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The Kyoto School and Confucianism: A Confucian Reading of the Philosophy of History and Political Thought of Masaaki Kōsaka

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PhD
May 2016

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Declaration

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism.

Signature:

_____

Thomas Parry Rhydwen (06/05/2016)

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Dedications

I would like to dedicate this work to my father David, who passed away on the 29th December 2015, and my daughter Sora, who was born on the 24th January 2016.

The Kyoto School and Confucianism: A Confucian Reading of the Philosophy of History and Political Thought of Masaaki Kōsaka

Introduction

In this dissertation I examine the philosophy of the Japanese thinker Masaaki Kōsaka (1900-1969) from the East Asian perspective of Confucianism, which I believe is the most appropriate interpretative framework for comprehending his political thought. Kōsaka was a prominent member of second generation of the Kyoto School in the 1930s and 40s, a group of thinkers associated with the philosophies of Kitarō Nishida and Hajime Tanabe. Although 'the ultimate *arche* and *telos*' of the Kyoto School has been described as 'the philosophy of religion', Kōsaka was primarily concerned with history and politics, and he is now best known for his participation in the *Chūō Kōron* symposia.[1] This was a series of three meetings held in 1941 and 1942 by four members of the second generation of the Kyoto School, including Keiji Nishitani, Iwao Kōyama and Shigetaka Suzuki. During these talks, the participants discussed in detail the historical significance of the international crisis Japan was confronting at the time, culminating in the outbreak of the Pacific War shortly after the first gathering took place. This included the problems of Western colonialism in East Asia, the roles and responsibilities of Japan as the leading nation of the region, and the feasibility of the country's proposal for the establishment of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity

[1] Bret W. Davis, 'The Kyoto School', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Winter 2014 Edition), accessed March 9, 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2014/entries/kyoto-school/.

Sphere. David Williams describes the resulting publication as having represented the 'popular manifesto' of the wartime Kyoto School.[2]

Kōsaka has been largely neglected in the post-war period as a consequence of the 'religious-philosophical paradigm' that has dominated Western scholarship on the Kyoto School.[3] At the time of the symposia, however, he was perhaps the most famous of the four participants due to the success of his 1937 bestseller *The Historical World*. This book was well received by the other members of the Kyoto School who participated in the meetings. Kōyama, for example, describes the work as a 'revolutionary publication'[i] that 'laid the foundation stone' for future research on the philosophy of history.[4/ii] It is not surprising, therefore, that many of Kōsaka's ideas on the 'historical world' figured prominently during the *Chūō Kōron* discussions.[5] Furthermore, his personal development of the 'Metaphysics of War' in the early 1940s ensured that among the participants he had the 'most sophisticated understanding of war as an idea'. Kōsaka was also the oldest member of the Kyoto School in attendance, which is significant insofar as differences in age and social status require 'sensitive navigation in Confucian East Asia'. This is discernible from the respectful language each of the symposiasts used in accordance with their relative social standing to the other participants.[6] In a typical show of Confucian reverence for one's seniors, Kōsaka was subsequently given responsibility for opening each of the

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[2] David Williams, *The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance: A reading, with commentary, of the complete texts of the Kyoto School discussions of 'The Standpoint of World History and Japan'* (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), 19.
[3] David Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War: The Kyoto School philosophers and post-White power,* (London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 96; Kenn Nakata Steffensen, 'The political philosophy of Miki Kiyoshi: A close reading of the philosophical foundations of cooperative communitarianism', (PhD Thesis, University College Cork, 2014), 6; 9; 18-25.
[4] Iwao Kōyama, 'Kōsaka Masaaki: 'Rekishi-teki sekai' wo yomu [Reading Masaaki Kōsaka's Historical World]', *Shisō* [*Thought*], February issue (1938), 232 & 241.
[5] Tetsufumi Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki: Kyoto gakuha to rekishi tetsugaku* [Kōsaka Masaaki: The Kyoto School and the Philosophy of History] (Kyoto: Tōeisha, 2008).
[6] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance,* xliii & 30.

meetings, as well as for leading 'the overall development of the symposia' and 'posing questions at key moments' thereafter.[7]

Through an in-depth analysis of Kōsaka's individual writings I hope to demonstrate the extent of his contribution to the theoretical background of the *Chūō Kōron* discussions. This is something that remains largely unknown to the modern reader of the symposia texts due to the relative obscurity of his works in the post-war era. In turn, I believe this will help advance a greater understanding of the collective arguments that were forwarded by the four symposiasts, including the philosophical reasoning behind their support for the war and the establishment of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. Although it is unwise to generalise about a movement as diverse as the Kyoto School from the writings of a single philosopher, the three symposia are a good example of the East Asian regard for a form of intellectual interaction that has often been neglected in the West: 'group-think'. As Williams explains in the extended commentary to his English rendering of the *Chūō Kōron* discussions, these meetings 'do not represent a clash of egoists jockeying for advantage or superiority'. Rather, they were held as 'gatherings of like-minded thinkers attempting to flesh out a collective position' on the most pressing political matters of the day.[8]

The principle goal of this dissertation is to present an impartial account of Kōsaka's long neglected philosophy of history. I believe this is best achieved through a contextualised reading of his political speculations and wartime activities. Consequently, I conduct a textual exegesis of his works based on the empirical methods and techniques of academic history and Orientalism. This approach prioritises the use of primary sources whenever possible – a standard of empirical research that has not always been followed by some Western commentators on

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[7] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me: chichi – Kōsaka Masaaki/ani – Kōsaka Masataka* [*The Eyes that Gazed at the Fate of the Showa Period: My Father – Kōsaka Masaaki/My Elder Brother – Kōsaka Masataka*] (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūjo, 2000), 132.
[8] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance,* 30.

the Kyoto School. However, the epistemological standpoint of empiricism does not simply require the use of original documentation; it also demands a commitment to ensure that the conclusions reached accurately reflect the known facts about the research target. Since this dissertation analyses the political thought of a Japanese philosopher from the 1930s and 40s, I take into consideration the historical, cultural and political contexts within which he lived, worked and philosophised. For the duration of this study I am therefore obliged to 'bracket' any preconceptions I may hold about the period in question, whether in regard to the nature of the political world or the immorality of Japan's conduct during the war, so as not to distort my interpretation of Kōsaka's actual ideas.[9] This is because the empirical researcher must be willing to engage sincerely with the values and beliefs of a thinker who lived and breathed in a very different time and culture.

This approach is diametrically opposed to the methodology employed by James Heisig in relation to philosophical translations. This is due to the emphasis he places on the contemporary context of a translated work over the historical and cultural nuances of the original text.[10] The problems that can arise from adopting such an approach are, I think, exemplified by Herbert A. Giles's distortion of the Daoist philosophy of the *Zhuangzi* as a consequence of the Western philosophical concerns of consciousness, remembrance and doubt that he overly reads into certain sections of the text. While Hans-Georg Moeller acknowledges the stylistic beauty of Giles's prose, a dimension of translation that Heisig suggests should take precedence over textual fidelity, in the end none of these problems can be found in either the

[9] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 50-55; 41 & 142.
[10] James Heisig, 'Desacralizing Philosophical Translation in Japan', *Nanzan Bulletin* 27 (2003): 46-62; James Heisig, 'East Asian Philosophy and the Case against Perfect Translations', *Comparative and Continental Philosophy* 2.1 (2010): 81-90.

original text or in the traditional Chinese interpretations of the work.[11] Heisig argues that we should welcome the fact that an English version of a non-Western philosophical text may reveal things that were 'only dimly there, if they were indeed there at all, in the original'.[12] However, the notion of inserting ideas that are not found in the original work is questionable because the translator subsequently attributes something to the author that he or she did not actually say. This is part of the reason why Williams and Graham Parkes both strongly criticise the continued translation of the Japanese expression *minzoku* as race, folk or *Volk* by many Western commentators on the Kyoto School, thereby implicitly associating the movement with the crimes of the Nazis, instead of the more appropriate renderings of ethnic group, people or nation.[13] This is supported by the careful distinction that Kōsaka draws between the terms *minzoku* (peoples) and *jinshu* (race) in order to distance himself from the racist ideology of National Socialism.[14] I believe such translation practices have become prevalent within

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[11] Herbert Giles's translation: 'Once upon a time, I, Zhuangzi, dreamt I was a butterfly, fluttering hither and thither, to all intents and purposes a butterfly. I was conscious only of following my fancies as a butterfly, and was unconscious of my individuality as a man. Suddenly, I awaked, and there I lay, myself again. Now I do not know whether I was then a man dreaming I was a butterfly, or whether I am now a butterfly, dreaming I am a man. Between a man and a butterfly there is necessarily a barrier. The transition is called *Metempsychosis'*. Hans-Georg Moeller's alternative translation: 'Once Zhuang Zhou dreamt-and then he was a butterfly, a fluttering butterfly, self-content and in accord with its intentions. The butterfly did not know about Zhou. Suddenly it awoke-and then it was fully and completely Zhou. One does not know whether there is a Zhou becoming a butterfly in a dream or whether there is a butterfly becoming a Zhou in a dream. There is a Zhou and there is a butterfly, so there is necessarily a distinction between them. This is called: the changing of things' – Hans-Georg Moeller, *Daoism Explained: From the Dream of the Butterfly to the Fishnet Allegory* (Chicago &La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 2004), 44; See also *Zhuangzi* 2:49 in *Zhuangzi: The Essential Writings with Selections from Traditional Commentaries*, trans. by Brook Ziporyn (Indianapolis & Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc, 2009).

[12] Heisig, 'East Asian Philosophy', 87.

[13] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War,* 99-101; Graham Parkes,"Heidegger and Japanese Fascism: An Unsubstantiated Connection," *Japanese and Continental Philosophy: Conversations with the Kyoto School*, edited by Bret W. Davis, Brian Schroeder and Jason M. Wirth (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2011): 347-372; See also James Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness: An Essay on the Kyoto School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 123; 314-315.

[14] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Minzoku no Tetsugaku* [*The Philosophy of the Nation*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942), 5-13; Kiyoshi Miki and Masaaki Kōsaka, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku: taidan [The Philosophy of the Nation: Dialogue]', *Bungei* [*Literature*] Volume 9 Issue 12, December, (1941): 15.

scholarship on the Kyoto School because of the emphasis that is placed exclusively upon contemporary liberal interpretations of the Pacific War over contextualised readings that fully acknowledge the various historical and cultural nuances of the group's political arguments.

My research is indebted to the work of Williams on the *Chūō Kōron* symposia and I adopt a number of his research propositions, including his general schema of interpretation for the middle phase of the Kyoto School from 1928 to 1945. This maintains that the major philosophical influences on the four symposiasts were Hegelianism, Tanabe's *Logic of the Species*, and the East Asian tradition of Confucianism.[15] The significance of G.W.F. Hegel's dialectic of self-consciousness for the methods and techniques employed by Nishida and Tanabe has been examined in detail by Peter Suares.[16] Although Kōsaka expressed a preference for the philosophy of Kant over Hegel, a similar influence is discernible in his thought due to his appropriation of numerous ideas and concepts from his mentors. That being said, in terms of the practical implications of Kōsaka's conception of historical praxis, a key aspect of his political speculations, it is arguably Hegel's deliberations on world-historical peoples and objective spirit that were of greater importance. Kōsaka himself states that few thinkers have exhibited the 'deep historical insight' of Hegel.[iii] He also describes the concept of objective spirit as the German thinker's most important philosophical innovation.[17]

The influence of Tanabe on the second generation of the Kyoto School has been questioned by a number of prominent scholars. Heisig, for example, insists that Tanabe was considered 'something of an outsider by the circle close to Nishida' and that his influence upon the

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[15] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 19.
[16] Peter Suares, *The Kyoto School's Takeover of Hegel: Nishida, Nishitani and Tanabe Remake the Philosophy of Spirit* (New York & Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2011).
[17] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai – genshōgaku shiron* [*The Historical World – A Phenomenological Essay*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1937), 30 & 248.

