

of post-war Japan, that is—the construction of a "Peace-State." They will also be enabled to promote various enterprises that will contribute to the progress of mankind, as well as to world peace. Japan, no longer, will try to rule over the world by means of armed forces or financial power, but will try to become, by means of thought and religion, a people that carry on the hope of mankind. The world that once cursed Japan for her militarism will come to bless her for her pacifism. If the Japanese people succeed in realizing their revival in such a manner, their miserable defeat in the late war will become a worthwhile blessing. It is said that the Babylonian Captivity elevated the racial religion of Israel to a high and spiritual world religion. Now, if Japan's defeat in the late war goes a long distance in purifying the religion of her people, and help them effect their revival as a people in possession of an advanced world spirit and a high and spiritual religion, it will bring happiness not only to Japan, but to mankind as well.

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