Chūō Kōron symposia was 'virtually nil'.[18] However, this portrayal does not fully take into account the political activities of the movement during the war as documented in *The Ōshima Memos.* This is a collection of transcripts taken from eighteen secret meetings held between members of the Kyoto School, including the four participants of the *Chūō Kōron* symposia, and the Yonai Peace Faction of the Imperial Japanese Navy. According to Ryōsuke Ōhashi these meetings were held in order to oppose the policies of Hideki Tōjō. Significantly, the transcripts include a lecture by Tanabe on the logic of co-prosperity spheres. Three of the participants in the *Chūō Kōron* discussions were in attendance at this meeting, including Kōsaka, and there are notable similarities between the contents of this lecture and comments later made by Kōyama during the third symposium.[19] This implies that 'the contributors to *The Standpoint of World History and Japan* and *The Ōshima Memos* worked and thought in tandem'.[20] Kōsaka himself describes the concept of the 'species' as 'one of the great accomplishments of Tanabe's philosophy'.[iv] He even suggests that his own speculations were in part an attempt to grapple with the problems that it presents.[21] This is clearly discernible from his careful analysis of the ethnic nation and his general deliberations on the historical substratum of being within the historical world.

Finally, in order to fully comprehend Kōsaka's political philosophy in its proper cultural context one must acknowledge the fact that Japan has over a thousand year history of Confucianism. In turn,

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[18] James Heisig, 'Reviews: Defending Japan's Pacific War: The Kyoto School Philosophers and Post-White Japan,' *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32 (2005): 165; Harry Harootunian, 'Returning to Japan: part two', *Japan Forum* 18/2 (2006), 278-279.
[19] Ryōsuke Ōhashi, *Kyoto-gakuha to Nippon kaigun: shin-shiryō 'Ōshima memos' wo megutte* [*The Kyoto School and the Japanese Navy: On the New Materials The 'Ōshima Memos*'] (Tokyo: PHP, 2001); Hajime Tanabe, 'On the Logic of Co-Prosperity Spheres – Towards a Philosophy of Regional Blocs', trans. by David Williams, in *Defending Japan's Pacific War,* 188-199.
[20] Williams, 'Footnote 230', in *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 363.
[21] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku* [*Nishida Philosophy and Tanabe Philosophy*] (Nagoya: Reimei Shobō, 1949), 126; 2.

this has greatly affected the nation's indigenous political traditions.[22] It is therefore imperative for the empirical researcher to 'elaborate convincing East Asian schemas of interpretation to organize his data' because the Kyoto School thinker was not simply a scholar of Western philosophy, but a politically active member of a Confucian-based society. In order to do this, I take up Williams's interpretative framework of Confucian Revolution. This he developed as a testable thesis of modern political science that is capable of explaining the processes of regime change observable throughout East Asian history from a Confucian perspective.[23] However, while I broadly accept Williams's arguments on the general cultural importance of Confucianism for understanding East Asian patterns of political behaviour, I also examine the possibility of more direct intellectual influences upon the Kyoto School as well. This includes an analysis of the Confucian-inspired relational ontology that I identify at the heart of the Kyoto School's political philosophy, and the similarities between many of Kōsaka's ideas and those expressed in the Confucian canon.

It is important to note that for the duration of this dissertation I adopt a standpoint of amorality that is based on the notion of the 'moral fool' forwarded by Moeller.[24] The reader of the wartime Kyoto School is confronted not only by the moral arguments of contemporary liberal portrayals of the Pacific War, but the 'moral cosmos' of Japan's Confucian heritage as well.[25] The moral fool professes ignorance in all ethical matters, however, because he or she is unable to comprehend the grounds upon which an 'absolute distinction between good and evil' can be established. The inherent goodness of morality normally goes unquestioned. Nevertheless, it is a 'circular argument to say that to

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[22] Christopher Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan: Nishida, the Kyoto School, and Co-Prosperity* (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2005).
[23] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 37.
[24] Hans-Georg Moeller, *The Moral Fool: A Case for Amorality* (Chichester & New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
[25] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxix.

distinguish between good and evil is good rather than evil'. There are many different moral systems and contrary ways of distinguishing between what is right and wrong, all of which are historically, culturally and socially contingent. This inevitably raises questions on how it is possible to determine which particular system is the morally correct one. This would appear to promote a standpoint of ethical relativism because 'anything and everything' seems acceptable if we deny the existence of absolute moral principles. However, the moral fool is sceptical of all moral positions, 'including relativistic ones'. This is because he or she is more concerned with the actual consequences of drawing moral distinctions in the social world as opposed to validating the metaphysical reasoning for making them.[26] For the empirical scholar confronted by the conflicting values of different periods and cultures, a similar attitude of moral ignorance is beneficial because the purpose of a historically-framed investigation is not to pass judgment on the past, but to understand what actually happened. This includes a willingness to comprehend viewpoints that may contradict what is deemed morally acceptable in a contemporary context.

That being said, the very suggestion of an impartial analysis of the Kyoto School's political philosophy remains a controversial proposition. While I agree with Williams that the symposiasts proposed a 'humane version' of the Co-Prosperity Sphere based on Confucian ideals, it is difficult to reconcile their support for the Pacific War with what is now known about the brutality of the Japanese military.[27] This is something, it should be noted, that Kōsaka may not have been fully

[26] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 1-15.
[27] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xviii; Collin Rusneac, '*The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance: A Reading, with Commentary, of the Complete Texts of the Kyoto School Discussions of 'The Standpoint of World History and Japan'* by David Williams', last modified September 27, 2014, http://sunsburial.blogspot.jp/2014/09/the-philosophy-of-japanese-wartime.html

aware of until after the war according to Ryōen Minamoto.[28] Yet many liberal historians continue to dismiss the Kyoto School's political thought as something morally flawed that should not be taken '*seriously as philosophy*'.[29] As a result, the three *Chūō Kōron* symposia have become synonymous with the apparent failings of Japanese academia during the war, while Kōsaka himself has been personally singled out as a fascist ideologue.[30] As a self-professed moral fool, however, I reject such ethically charged interpretations of the wartime Kyoto School because of the sweeping generalisations that result, often in the face of the textual evidence. For instance, although the *Chūō Kōron* participants supported the war as an idea, 'their treatment of Tojo's policies in the Pacific and China is almost always sceptical if not hostile'.[31] Moral portrayals of history present an 'abridgement' of the historical record based entirely upon the subjectively held principles of the historian.[32] As a consequence, moral assumptions are prioritised at the expense of empirical facts. The corrupting influence that such ideological perspectives have had on research standards within Kyoto School scholarship has been demonstrated in a number of papers by Parkes.[33] I present a detailed examination of the underlying premises of historical research and the problems that arise from employing moral principles brought *a priori* to the historical record in the Appendix.

Nevertheless, most Western research on the wartime Kyoto School continues to present modern-day liberalism as the only valid

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[28] Ryōen Minamoto, 'Kōsaka Masaaki sensei no koto [Remembering Professor Masaaki Kōsaka]', *Kokoro* [*Heart*] vol. 23 issue 2 (1979): 81.
[29] Elena Lange, 'Reviews: GOTO-JONES, Christopher (Hg.): *Re-politicising the Kyoto School as Philosophy*', *Asiatische Studien Études Asiatiques* LXIII 3 (2009): 749.
[30] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*; Harootunian, 'Returning to Japan: part two', 278.
[31] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 72.
[32] Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London & New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965).
[33] Graham Parkes, 'The Putative Fascism of the Kyoto School and the Political Correctness of the Modern Academy', *Philosophy East and West* 47/3 (1997): 305–336; Parkes, 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism: An Unsubstantiated Connection', 347-372.

perspective from which to assess the group's political thought. However, the Kyoto School philosophers were not liberal thinkers and they questioned many of this ideology's ontological assumptions. For this reason, I believe it is necessary to resituate Kōsaka's ideas within a more suitable political framework if we are to fully appreciate the significance of his arguments and the sincerity of his attempt to put the Japanese war effort on a more rational and moral footing.[34/v] For this, I draw upon the East Asian tradition of Confucianism. One problem, however, is that Elena Lange, Naoki Sakai and Yōko Arisaka have all strongly criticised any interpretation that over-emphasises the Oriental nature of the Kyoto School based on Edward Said's famous critique of the discipline.[35] I therefore reassess the validity of a contextualised reading of modern Japanese political philosophy in Chapter 1. I begin by reviewing the objections that have been made against Orientalism, most notably the accusation that by exaggerating cultural differences the Kyoto School philosophers are shielded from justified political censure. I then proceed to expose the liberal biases that are identifiable in many of these arguments, which is significant as liberal ideology is itself culturally determined. Finally, drawing upon the research of Roger Ames, I argue that it is necessary to make responsible cultural generalisations if we are to prevent our own culturally defined assumptions from overwhelming the empirical record of Japan as an East Asian society.[36]

In Chapter 2 I carry out a review of the evidence supporting the claim that Kōsaka's political philosophy was influenced by Confucianism. Perhaps the biggest obstacle facing this task is the fact that Kōsaka and his associates rarely cite East Asian sources. This

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[34] Masaaki Kōsaka, 'Aru tetsugakusha no hansei [The Reflections of a Philosopher]', *Kuru-beki jidai no tameni* [*For the Sake of the Coming Age*] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1952), 18-19; Minamoto, 'Kōsaka Masaaki sensei no koto', 81.
[35] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London & New York: Penguin Books, 2003).
[36] Roger Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics: A Vocabulary*, (Hong Kong & Honolulu: Chinese University Press, 2011).

would appear to substantiate Heisig's suggestion that although the Kyoto School philosophers were 'eastern' in their personal outlook, their speculations were in no way representative of 'eastern philosophy'.[37] Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that the group philosophised within the cultural milieu of a society greatly influenced by the Confucian tradition. Moreover, focusing exclusively on the Kyoto School's engagement with Western thought neglects the familiarity of its members with the classics of the Chinese and Japanese intellectual traditions. Kōsaka too was educated in the Confucian classics, and on numerous occasions he demonstrates his familiarity with the central teachings of the tradition. This is perhaps best exemplified in his short essay 'The Hermeneutic Structure of Roads'.

In Chapters 3 and 4 I examine the broad intellectual and cultural influences of Confucianism upon the Kyoto School as an East Asian philosophical movement. As I believe this constitutes the overarching context within which Kōsaka developed his ideas, I present these chapters before my examination of his philosophy of history. In Chapter 3 I begin by analysing the importance of Confucianism upon the core ontological assumptions of the Kyoto School's philosophy in a political context, including the emphasis on relations over substances and change over permanence. In particular, I examine the strong resemblances between Nishida's concept of pure experience and the central teachings of the *Great Learning*, as highlighted by Michel Dalissier.[38] I also refer to a short paper on Confucian metaphysics written by Tanabe, what I believe to be one of the first references to this work in English.[39] It is worth pointing out that Makoto Ozaki believes that Tanabe's conception of praxis was

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[37] Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness*, 8-9.
[38] Michel Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy', *Frontier of Japanese Philosophy 4: Facing the 21st Century*, eds. Wing-keung Wam and Ching-yuen Cheung (Nagoya: Nanzan, 2009): 211-250.
[39] Hajime Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite [On Confucian Ontology]', *Tanabe Hajime Zenshū*, Vol. 4. (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1963), 287-301.

probably influenced by the Confucian imperative for truth to 'be empirically proved and revealed in action', especially taking into account the extent of his father's familiarity with the Chinese classics.[40]

In Chapter 4 I examine the thesis of Confucian Revolution based on the supporting evidence of the Confucian canon. Aspects of Williams's argument are contestable, such as the importance he assigns to the use of force in determining the victors of Confucian power struggles despite the traditional Confucian condemnation of war and violence. This is a consequence of his focus on political realism over political idealism. Another issue is his tendency to discuss Confucian ideas in relation to a Western conception of truth, which he conceives in a manner comparable with Ozaki, despite the fact that this term was not actually used by Confucian thinkers.[41] This relates to the fact that he developed the interpretative schema of Confucian Revolution in contradistinction with the 'Kantian liberal–cosmopolitan orthodoxy' of American global hegemony based on his engagement with the works of Carl Schmitt and Benno Teschke.[42] Williams therefore compares the purported universalism of liberal democratic values with the historically and culturally contingent conception of political truth that results from adopting Confucian ideals in a contemporary political context, as was arguably the case in the philosophy of the Kyoto School.[43] However, a comparison of Williams's thesis with the *Analects*, the *Mencius* and the *Xunzi* brings to the fore the probable Confucian

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[40] Makoto Ozaki, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Tanabe: According to the English Translation of the Seventh Chapter of the Demonstratio of Christianity*, (Amsterdam: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1990), 1.
[41] Roger T. Ames and Henry Rosemont, Jr., 'Introduction', *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation* (New York: Ballantine Books,1998), 5 & 33.
[42] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxvi & 24; Carl Schmitt, 'The Turn to the Discriminating Concept of War', in *Writings on War*, trans. by Timothy Nunan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011): 3-74; Benno Gerhard Teschke, 'Decisions and Indecisions: Political and Intellectual Receptions of Carl Schmitt', *New Left Review* 67 (Jan-Feb 2011): 61-95; Benno Gerhard Teschke, 'Fatal attraction: a critique of Carl Schmitt' s international political and legal theory', *International Theory* 3:2 (2011): 179–227.
[43] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxvi & 28.

underpinnings of regime change in East Asia and its associated patterns of political behaviour. I then adopt this thesis for reassessing the wartime activities of Kōsaka from an East Asian perspective. I believe this is better able to reconcile his support for the war and his condemnation of the imperialistic practices of the Japanese military than the alternative portrayal of Japanese intellectuals that is presented by Christopher Goto-Jones.[44]

In Chapters 5 to 8 I undertake an in-depth analysis of Kōsaka's philosophy of history, the first extended examination of his ideas in English. There are a number of reasons why I have chosen to focus on Kōsaka in particular. Firstly, I believe he was far more influential than the neglect of his works in the post-war era would suggest. For instance, although Kōsaka was no doubt influenced by Nishida's logic of place, he may have been the first member of the Kyoto School to discuss the notion of a 'world of worlds' (*sekai no sekai*). At the very least he had considered a similar concept as early as 1937, several years before Nishida's more famous expositions (1941 & 1943/*sekai-teki-sekai*).[45] In a personal correspondence to Kōsaka at the time, Nishida himself wrote that there was much to learn from his student's discussion on the state, war and national sovereignty, continuing that these were all problems he too would like to consider at a later date.[46] Secondly, an examination of Kōsaka's actual activities raises a number of questions about the liberal presentation of the wartime Kyoto School. For example, although the *Chūō Kōron* participants are often dismissed as fascist or ultranationalist ideologues, Kōsaka was on good terms with the Marxist philosopher Jun Tosaka and he intentionally mentioned his friend's name in one of his works at a time when it was

[44] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*.
[45] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 6; 56; 329 (Footnote 149)
[46] Kitarō Nishida, 'Shokan-shu [Correspondences]', *Nishida Kitarō zenshū dai jūhachi kan* [*The Complete Works of Kitarō Nishida Volume 18*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 608-609.

becoming less politically acceptable.[47] Thirdly, the philosophy of history clearly demonstrates the influence of Tanabe upon a member of the second generation of the Kyoto School. Kōsaka's appropriation of the concept of the species and the dialectic of absolute mediation permits no other conclusion. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Kōsaka's deliberations represent a highly original attempt to reconcile the systematic nature of philosophy with the relativistic teachings of professional historians. Considering a recent publication by the philosophers Ken Nishi, Seiji Takeda and the historian Kazuto Hongō on the possibility of a dialogue between the two disciplines, there is arguably still much to learn from Kōsaka's earlier reflections on the issues this presents.[48]

My analysis concentrates primarily upon Kōsaka's ideas regarding the overall structure and characteristics of his conception of the 'historical world', something that I think contributed significantly to the theoretical background of the *Chūō Kōron* discussions. As a result, I have been forced to make a number of omissions from this study, most importantly in relation to the 'Metaphysics of War'. Nevertheless, in too many cases 'piecemeal translations and … out-of-context quotations' have conspired against an accurate presentation of the political philosophy of the wartime Kyoto School.[49] For instance, Kevin Doak argues that Kōsaka's description of historical peoples as representing the 'unfolding of God's thought' in historical reality apotheosized the ethnic nation within his philosophy.[50] While Kōsaka's proposition is no doubt problematic, it is difficult to fully comprehend

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[47] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 63-68; Masaaki Kōsaka, *Kanto kaishaku no mondai* [*The Problems of Interpreting Kant*] (Tokyo: Kōbundō Shobō, 1939), 3.
[48] Ken Nishi, *et al.*, *Rekishi to tetsugaku no taiwa* [*A Dialogue between History and Philosophy*] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2013).
[49] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxiv.
[50] Kevin Doak, 'Romanticism, conservatism and the Kyoto School of philosophy', in *Re-Politicising the Kyoto School as Philosophy*, ed. Christopher Goto-Jones (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), 152; Masaaki Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku* [*The Philosophy of the Nation*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942), 204.

his intentions without some prior knowledge of his discussions on historical praxis as the mediation of the substantial (being) and the subjective (nothingness), his dependence on Nishida's concept of the 'eternal now', and his ideas on metaphysical symbolism. What is more, although comparisons may also be made with the ideas of Kant, Hegel and Leopold von Ranke, I suspect that Kōsaka was intentionally rephrasing Augustine's description of history as the revelation of God's will. This is because he identified Augustine as the 'father of the philosophy of history'.[vi] In this sense, Kōsaka conceived his work as a modern response to Augustine's ideas as the founder of the discipline.[51] In order to properly comprehend Kōsaka's wartime speculations, therefore, I believe it is essential to have a sound understanding of the worldview upon which he based his arguments. It is for this reason that I focus predominantly upon his general conception of social reality as opposed to his specific references to the Pacific War or the Co-Prosperity Sphere.

In Chapter 5 I present the underlying assumptions of Kōsaka's speculations on history. In particular, I look at the influence of Kant and Nishida upon his conception of historical subjectivity, that is the collective ability of a people or nation for creative action in the world, and the importance of Tanabe and Hegel for understanding the mediation that results between the material (substance/being) and spiritual (subject/nothingness) dimensions of historical reality. I then go on to examine Kōsaka's epistemology in Chapter 6, including his conception of historical essence, the relationship between the ideal and the real and the significance of proper nouns for historical knowledge. I also address his theory of cultural types and models, a key aspect of his

[51] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu* [*Introduction to the Philosophy of History*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1943), 41-46; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 106; Hegel, for example, said: 'The march of God in the world, that is what the state is' – G.W.F. Hegel, *Hegel's Philosophy of Right,* trans. by T.M. Knox (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 279 & 283.

conception historical universalism and praxis. In Chapter 7 I examine in greater detail Kōsaka's conception of the historical world as a 'nothingness-like universal'[vii] based on the idea of 'absolute nothingness' and the implications this has for the various peoples, nations and states that inhabit it.[viii] I then go on to analyse his conception of the historical substratum of being or historical nature. This serves as both the material for and location of historical praxis within the world, reinforcing the importance that is attributed to the species as represented by the ethnic nation within his philosophy. In Chapter 8 I concentrate on the emergence of historical subjectivity within the world in the form of the political state. For this, I consider the importance of Tanabe's logic of the species domestically and Nishida's logic of discontinuous-continuity internationally, including the historical importance of the phenomenon of war for early state formation. My analysis is indebted to the prior research of Tetsufumi Hanazawa who published the first book dedicated to Kōsaka's philosophy in 2008.[52]

The principle aim of this study is to present Kōsaka's thought as accurately as possible based on what he actually said, something I address by including the original Japanese for all translations in the corresponding endnotes. I also situate my analysis specifically within the context of Kōsaka's engagement with Western philosophy, no doubt the central focus of the Kyoto School as has so often been argued. The fact that Kōsaka rarely cites East Asian sources cannot be ignored, especially considering my commitment to the epistemological standpoint of empiricism. Nonetheless, I do not believe that cultural differences can simply be neglected. After all, the ontological foundations of the Kyoto School's philosophy would seem to have been grounded firmly within the intellectual traditions of East Asia, while

[52] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*.

Confucianism as a mode of political action presents a convincing account of Kōsaka's wartime activities. For this reason, I also conduct a comparison of Kōsaka's ideas with those expressed in the Confucian canon in the final chapter. This exercise is speculative in nature, since I am presuming an intellectual link that Kōsaka at best only ever hints at. This is why I have chosen to present this chapter separately from my earlier examination of his philosophy. Even so, if one accepts the possibility of a Confucian influence upon the Kyoto School, then the similarities discernible are compelling.

I start Chapter 9 by arguing that Kōsaka's thought may be interpreted as a modern reconceptualization of the East Asian political tradition as presented in the thesis of Confucian Revolution. A possible objection may be that such resemblances arise simply because Williams developed his thesis as a result of his 'close reading' of the *Chūō Kōron* symposia.[53] Nonetheless, I believe that the Confucian underpinnings of the worldview presented by Williams are sufficiently demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, which is significant because of Japan's long history of Confucianism and the Kyoto School thinkers' known engagement with the tradition. Having highlighted the possibility of a Confucian reading of Kōsaka's conception of historical progression, I then go on to examine other potential Confucian influences. I begin with the similarities between the structure of the historical world, which Kōsaka conceived as a dialectical-triad of the historical substratum, historical subjectivity and the nothingness-like universal, and the Confucian cosmology of Yin, Yang and the Great Ultimate. Once more, I draw upon Tanabe's exposition of Confucian metaphysics. I then look at the probable Confucian influences on

[53] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*; David Williams, *Confucian Revolution* (Unpublished Manuscript, 25th January, 2015), 100 (This is an early draft for a forthcoming book by Williams that greatly expands the thesis of Confucian Revolution and examines its implications for political behaviour in contemporary East Asia with examples taken from China, Korea and Vietnam, as well as post-war Japan.)

Kōsaka's conception of historical praxis and the related unity of subject and object that it facilitates. In turn, this feeds into my examination of the compatibility of certain aspects of German Idealism with Confucian values, most notably Hegel's notion of objective spirit, and how this affects Kōsaka's arguments on the fluidity of the ethical substance of a people within the historical world. I finish my analysis with a short discussion on the affinity of Confucianism with certain ideas presented in Kant's philosophy, including the practical implications of the antinomies of pure reason and the inherently empty nature of both the Confucian Way and the moral law as forms of action rather than specific ethical doctrines.

One might well ask why the Kyoto School thinkers focused almost exclusively on Western philosophy within their philosophical speculations despite the supposed importance of Confucianism upon their ideas. As Moeller points out, one will inevitably get caught up in a circular argument if he or she tries to substantiate the validity of a particular standpoint from the premises of this perspective alone. If the thesis of Confucian Revolution is accepted as a feasible presentation of East Asian patterns of political behaviour, however, the answer may be found in the enduring Confucian legacy of the Meiji Restoration upon Shōwa Japan. Although I explore the specific details of Confucian Revolution in Chapter 4, to put the matter as simply as possible it is a narrative on the periodic and often sudden paradigm shifts in moral and political values that are observable throughout the history of Confucian East Asia. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 was too part of a region-wide paradigm shift that took place during the 19th century due to the ascendency of Western colonialism. As I will explain, such demonstrations of political power and ability are hugely significant within the Confucian world. Consequently, the social systems of the incumbent governments of the region were one-by-one exposed in the

eyes of the people as outdated because ineffectual in the face of the force of Western modernity. The previous political paradigm based on the intellectual traditions of East Asia was therefore replaced by a new paradigm grounded in the intellectual traditions of the West. In Confucianism this process is referred to as the 'rectification of names' or the practice of correct naming. I examine this tradition in Chapter 9.

At first, this would seem to suggest that Confucianism was thereby supplanted by the imperatives of Western cultural teachings. However, the reasoning behind this shift was, I think, wholly Confucian.[54] Nonetheless, even if East Asian concepts were still considered relevant, as I hope this dissertation demonstrates in the case of the Kyoto School, they still had to be proven against the formidable standards that had been set by the Western intellectual tradition as the dominant paradigm of East Asian social reality in the modern era. It is this mind-set that informs Kōyama's assertion that for Japan in the modern era it was Europe that was spiritually closer than China or Kōsaka's depiction of British global hegemony as symbolic of the centrality of the Western world in contemporary East Asia.[55] This was the Confucian legacy of the Meiji era, and this is why Kōsaka describes the 'philosophical excavation of the deep-truthfulness of Oriental nothingness and the establishment of its philosophical foundations' as one of the 'most important' aspects of Nishida's thought.[56/ix] Although Nishida himself conceded that no 'distinctive science of metaphysics' had developed in the East, he insisted that this 'does not … mean there was no metaphysical orientation'. This is

[54] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 96.
[55] Masaaki Kōsaka, *et al.,* 'The First Symposium: The Standpoint of World History and Japan', trans. by David Williams, in *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 118; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 107-119.
[56] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō* [The Life and Thought of Kitarō Nishida] (Tokyo: Kokusai Nihon Kenkyūjo, 1971), 129.

because every 'culture has a view of life'.[57] It is the major premise of this dissertation that this Eastern view of life played a substantial role in the political philosophy of the wartime Kyoto School and Kōsaka as one of its main exponents.

[57] Kitarō Nishida, 'The Forms of Culture of the Classical Periods of East and West seen from a metaphysical perspective by Nishida Kitarō', trans. by David D. Dilworth *et al.*, *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy: Selected Documents*, eds. David A. Dilworth *et al.* (Westport Connecticut & London: Greenwood Press, 1998), 21.

Introduction Japanese Citations

[i] 画期的な名著

[ii] 決定的な礎石を置いた

[iii] 歴史の深き洞察を有する

[iv] 田辺哲学の偉大な功績

[v] 偏狭な軍部やショーヴィニズムには反対であり、それらの有つ非合理主義を排し、戦争を道徳化しようとはしたが、戦争そのものを否定はしなかった

[vi] 歴史哲学の父

[vii] 無的普遍

[viii] 絶対無

[ix] 最も重要な点は…東洋的無の深い真理性を哲学的に堀り起し、基礎づけた点にある

Part One – On the Possibility of a Confucian Kyoto School

I begin this dissertation by examining the validity of a Confucian reading of the Kyoto School as represented by the philosophy of Kōsaka. Firstly, I respond to the liberal criticisms of Orientalism by demonstrating the feasibility of making informed cultural generalisations about modern Japanese political philosophy. I then go on to examine the evidence supporting the proposition that Confucianism was an important influence upon Kōsaka and his Kyoto School colleagues both culturally and intellectually. I provide further details on the epistemological standpoint of empiricism in the Appendix, albeit from the perspective of academic history. Whereas the Orientalist focuses on the contrasting lifestyles of peoples from distinct cultural traditions, the historian stresses the contrasting lifestyles of peoples from past eras. Nevertheless, both of these disciplines aim to present an accurate portrayal of the research topic based on a contextualised reading of the known facts. The Appendix therefore reinforces and expands many of the ideas discussed in this section.

Chapter 1: The Challenge of Orientalism

1a: The Influence of Edward Said's Critique

While the assumption of a Confucian influence on the wartime Kyoto School will serve as the main premise of this study, it is likely that scholars influenced by the indictment of European Orientalism that is presented by Edward Said will be critical of over-emphasising the importance of East Asian thought on the philosophy of the Kyoto School.[1] An important example of this is Elena Lange's rejection of the approach to research that is adopted by Graham Parkes. In response to the general distinction that he draws between the 'relational' ontology of East Asian philosophies and the 'substance' ontology that has defined much of the Western metaphysical tradition, Lange accuses Parkes of imposing a 'reductionist dichotomy of East vs West' in his interpretation of the Kyoto School which portrays their thought in a reified manner.[2] Lange argues that this places the movement's political philosophy above valid criticisms, especially in relation to the contribution she believes its members made to the ultranationalist ideology of wartime Japan.[3] In this regard, David Williams may be said to have gone even further than Parkes in light of his controversial assertion that 'Tōjō's exercise of power as prime minister … was legitimate' when viewed from the perspective of Confucian Revolution.[4] This would seem to confirm Lange's assessment of Williams's earlier defence of the political philosophy of the Kyoto School as little more than a celebration of 'the agenda of Japanese ultranationalism'.[5] Lange's dismissal of Parkes's methodology is consistent with the

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[1] Said, *Orientalism*.
[2] Graham Parkes, 'The Definite Internationalism of the Kyoto School', in *Re-politicising the Kyoto School*, 162.
[3] Lange, 'Reviews: GOTO-JONES', 753-754.
[4] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 84.
[5] Lange, 'Reviews: GOTO-JONES', 753; Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*.

earlier works of Naoki Sakai and Yōko Arisaka.[6] Both these scholars adopt Said's critique of Orientalism in order to deconstruct the East/West distinctions they believe are embedded in scholarship on Japanese philosophy, as well as the 'reverse' Orientalism they accuse the Kyoto School philosophers of employing in their own presentation of Japan's 'world historical mission' in East Asia.[7]

Despite the narrative power of the thesis of Confucian Revolution, Williams also appears to employ a 'reductionist dichotomy' in his attempt to explain the key political events of wartime Japan via an interpretative framework based on seemingly abstract Confucian concepts such as the 'Mandate of Heaven'. Williams's admiration for the methodological approach of classical Orientalists such as Louis Massignon and Paul Mus would seem to confirm the suspicion that his portrayal of the *Chūō Kōron* discussions over-essentialises the alterity of East and West.[8] The result is the presentation of wartime Japan as a distinct Oriental 'Other' that is in some way irreconcilable with the 'modern' Occident due to its 'incommensurate moral cosmos'.[9] For Williams, however, it is in fact the critics of Orientalism who are guilty of cultural reductionism in the portrayals that they present of the Kyoto School because of their uncritical adoption of a liberal moral framework for analysing the Pacific War. This is discernible in Lange's sweeping employment of a liberally-defined designation of ultra-nationalism to describe the vast majority of the political thought of wartime Japan, as well as Sakai's insistence that the Kyoto School's

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[6] Naoki Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique: The Problem of Universalism and Particularism', in *Postmodernism and Japan*, eds. Masao Miyoshi & Harry Harootunian, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1989), 93-122; Naoki Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion: The Kyoto School Philosophy under the *Pax Americana*', in *Re-politicising the Kyoto School*, 183-198; Yōko Arisaka, 'Beyond "East and West": Nishida's Universalism and Postcolonial Critique', *The Review of Politics* 59:3, (Summer 1997): 541-560.
[7] Masaaki Kōsaka, *et al.,* 'The Second Symposium: The Ethical and Historical Character of the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere', trans. by David Williams, in *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 196.
[8] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxiii; Said, *Orientalism,* 97.
[9] Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique', 96; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxix.

philosophy can only be assessed in terms of a liberally construed understanding of its 'colonizing positionality in relation to peoples in Asia'.[10]

Although such appraisals may be justified from a liberal moral perspective, they fail to adequately explain why the members of the Kyoto School were so damning in their evaluation of the policies of the Tōjō government despite their purported ultranationalist sympathies. Whatever the assumed moral superiority of political liberalism, the Kyoto School was not a liberal movement.[11] Consequently, a liberal portrayal of the Pacific War inevitably judges the Kyoto School by a set of moral criteria that its members are destined to fail. It is therefore necessary to recognise the East Asian tradition of Confucianism as a legitimate form of morality if one is to fully appreciate the Kyoto School's political thought and behaviour in their proper historical and cultural contexts. In other words, the fact that Japan is a Confucian society cannot be ignored if we are to understand its rich tradition of political thought, including the writings of the wartime Kyoto School. Williams believes that this will only be possible if the field of Orientalism is acknowledged as a 'rigorous science' within the modern academy.[12] This will entail the 'eclipse of postcolonial theory and … Said's critique' of the discipline.[13] For many, such a proposition is morally dubious because the Orientalist's approach to research is always thought to reduce the rich diversity of the various peoples and cultures of East Asia to little more than an object of Western inquiry and therefore Western power. What is more, this implies that moral relativism is a valid standpoint for the analysis of political philosophy, thereby shielding the 'Oriental despotism' of Tōjō's military junta from

[10] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 186-189; 194.
[11] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 7.
[12] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 37 & 35.
[13] David Williams, 'In Response to Thomas Rhydwen', *Comparative & Continental Philosophy* Vol. 7 No. 1 (2015): 80.

justified ethical critique.[14] Nevertheless, if the political behaviour of East Asia is to be interpreted objectively, a post-Saidian approach to Oriental studies will be essential because Said's indictment of the discipline is guilty 'of liberal moralizing which is anti-scientific, and therefore untrue'.[15]

1b: The Case For and Against Cultural Generalisations

Said describes Orientalism as a 'corporate institution' for 'dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient'.[16] Arisaka explains that for Said 'the very category of the "Orient" was a European invention produced in order to "contain difference" in the era of colonial expansion'. It was therefore an intellectual 'tool' utilised by Europeans in order to 'bring under control the hitherto unknown "other" of Europe'. The Orientalist designations of East and West are consequently inseparable from the history of 'European imperialism'.[17] Building on Said's thesis, Sakai goes on to assert that distinguishing between the Occident and Orient only serves to reinforce the associated distinctions of the modern & pre-modern and the rational & mythical that are necessarily implied within this dichotomy.[18] This is because the West always 'represents on behalf of the East' in its categorisations of the Orient, 'thereby establishing' a hierarchical relationship between East and West.[19] This hierarchy is defined in terms of a Western form of universalism, which is grounded in the rationalism of modernity and its opposition to the perceived irrationalism of the various particularistic cultures of the Orient.

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[14] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 23.
[15] Williams, 'In Response to Thomas Rhydwen' 80; See Appendix for a detailed account of the empirical standard of objectivity and the meaning of scientific research from the perspective of academic history.
[16] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.
[17] Arisaka, 'Beyond "East and West"', 554-555.
[18] Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique', 96.
[19] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 186.

For Sakai, the use of Orientalist designations therefore reinforces a self-perpetuating discourse of 'us and them' that is always framed in the Hegelian terms of master and slave.[20] However, unlike the progress that is displayed by the self-consciousness of the slave in the *Phenomenology of Spirt*, further cultural development in the Orient is not possible for Sakai since to modernise is by definition to Westernise.[21] Imperial Japan was no exception, and through the process of modernisation it too became 'implicated in the ubiquitous West, so that neither historically nor geopolitically could Japan be seen as outside of the West'.[22] The discipline of philosophy as practised by the Kyoto School was also a product of Western modernity, having been developed in the universities of nineteenth century Europe. The group's speculations were not, therefore, an example of some unique esoteric Japanese, Asian or Buddhist system of thought as the Orientalist asserts, but a Western form of intellectual inquiry on the nature of the universal. This is reinforced by the fact that philosophy students in Japan 'were not expected to be knowledgeable about Buddhist theories, Confucian doctrines, or Shintoist rituals'.[23]

Arisaka maintains that the Kyoto School's appropriation of the modern Western categorisations of the Orient in their own political speculations led to the group embracing a form of reverse-Orientalism that universalised the Japanese standpoint in relation to the other peoples of East Asia. This universalism was thought to derive from the perceived ability of the Japanese nation to modernise and therefore compete with the West on equal terms. This ensured that the movement's political philosophy fed into the cultural essentialism of the ultranationalist ideology of Imperial Japan in a manner entirely

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[20] Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique', 105.
[21] G.W.F. Hegel, *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. by A.V. Miller (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 117-119.
[22] Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique', 113.
[23] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 187-188.

consistent with the political ideologies of the earlier colonial powers of Europe.[24] Sakai argues that the continued use of Orientalist distinctions in scholarship on Japanese philosophy has led to the concoction of numerous 'exotic' fantasises about 'the Oriental mind' that differ little from the dubious post-war discourses of 'Nihonjin-ron' on Japanese uniqueness.[25] Such Oriental fantasies hinder meaningful comparative studies on the role played by the universal discourses of both modern Western and Japanese philosophies in the 'colonial violence' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[26]

Because the use of Orientalist designations is always made 'from the viewpoint of the West', Lange accuses Parkes of naïvely repeating the 'very Eurocentristic approach' that his distinction between relational and substance ontologies was supposed to prevent.[27] Acknowledging the implications of Said's critique, Bret Davis also concedes that cultural generalisations 'always risk distortion by way of reducing a manifold of phenomena to a single sense'. Nevertheless, he remains sceptical as to whether it is possible to completely dismiss the practice of making generalisations in the manner suggested by Lange or Sakai, since in order to be able to 'speak and think we must'.[28] As Kōsaka explains:

> For cognition to be cognition it must be related to something universal [*i.e.* concepts]. If not, what is known would entail nothing more than our impressions for each passing moment.

[24] Arisaka, 'Beyond "East and West"', 555.
[25] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 191; Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique', 101; 105.
[26] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 196.
[27] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 186; Lange, 'Reviews: GOTO-JONES', 754.
[28] Bret W. Davis, 'Toward a World of Worlds: Nishida, the Kyoto School, and the Place of Cross-Cultural Dialogue', *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy*, Vol. 1 (Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 2006): 213.

> These are unable to become judgments or cognition proper, let alone the [objects of] an academic discipline.[29/i]

For Davis, the more urgent question is whether generalisations about East and West 'are *always over-generalizations*'. While he concedes that in many situations this may indeed be the case, he is not convinced that this is always the case.[30]

One possible solution is perhaps the 'responsible cultural generalizations' that Roger Ames insists are essential if we are to properly respect the 'unannounced assumptions sedimented over generations into the language, the customs, and the life forms of a living tradition' such as Confucianism.[31] A similar argument is forwarded by Williams who expresses the need to differentiate between generalisations that are based on principles and concepts brought *a priori* to the empirical record, as exemplified by the liberal moral appraisals of wartime Japan endorsed by the 'Pacific War Orthodoxy', and generalisations that 'mirror as closely as possible the facts' of Japan as a Confucian society.[32] Such generalisations are possible through the adoption of schemas of interpretation that are grounded in the principles and concepts of the East Asian intellectual tradition.[33] His thesis of Confucian Revolution is presented as just such an interpretative framework.

The approach that is adopted by the critics of Orientalism in scholarship on Japanese philosophy is comparable to the method employed by Paul Goldin in his research on China as discussed by

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[29] Masaaki Kōsaka. 'Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku [The Philosophy of History and Political Philosophy]', in *Rekishi no imi to sono yukue* [*The Meaning of History and its Location*], ed. Shirō Kōsaka (Tokyo: Kobushi Shobō, 2002), 41.
[30] Davis, 'Toward a World of Worlds', 213.
[31] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics: A Vocabulary*, 20-21.
[32] See Appendix for an explanation of Williams's position, his definition of the 'Pacific War Orthodoxy', and the inherent biases built into the liberal presentation of the Kyoto School.
[33] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 14-26; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 36-37.

Ames. Goldin rebukes many distinguished Sinologists of the past century for presenting an updated version of the bad Orientalism portrayed by Said, based on his conviction that the only valid generalisation that can be made about China is that 'China defies generalization'.[34] Sakai too dismisses generalisations on the Oriental nature of Japanese thought or its 'native epistemology' as a fabrication of the historical continuity of the Japanese language, culture and nation.[35] For Ames, however, such a dismissal represents a naïve form of realism that mistakes its methodological approach for 'an ostensive interpretive objectivity' that 'pretends to a view from Nowhere'.[36] Such a standpoint would seem to be consistent with Sakai's own plea for research on Japanese philosophy to go beyond a discourse based on 'us and them'.[37]

The inevitable consequence of adopting a 'view from Nowhere' is either the rejection of all generalisations about a particular culture due to the sheer diversity of factors observable, as is apparent in Sakai's own 'resistance to conclusion', or the alternative claim that there are no meaningful distinctions to be drawn between differing cultural traditions. This is again discernible in Sakai's insistence that the speculations of the Kyoto School constitute nothing more than a regurgitation of Western philosophical ideas in the Japanese language.[38] In either case, generalisations on the cultural and intellectual traditions of Japan are deemed meaningless for interpreting modern Japanese political thought. While it is obvious that the people of modern Japan have little directly in common with the peoples of the Heian, Muromachi or Edo periods, it cannot be ignored that the Japanese nation, throughout its many guises, has over

[34] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*, 21.
[35] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 190; Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique', 100-101.
[36] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*, 21.
[37] Sakai, 'Modernity and its Critique', 114.
[38] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 189 & 187.

a thousand year history of Confucian influences. This is significant because, as Christopher Goto-Jones observes, historical precedents such as Prince Shōtoku's Confucian-inspired Seventeen-Article Constitution have served as 'historical conversation partners' for the indigenous political tradition of Japan. This is comparable to the status of ancient Greek philosophy in the Western tradition of political thought.[39]

For Ames, the weakness of naïve realism lies in the fact that its attempt to go beyond the discourse of 'us and them' not only ignores the assumptions that are embedded in the cultural traditions of the people being studied, but it fails to account for the culturally informed assumptions that are necessarily held by the researcher as well. In reality, it is simply impossible to maintain a perspective that is not informed in some way by our interests, beliefs and values; in other words the perspective of 'us'. Ames draws on the work of Hillary Putnam, who states that the 'elements of what we call "language" or "mind" *penetrate so deeply into what we call reality'* it is impossible to map out something that is language/mind independent. Consequently, Ames believes the refusal to 'acknowledge the fundamental character of cultural difference' in order to safeguard against the reification of East Asian culture or the Orientalising of Japanese philosophy unwittingly 'leads to [the] uncritical essentializing of one's own cultural assumptions' as a result.[40] To put this matter another way, the attempt to overcome the discourse of 'us and them' inadvertently imposes the perspective of 'us' as the objective standard by which to analyse 'them', reducing all differences to the culturally informed assumptions that are inherent in the standpoint adopted by the researcher.

Ironically, Williams believes that Said's rebuttal of Orientalism best categorises the 'moral disdain' that continues to be held by the

[39] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 28-30.
[40] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*, 22.

modern East-Asian specialist in relation to Japan's behaviour during the Pacific War. Consequently, research on Japanese political thought has come to mean 'neither research on political institutions nor the study of political philosophy', but rather an exercise in liberal 'ethical criticism'.[41] If it is acknowledged that all interpretations are necessarily made from a viewpoint originating from somewhere, it is in fact Lange who is guilty of employing a 'Eurocentristic approach' in her rejection of Parkes's study of Japanese philosophy. This is because her appraisal of the Pacific War uncritically adopts the Western standpoint of political liberalism without any consideration for the East Asian values that were of actual importance to the peoples concerned, be it the Japanese, the Chinese or the Koreans.

Ames argues that the 'only thing more dangerous than striving to make responsible cultural generalizations is failing to make them'. It is no doubt true that Orientalist categories are made from a Western perspective. However, this is simply unavoidable because it is necessary to 'sensitize' the Western student of the Orient to the 'uncommon assumptions that have made' East Asian philosophies 'so different from our own', as in the case of the relational ontology that Parkes believes is shared in common by the Buddhist, Confucian and Daoist traditions.[42] It cannot be forgotten that Western civilisation has also been an object of study in East Asia as well, as exemplified by the careful analysis of Western philosophy that was undertaken by Kōsaka.[43] The greater problem for objective research lies in the fact that the portrayals of the Pacific War that are presented by the critics of Orientalism have also been made from a wholly Western perspective, despite their claim to have transcended the discourse of 'us and them'.

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[41] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific* War, 33 & 154.
[42] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*, 23; Parkes, 'The Definite Internationalism of the Kyoto School', 162.
[43] Kōsaka, 'Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku', 12-39; Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 4-95.

No other conclusion is possible if the verdicts reached are based on the assumptions of the 'Kantian liberal–cosmopolitan orthodoxy' that has come to define modern political discourse in the wake of American hegemony.[44] For this reason, Williams insists that the liberally-informed studies on East Asia that are prevalent in the contemporary academy have served to reinforce the moral orthodoxy of 'liberal empire'.[45]

Naïve realists betray their Western readership 'not once, but twice' in their rejection of cultural generalisations. This is because they not only remove Oriental texts and ideas from their proper cultural context, thereby failing to provide a rigorous explanation of their content, but base their conclusions on something that is believed to be 'an "objective" lexicon' that is in fact itself 'heavily colored with cultural biases'. Provisional generalisations, modifiable in accordance with the 'new information that additional detail yields', are indispensable if we are to 'locate and inform specific cultural traditions and provide otherwise sketchy historical developments with the thickness of their content'.[46] In order to ensure that these informed generalisations do not 'fall foul of the kind of metaphysical and methodological errors' which result from the 'inert piling up … of sources, origins, proofs, demonstrations, and the like' that have dogged the liberal presentation of the Orient, Williams argues that it is essential that Asia is allowed to become 'our method' of inquiry.[47] In other words, East Asian principles must be allowed to guide our investigations if we are to present an objective portrayal of the political behaviour of Confucian societies. Consequently, 'no Western method of philosophy or science may be rigorous enough to address the formidable difficulties' that arise in confronting a distinct cultural tradition such as Japan. This is

[44] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxvi.
[45] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 33.
[46] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics*, 22-23.
[47] Said, *Orientalism*, 267; Williams, 'In Response to Thomas Rhydwen', 80.

because in order to 'make Asia our method' we must '*submit*' ourselves intellectually to its political traditions. Only then will it be possible to appreciate 'what was Confucian about Confucian Japan'.[48]

1c: Orientalism as an Approach to the Confucianism of the Kyoto School

For Williams, the primary objective of the academic discipline of Orientalism is to 'describe the Orient and the Oriental as they are'. The field is therefore a 'cultural and scientific exercise [that] is grounded in an act of human sympathy'.[49] This is necessary in order to 'empathise with the East' so that the values of Oriental peoples, as opposed to the ideals that Westerners hold to be 'crucial to civilized existence', can be appreciated in terms that 'they would recognise and accept'.[50] In principle, the Orientalist therefore adopts an 'a-liberal' approach to research since 'no liberal Eurocentric impulse' should be allowed to distort a 'scientific comprehension' of East Asia as it actually is.[51] In contrast to the ethical 'ban on thinking' that has been imposed on an 'objective understanding of the non-liberal world' by Kantian and Wilsonian moral universalism, the field of Orientalism is based on the philosophical acceptance of a 'common humanity' that recognises the accomplishments of the numerous civilisations of the Occident and the Orient as a 'manifestation of something universal and therefore shared'.[52] This may be compared with Kōsaka's conception of a 'world of worlds',[ii] through which he acknowledged the multiple

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[48] Williams, 'In Response to Thomas Rhydwen', 80; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 83.
[49] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 89.
[50] James W. Heisig, 'Nishitani Keiji and the Overcoming of Modernity (1940-1945),' in *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy 6: Confluences and Cross Currents*, eds. Raquel Bouso and James W. Heisig (Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 2009): 297; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 89.
[51] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 89; It is for this reason that I adopt the standpoint of the 'moral fool' for the duration of this dissertation.
[52] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 24; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 89; For a short explanation of the relationship between liberalism and Kantianism see Thomas Rhydwen, 'Review Essay: A Confucian Understanding of the Kyoto School's Wartime Philosophy', *Comparative & Continental Philosophy* Vol. 7 No. 1 (2015): 72-73.

cultural realms and histories that together constitute historical reality as all constituting unique, individual symbols of 'absolute nothingness'.[53/iii] This is the all-enveloping topos or universal of Nishida's logic of place that served as the 'major premise' for Kōsaka's philosophical speculations on history.[54/iv]

This perspective allows the Orientalist to accommodate both 'our liberalism *and* their illiberalism' in his or her investigations. This is vital because it is the vast geographical expanse traditionally designated the Orient which is the birthplace 'of our most ancient civilisations, religions and sciences'. Consequently, the liberal moralist's rejection of political 'despotism', the form of governance that has prevailed throughout much of the respective histories of Oriental peoples, comes close to being a Western rejection of what it has actually meant to be human, politically speaking, for the larger part of humanity both past and present 'in virtue of this region's scale, legacy and achievements'.[55] Kōsaka writes that as a historical existence, humankind necessarily 'holds its essence within its own history'.[56/v] For this reason, he believed that 'it is not possible to grasp the true spirit of Japan if the past achievements of the Japanese people are not taken into account'.[57/vi] In a similar way, the Orientalist argues that it is impossible to comprehend the collective behaviour of East Asian peoples if their historical, cultural and political achievements are dismissed out of hand as morally inferior or irrelevant to a modern understanding of Asian societies.

The Confucian tradition has been one of the most influential factors in determining the social behaviour and political outlook of China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam. Ames and Henry Rosemont, Jr.

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[53] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 353; Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 166.
[54] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 90.
[55] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 89; 5-6.
[56] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki Sekai*, 3.
[57] Kōsaka, 'Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku', 54.

observe that all Sinitic cultures have 'evolved around ways of living and thinking derived in a significant measure from [the] ideas [of Confucius] as set down by his disciples and others after his death'. Ideas that they believe are 'by no means irrelevant to contemporary social, political, moral, and religious concerns'.[58] Sakai dismisses out of hand the importance of East Asian influences upon the Kyoto School's speculations. He believes that even if East Asian concepts were employed by the movement, they would have been altered beyond recognition once adapted to the universal premises and methods of the Western discipline of philosophy.[59] Certainly, the Kyoto School's thought was not a simple regurgitation of Oriental ideas.[60] That being said, Sakai all but ignores the Kyoto School thinkers' engagement with the classical texts of the East Asian intellectual tradition, the notable similarities between many of the group's core ideas and those expressed in Confucianism, and their conscious decision to focus on those Western thinkers who they identified as more conducive to the cultural inheritance of Japan.[61] As Williams explains, there 'could be no simple surrender to Europe's manifest superiority', even if this did not mean 'the power of European civilization [could] be ignored'.[62]

Sakai's insistence on identifying philosophical universalism exclusively with Western modernity also fails to take into account the universal significance that Confucianism has had both intellectually and culturally for the Sinitic peoples of East Asia.[63] As Ames and Rosemont point out, Confucius is arguably the most influential philosopher in history if the measure of such influence is understood in terms of the 'sheer number of people who have lived their lives, and

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[58] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 1-2.
[59] Sakai, 'Resistance to Conclusion', 189.
[60] Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness*.
[61] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy'; Saures, *The Kyoto School's Takeover of Hegel*, xi.
[62] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 17.
[63] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 26.

died, in accordance with the thinker's vision of how people should live and die'.[64] If it is accepted that Confucianism was indeed an important influence on the political values that were held by the members of the Kyoto School, be it through a direct intellectual engagement with the Confucian tradition or from the indirect influence of the cultural norms of Japan as a Confucian society, it will be necessary to examine the underlying premises that inform a Confucian understanding of the political.

[64] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 1.

Chapter 1 Japanese Citations

[i] どのような認識も認識である限り、何か普遍的なものに関係づけられなければならない。そうでなければそれは瞬間瞬間の印象に止って、判断とはならず、認識とはならず、云わんや学問とはならない

[ii] 世界の世界

[iii] 絶対無

[iv] 大前提

[v] 歴史的動物として自己の本質を自己の歴史の内に於て有つ人間存在

[vi] 真の日本精神は、我が民族が過去に於て何を成就したかを具体的に知らずしては、捕え得ないであろう

Chapter 2: The Intellectual and Cultural Significance of Confucianism for Kōsaka

Post-War scholarship on the philosophy of the Kyoto School has predominantly focused on the group's religious speculations. In particular, the movement is strongly associated with the ideas of Japanese Zen and Pure Land Buddhism.[1] For instance, Robert Wargo suggests that it is hardly surprising that the concept of nothingness was so important for Nishida considering the fact that 'it was essentially his Zen experience that laid the foundations for his philosophy'.[2] Such observations help us to appreciate the extent of the Kyoto School's debt to indigenous East Asian sources for the formulation of many of the group's key philosophical concepts. In the case of the wartime Kyoto School, however, Williams argues that it is the 'hereto neglected' importance of Confucianism that reveals the 'authentic structure' of the movement's political thought.[3] Although Williams primarily focuses on the cultural influence of Confucianism in relation to the 'logic and conventions' of regime change across the Sinitic cultures of East Asia, this study will assume that the Confucian canon was itself an important intellectual resource for Kōsaka's development of the philosophy of history.[4] While the Kyoto School is typically portrayed as a group of religious thinkers, Kōsaka was primarily concerned with the problems of history and politics. Although Buddhism was no doubt an important influence on many of the concepts that he appropriated from his mentors Nishida and Tanabe, it is perhaps the politically orientated ideas of Confucianism that were more influential for his philosophy.

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[1] Davis, 'The Kyoto School'.
[2] Robert J.J. Wargo, *The Logic of Nothingness: A Study of Nishida Kitarō* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 69.
[3] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxii.
[4] Williams, *Japanese Wartime* Resistance, 96; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 60.

Many Western scholars typically assess the political writings of the wartime Kyoto School from a liberal moral standpoint. Whatever the moral justifications for such an approach, the Kyoto School was not a liberal movement. As a result, these appraisals have hindered objective research on the group's political thought, since the liberal principles adopted are brought *a priori* to the empirical record of wartime Japan as a Confucian culture. Consequently, these studies inevitably teach us more about the political ideals of Western researchers than the political values that actually mattered to the Kyoto School.[5] It is for this reason that Williams insists that East Asian schemas of interpretation are necessary if we are to comprehend the political philosophy of the Kyoto School on its own terms.[6] The Confucian intellectual tradition would seem a suitable candidate for reassessing the wartime Kyoto School from an East Asian perspective as it represents an impressive political alternative to Western liberalism. As Goto-Jones points out, it is Confucianism that provided the 'conceptual context' for the main political documents of the modern era in Japan, including the 'Meiji Constitution' and the 'Imperial Rescript on Education'. In turn, these texts established the 'dominant linguistic and ideological conventions' of the political state within which the Kyoto School philosophers theorised. He concludes that there is therefore 'a strong case for taking Confucianism seriously as part of the context of the political philosophy of … the Kyoto School'.[7]

It is, however, difficult to discern a direct Confucian influence on the Kyoto School's speculations due to the lack of supporting textual evidence in the majority of the movement's works. Kōsaka is no exception in this regard as he rarely cites directly from Confucian sources. This problem is further complicated by the fact that the

[5] See Appendix for an explanation of the moral biases often inherent within liberal scholarship on the Kyoto School.
[6] Williams, Japanese Wartime Resistance, 37.
[7] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 25-46.

majority of the references to the Confucian tradition during the *Chūō Kōron* symposia, including remarks made by Kōsaka, were of a critical nature.[8] Despite the issues that arise from the lack of explicit textual evidence for such an influence, I believe that discerning the importance of Confucianism for the political philosophy of the Kyoto School is not wholly dependent on the evidence of direct citations or quotations. It is of course necessary to 'be philologically aware' when attempting to demonstrate the significance of the East Asian intellectual traditions for the Kyoto School's thought.[9] Consequently, this study will later present a comparison of Kōsaka's philosophical writings with the major texts of the Confucian tradition based on the assumption that he was sufficiently familiar with the key ideas of the tradition as part of a generation educated in the 'Four Books and Five Classics' of Confucianism.[10/i] This fact notwithstanding, if it is accepted that Confucianism has, in the words of Robert Bellah, 'for many centuries seeped into the consciousness and customs of the Japanese people', then a lack of direct textual evidence may not in itself discount the significance of the Confucian tradition for interpreting the political thought of the wartime Kyoto School.[11]

Although sceptical of a Confucian influence, Matteo Cestari does believe that Buddhism was an important factor in Nishida's speculations considering his practice of Zen meditation in the years leading up to his publication of *An Inquiry into the Good*. However, because there is a 'striking imbalance' between the small number of citations from Buddhist sources in comparison to those from the Western canon, Cestari calls for a shift 'from philology to hermeneutics'

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[8] Kōsaka, *et al.,* 'The First Symposium', 125-127; 158; Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The Third Symposium: The Philosophy of World Historical Wars', trans. by David Williams, in *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 303.
[9] Matteo Cestari, 'Between Emptiness and Absolute Nothingness – Reflections on Negation in Nishida and Buddhism', *Essays in Japanese Philosophy* Vol. 7 (2010): 329.
[10] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 309.
[11] Robert Bellah, quoted in Williams, 'In response to Thomas Rhydwen', 81.

when engaging with Nishida's texts. This is because the context within which a work was composed has to be taken into account for undertaking its textual exegesis, especially when the work concerned was written within a culture that is as different from our own as that of Japan. Consequently, Cestari argues that a Japanese philosophical text cannot simply be read, but must 'be interpreted' since an insight into the 'cultural environment and the personal life' of its author may be essential for the proper comprehension of its content.[12] If Confucianism is as deeply embedded into the 'consciousness and customs' of the Japanese nation as Bellah suggests, then it is reasonable to surmise that the Confucian tradition was also a significant part of the 'cultural environment' within which the Kyoto School philosophers formulated their ideas. It is for this reason that Williams insists that 'the participants in the *Chūō Kōron* discussions never broke free' of the overarching 'Confucian moral framework' of Japanese society, whatever their personal criticisms of certain aspects of the tradition.[13] Cestari concedes that 'hermeneutic form may not be as persuasive as direct textual evidence'.[14] Nevertheless, it is likely that Kōsaka would be sympathetic to such an approach considering his own employment of the hermeneutic methodologies of Wilhelm Dilthey and Martin Heidegger.[15]

While Kōsaka rarely made references to Confucianism in his individual works, his son notes that for the intellectuals of his father's day 'the Four Books and Five Classics [of Confucianism] were regarded as the foundation of a person's education'.[16/ii] Parkes too highlights the fact that 'the Kyoto School philosophers were one of the last generations to be raised on the classics of Confucian, Daoist and

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[12] Cestari, 'Between Emptiness and Absolute Nothingness', 330.
[13] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 39.
[14] Cestari, 'Between Emptiness and Absolute Nothingness', 330.
[15] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka* Masaaki, 33; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 381.
[16] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 309.

Buddhist philosophy – after which they went on to study Western thought'.[17] It is therefore reasonable to assume that Kōsaka was familiar with the main texts of the Confucian tradition, including the *Analects,* the *Mencius*, the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*. As a result, Setsuzō Kōsaka believes that it was perhaps only natural that his father would be personally fond of Confucius.[iii] For example, he recalls a time when his father taught him the following saying from the *Analects*:[iv]

> The Master said, "If at dawn you learn of and tread the Way, you can face death at dusk" (4.8).[18]

This was also the subject of a calligraphy that Nishida presented to Kōsaka as a gift. Setsuzō Kōsaka goes on to state that in the context of this saying he is better able to appreciate the significance of a letter Nishida sent to his father at around the time of his publication of the *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* in 1943.[19]

This was a period when the Kyoto School were coming under increasing pressure from the authorities for what was deemed to be the anti-Japanese nature of the standpoint of world history, the principal theme of the *Chūō Kōron* symposia.[20] For example, the 'special higher police' were frequently seen in the vicinity of Kōsaka's house in Kyoto[v] and he was personally warned by a government official that he and his

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[17] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 161.
[18] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*; *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation*, trans. by Roger T. Ames and Henry Rosemont, Jr. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1998).
[19] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 310; Masaaki Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō* [Nishida Kitarō and Watsuji Tetsurō] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1964), 182.
[20] Tsutomu Horio, 'The *Chūōkōron* Discussions, Their Background and Meaning', trans. by Thomas Kirchner, in *Rude Awakenings, Zen, the Kyoto School, & the Question of Nationalism*, eds. James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 291.

associates were 'standing on the brink'.[21/vi] Considering the tragic deaths of the Kyoto School philosophers Kiyoshi Miki and Jun Tosaka in prison, the threat of incarceration could not be taken lightly. Despite this, Kōsaka was determined to continue publishing his ideas on history and the responsibilities of the Japanese people as the leading nation of East Asia. He was therefore greatly moved by the strong words of encouragement he received from Nishida in the spirit of the scholarly tradition of Confucianism:

> You should continue to publish academic books. There is nothing to fear in doing this in an open and dignified manner as this is the true way that one serves their country as an academic, even if you meet the fate of Galileo or [Giordano] Bruno.[22/vii]

Setsuzō Kōsaka concludes that his father and Confucius were connected through Nishida. He continues that 'I feel that this [tradition] is now being narrated to me as well. It is perhaps in this way that our cultural inheritance is passed on'.[23/viii]

Kōsaka himself also discusses the importance of Confucianism for his mentor. For example, many of Nishida's calligraphies were of phrases from the Confucian canon rather than the Daoist sayings of the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* as would perhaps be expected:

> The Master said, "Zeng my friend! My way is *bound together with one continuous strand"* (*Analects* 4.14).[ix]

Furthermore, when his philosophy came under attack for its 'anti-Japanese'[x] and 'anti-war' orientation,[xi] Nishida expressed his dismay

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[21] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 162; Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō* ,182.
[22] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 235; See also Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 172.
[23] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 310.

at the situation through references to the sayings of Confucius in his personal writings and letters:

> If Heaven is not going to destroy this culture, what can the people of Kuang do to me! (*Analects* 9.5)[xii]
>
> The Combined Armies can be deprived of their commander, but *common peasants cannot be deprived of their purposes* (*Analects* 9.26).[xiii]

Kōsaka concludes that the philosophy of 'the *Analects* may have been more deeply rooted in Nishida's [thought] than is normally appreciated'.[24/xiv]

Nishida was born in 1870 in the village of Unoke in Ishikawa prefecture, an area where the influence of Edo culture remained especially strong. He later moved to Kanazawa, a town that had multiple private institutions specialising in literary Chinese.[25] His grandfather, who was knowledgeable of the Chinese literary tradition, was also an influential figure on Nishida during his formative years. For example, it was from his grandfather that he inherited many of the classical Chinese texts in his private collection, some 886 volumes. A total that is more numerous than his entire collection of Japanese works (561 volumes).[26] Nishida went on to receive formal tuition in literary Chinese from Takeatsu Iguchi, a talented student of the Confucian scholar Sokken Yasui, and Iguchi's own pupil Shinken Miyake while at high school in Kanazawa. Miyake would continue to look out for Nishida as he got older, helping him to secure a teaching position at a school in Hiroshima. Kōsaka concludes that Nishida was

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[24] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 16-17.
[25] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 78-79.
[26] Dalissier, 'Footnote 4', in 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy', 213.

born during a period in Japan when 'an atmosphere of Chinese learning still persisted, which he was continuously breathing in as he was growing up'.[xv] As a consequence, he was able to 'absorb and master the world of the Chinese classics almost unconsciously' during his youth.[27/xvi] This is supported by the assessment of the Sinologist and historian Naoki Karino, who believed that the main difference between Nishida and other Japanese philosophers was the strength of his knowledge of the Chinese classics.[28/xvii]

Such factors have to be taken into consideration in order to fully appreciate the significance of Michel Dalissier's investigations on the importance of the Chinese intellectual tradition, including Confucianism, for the development of Nishida's philosophy. For example, Dalissier highlights the epistemic similarities that are to be found in Nishida's conception of 'pure experience' and the interrelatedness of all things as discussed in the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*. This is significant because Kōsaka identifies the foundations for Nishida's later conception of action-intuition, a key aspect of how he himself conceived historical creation, within the philosophy of pure experience. This suggests the real possibility of an indirect Confucian influence on Kōsaka's thought through his appropriation of the philosophy of Nishida, who was also familiar with the works of Mencius, Xunzi and Wang Yang-Ming.[29] While acknowledging the 'precise connections' that Dalissier draws 'between Nishida's philosophy and classical Chinese thought', Cestari is sceptical about directly correlating Nishida's ideas 'to counterparts in Chinese philosophies'. He argues that 'all we can show is that [Nishida] was a man of his times, with a refined education that included …

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[27] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 76-80.
[28] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō,* 16-17.
[29] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy'; Michel Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy: Debt and Distance', *Japan Review* No.22 (2010): 137-170; Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 39.

knowledge of Chinese classics'.[30] Nonetheless, it is clear from his diaries that Nishida set aside much of his personal time for the study of the Chinese classics in the years leading up to his first publication, including the Four Books of Confucianism.[31] This is supported by the fact that there are detailed annotations in a writing style that may be attributed to Nishida in a number of the Confucian works in his private library, including the *Analects* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*.[32]

Considering the 'importance of *indirect* citation in the Japanese literary tradition', this study assumes that there are also tangible intellectual links between Kōsaka's philosophy of history and Confucianism.[33] Significantly, Kōsaka demonstrates on a number of occasions his familiarity with and respect for the ideals of Confucianism, even if his comments during the *Chūō Kōron* symposia were of a somewhat critical nature. For example, he emphasises the significance of Tetsurō Watsuji's references to Confucianism during a lecture to the Naval War College in 1943.[34] The topic of this lecture was the concept of *shindō* (臣道) or the way of the samurai retainer. Watsuji begins his presentation by stating that although the willingness of the modern (naval) soldier to offer his life in service to the emperor is admirable, this standpoint is overly concerned with the self or the inflated importance that is attributed to 'my' self-sacrifice. However, the issue of whether one lives or dies is not as important as the public duty that one should perform in service to the emperor as the symbol of national unity. In this sense, the self-sacrifice of the modern soldier has yet to truly overcome the standpoint of 'I'. Watsuji distinguishes this from the 'standpoint transcending life and death' that was honoured in the past. Although he refers to the importance of

[30] Cestari, 'Between Emptiness and Absolute Nothingness', 329-330.
[31] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 29; 42.
[32] Dalissier, 'Footnote 4', in 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy', 212-213.
[33] Cestari, 'Between Emptiness and Absolute Nothingness', 331
[34] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 238.

Zen Buddhism and, more importantly, the ancient ideal of *sonnō no michi* (尊皇の道/The way of revering the emperor), Confucianism embodied the ethical moment of this standpoint in terms of nurturing the sincerity of intentions that was necessary to fulfil one's social duties in a manner that overcome egocentrism.[35]

In order to appreciate the significance of Watsuji's criticisms of the manner in which *bushidō* (武士道/The way of the warrior) or *shindō* had been manipulated in the modern era in order to serve the agenda of the Army, Kōsaka focuses on two aspects of Watsuji's lecture. Firstly, he believes it is important to recognise the fact that Watsuji presented his arguments to the Navy as a historical study. He therefore made an important distinction between the historical ideal of *shindō*, grounded in a standpoint that transcended life and death, and its interpretation in the present, which had failed to overcome the standpoint of the self. Secondly, Kōsaka emphasises Watsuji's discussions of the Confucian dimension of *bushidō* in the Edo period. The way of the warrior was not simply the glorification of a samurai's self-sacrifice in the name of his lord, although a samurai's willingness to sacrifice his life was no doubt highly esteemed. Rather, the true meaning of *bushidō* lay in the selfless fulfilment of one's duties. In the context of Confucianism, these duties were understood in terms of Sokō Yamaga's portrayal of *bushidō* as *shidō* (士道), the way of the Confucian gentleman or the exemplary person (君子). For Kōsaka, this is significant because 'the way of the scholar-official or gentleman was to be found in the realisation of the Way'.[xviii] In this sense, the ideal of *bushidō* was not simply perceived in terms of carrying out the class-based duties of a retainer to his lord, as suggested by Goto-Jones, but in terms of the moral responsibilities that were held by a retainer as a leading member of the wider ethical

[35] Tetsurō Watsuji, 'Nihon no shindō [Japan's Way of the Retainer]', *Watsuji Tetsurō zenshū dai jūyon kan* [The Complete Works of Tetsurō Watsuji: Volume 14] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962), 297-312.

community.[36] It is therefore not inconsequential that Watsuji himself identified the Confucian Way primarily with the ideal of *ren* (仁), variously translated as benevolence, humaneness, reciprocity or authoritative conduct, in his own work on Confucius.[37] An important aspect of the realisation of *ren* within a community is the fulfilment of one's responsibilities in accordance with the cultural conventions, standards and expectations that define a person's position within society. To do this in a sincere manner for the benefit of society rather than for personal gain is something that Watsuji describes as far more difficult than an egotistically driven willingness to die.[xix] In regard to acts that are overly courageous or bold, the Master says that the petty man would become 'a thief' (*Analects* 17.23). Watsuji goes on to condemn attitudes that only allow the public expression of ideas supporting the ruling elite's ideology, preventing people from speaking frankly and forcing one's way of thinking onto others in the name of 'selfless devotion'.[38/xx] These were all egotistical acts, and as emphasised by Kōsaka, these were all acts committed by the Army centred on the government of Hideki Tōjō.[39]

Kōsaka himself employed similar Confucian arguments on leadership during the first meeting of the Book Recommendation Committee of the Publishing Cultural Association in February 1941. This committee was held for determining the allotment of printing paper, the withholding of which would increasingly be used as a form of censorship.[40] Indeed, this method was later employed to halt

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[36] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 239; Christopher Goto-Jones, 'The Way of Revering the Emperor: Imperial Philosophy and *Bushidō* in Modern Japan', *The Emperors of Modern Japan (Handbook of Oriental Studies)*, ed. by Ben-Ami Shillony (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008): 23-52.
[37] Tetsurō Watsuji, 'Kōshi [*Confucius*]', *Watsuji Tetsurō zenshū dai roku kan* [The Complete Works of Tetsurō Watsuji: Volume 6] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962), 312-313.
[38] Watsuji, 'Nihon no shindō', 311.
[39] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō,* 239-240.
[40] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 103-105.

publication of the book version of the *Chūō Kōron* symposia.[41] During the review of a work by the future education minister and Kyoto School philosopher Teiyū Amano, which had been recommended to the committee by Kōsaka, Major Abe of the Army News Service strongly criticised Amano's Kantianism by insisting that the only 'categorical imperative' that should matter to the Japanese people is the imperial decree of the emperor.[xxi] Kōsaka, however, referred to the universalism attributed to the Confucian Way of filial piety, sincere relations and social harmony in the Imperial Rescript of Education. This suggested that even the Meiji emperor himself recognised that his political authority was subordinate to the moral teachings of Japan's Confucian heritage. What is more, in a manner consistent with a Confucian understanding of good leadership, the emperor goes on to state that he will offer the example of his own attempts to put these Confucian values into practice.[42/xxii] Perhaps of most significance in the context of this study, however, are the explicit references Kōsaka makes to the East Asian intellectual tradition in the short essay he appended to his magnum opus *The Historical World* (1937), 'The Hermeneutic Structure of Roads'. Specifically, he directly associates his analysis of the meaning of roads within the historical world with the East Asian philosophies of the Way. Considering that this essay was written with the express intention that it could be included in either his chapter on 'The Historical Substratum' or 'The Historical World', this raises the real possibility of a Confucian influence upon his conception of the 'logos of nature' and the self-expressiveness of the historical world.[43]

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[41] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, l-li.
[42] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 103-104; Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 182-183; 'Kyōiku chokugo: iyaku (kōgotai) [Imperial Rescript on Education – Interpretative Rendering (Modern speech)', *Kyōiku chokugo* [*Imperial Rescript on Education*] (Tokyo: Meiji Jingū Shamushō, 2014).
[43] Masaaki Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō [The Hermeneutical Structure of Roads]', in *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 367-380.

For Williams, however, Confucianism is more than just a 'moral doctrine' or 'canon of texts'. Rather, it is a 'mode of action' that has defined 'patterns of political behaviour' across the Sinitic cultures of China, Korea, Vietnam and Japan for over a millennium.[44] In particular, he proposes the unique thesis of 'Confucian Revolution' for interpreting the political philosophy of the wartime Kyoto School as presented in the *Chūō Kōron* discussions. This is based on the Confucian notions of *tenkō* (転向), a 'change of direction or orientation', *toku* (徳), a concept of 'morality … and political effectiveness' which I translate as 'virtue' both due to its moral implications and its alternative meaning as an effective force, potency or power, and *tenmei* (天命), or the ideal of the 'Mandate of Heaven'.[45] Williams believes that together these three concepts provide a compelling interpretative framework for assessing the manner in which Confucian societies have historically undertaken regime change while securing the moral consensus of the population. In turn, he believes that it is against the backdrop of what he designates the 'Post-Meiji Confucian Revolution' that the factional struggles of Shōwa Japan need to be comprehended. This includes the political activities that resulted from the Kyoto School's clandestine alliance with the Yonai Peace Faction of the Japanese Navy.[46] For instance, the first of the three *Chūo Koron* symposia was organised through the intervention of the Navy in an attempt to counter Army propaganda and delay the outbreak of war.[47]

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[44] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 73-74; 60.
[45] My translation of *toku* or *de* (徳) as virtue was recommended by Graham Parkes; See also Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, "Glossary of Key Terms', in *Daodejing: "Making This Life Significant" – A Philosophical Translation*, trans. by Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003), 60-61.
[46] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 19; 23-25; xxii.
[47] Yasumasa Ōshima, 'Daitōa sensō to Kyoto gakuha – chishikijin no seiji sanka nitsuite' [The Greater East Asian War and the Kyoto School – The Political Involvement of Intellectuals], *Chūō Kōron* 80 (1965): 125-143; Yasumasa Ōshima, *et al.*, 'Zadankai: Daitōa sensō to Nihon no chishikijintachi nitsuite – Kyoto gakuha・Watsuji Tetsurō' [Symposium: The Greater East Asian War and Japanese Intellectuals – The Kyoto School and Tetsurō Watsuji], *Kokoro* Vol. 18 No. 10 (1965): 17-37.

Chapter 2 Japanese Citations

[i] 四書五経

[ii] 当時の知識人は総じて四書五経が人間教育の基礎であった

[iii] 父は孔子が好きだった

[iv] 子曰く、朝に道を開けば、夕べに死すとも可なり

[v] 京都下鴨泉川町の家の周りを特高警察が徘徊し

[vi] 今、あなた方はぎりぎりの線に立っているのです

[vii] 学術書はどんどん出すがよい。正々堂々何の恐れる所はない。これが学者として真に国家に尽す所以である。たとえガリレーやブルノーの運命に陥るとも

[viii] 孔子と父は西田先生を通じて繋がっていたのではなかろうか。そしていまそれらが同時に私に語りかけてくるような気もする。文化の継承はこんなかたちでもなされるのかもしれない

[ix] 一以貫之

[x] 非日本的

[xi] 反戦的

[xii] 天之未喪斯文也匡人其如予何

[xiii] 匹夫不可奪志也

[xiv] 論語は案外深く先生の中に根を下ろしている

[xv] 西田先生はまだ漢学の空気が生き残っている時代に、その空気を吸いながらおおきくなったのである

[xvi] 西田先生の場合には、支那の古典の世界が不知不識の間に、いわば呼吸され、身についてきている

[xvii] 西田先生が我国普通の哲学者と違っているところは漢籍の力が非常にあったことかと思う

[xviii] そして「士」、すなわち士大夫、君子の道は、道を実現することにありとした

[xix] 清明心に徹底いたしまするこことは死の覚悟よりむずかしいのであります

[xx] 滅私奉公

[xxi] 至上命法

[xxii] そこで、私自身も、国民の皆さんと一緒に、これらの教えを一生大事に守って高い徳性を保ち続けるため、ここで皆さんに「まず、自分でやってみます」と明言することにより、その実践に努めて手本を示したいと思います

Part Two – The Confucian Beginnings of the Philosophy of History

I present a direct comparison of Kōsaka's philosophy of history with the major texts of the Confucian canon in Chapter 9. However, because of the lack of relevant citations it is not possible to verify all of the comparisons made. Nevertheless, even if a direct intellectual link between Kōsaka's political philosophy and Confucianism cannot be substantiated by the textual evidence alone, it should not come as a surprise that there are a large number of commonalities considering the shared ontological foundations of these two schools of thought. This is only to be expected since the Kyoto School developed their ideas within the cultural milieu of a Confucian society. As Williams argues, Confucianism is the 'very air the East Asian breathes, and the Kyoto [thinkers are] unmistakably … East Asian' in their approach to political thought.[1] In this section I examine the relational ontology that characterises the East Asian intellectual tradition and the related premise of change. I then go on to analyse the consequences of Confucian Revolution for social behaviour in Japan as a Confucian culture, an important example of the political implications of the relational worldview that characterises the tradition.

[1] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 32 & 37.

Chapter 3 – The Confucian Worldview of Kōsaka's Philosophy

3a: Relational Ontology

In his study on the 'definite internationalism' of the Kyoto School, Parkes highlights the need to distinguish between the substance ontology that has been prevalent throughout much of the history of Western thought and the 'thoroughgoing *relational* ontology' that is shared in common by the Buddhist, Daoist and Confucian traditions.[1] Wesley J. Wildman defines relational ontology as the 'basic contention … that the relations between entities are ontologically more fundamental than the entities themselves'. In contrast, a substance ontology regards entities as 'ontologically primary and relations ontologically derivative'.[2] Parkes explains that in the West the world has generally been viewed as an 'aggregate of substantial things'. This has led to the human 'self' being conceived in terms of a 'mental substance' that is 'independently subsistent', as is typified by the 'thinking thing' postulated by Descartes.[3] This is reinforced by the strong sense of causal agency that is implied in the verb-noun distinction that is so central to Indo-European languages, as well as the notion of substantial things that is conveyed through the frequent use of countable nouns.[4]

In East Asian philosophies, however, the world is typically perceived as a 'field of processes in dynamic interaction'. This perspective stresses the '*inter* of the relations rather than the end-points of the *relata*'. As a result, the self is thought to be 'empty of any inherent 'nature" and is therefore defined in terms of its relational

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[1] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 162.
[2] Wesley J. Wildman, 'An Introduction to Relational Ontology', in *The Trinity and an Entangled World: Relationality in Physical Science and Theology*, ed. by John Polkinghorne (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 55-73.
Available at: http://www.wesleywildman.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/docs/2010-Wildman-Introduction-to-Relational-Ontology-final-author-version-Polkinghorne-ed.pdf
[3] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 162.
[4] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 21-22; Bo Mou, 'The Structure of Chinese Language and Ontological Insights: A Collective-Noun Hypothesis', *Philosophy East and West*, 49/1 (1999): 45.

character.[5] In the Japanese language, this is reinforced by the use of intransitive verbs and the frequent omission of the subject noun from sentences.[6] Consequently, within East Asian philosophies, there is no postulation of self-subsistent entities or agencies capable of existing separately from the dynamic matrix of relations that makes up the world, be it God, the immortal soul or the moral self.[7] For example, the notion of Heaven in the Confucian tradition does not refer to a divine entity, but rather a power that transcends humankind because it is the location or 'place' within which human society itself resides.[8] This is exemplified by the *qi* (気/*ki*) cosmology of the Chinese tradition, which perceived the world in terms of a field of interacting energies. The accumulation and dispersion of these energies were in turn thought to account for the diversity of phenomena found throughout the great expanse of Heaven and Earth.[9] Both Mencius and Xunzi take up aspects of this cosmology into their philosophies.[10]

The notion of the interrelatedness of all things has led to the development of a unique conception of the political within Confucianism. Parkes explains that whereas in the West most political theories have been based on the idea that 'social groups are formed by autonomous individuals bringing themselves into association under some kind of social contract', in the East-Asian tradition it is the social relations themselves that are considered primary. As a result, the basic ontological unit is not the individual but the family, a 'paradigm of

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[5] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 162.
[6] Tomoyuki Oka, 'Nihongo no ronri saikō: basho no ronri to keishiki rori [A Reconsideration of the Logic of the Japanese Langauge: The Logic of Place and Formal Logic]', *Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku kiyou, sōgōkyōiku kagakukei*, 62/2 (2011): 365-373; See also Bernard Stevens, 'The Transcendental Path', in *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy 6: Confluences and Cross Currents*, 56.
[7] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 27.
[8] Watsuji, 'Kōshi', 341-342.
[9] Graham Parkes, 'Winds, Waters and Earth Energies: *Fengshui* and Sense of Place', in *Nature Across Cultures: Views of Nature and the Environment in Non-Western Countries*, ed. H. Selin (Kulwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 191.
[10] See also Zhu Xi's commentary to the *Doctrine of the Mean* in *Daxue & Zhongyong – Bilingual Edition,* trans. by Ian Johnston and Wang Ping (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2012), 409-411.

human beings in relation with each other'.[11] For instance, the root of the key Confucian concept of *ren* (仁) or benevolent conduct was identified in the filial and fraternal relationships of the family, which are among the earliest and most important connections a person establishes in his or her life.[12] Ames and Rosemont believe that through the repeated postulation of an 'independent and superordinate principle [that] determines order and value in the world while remaining aloof from it', be it the personality of God or the personality of the moral self, the concepts of 'freedom, autonomy … and individuality' became key concerns in Western political thought.[13] By contrast, the Confucian focus on relations over individuals has led to a conception of politics that 'is meant to speak for co-existence rather than a single existence'. The Confucian tradition has therefore focused on the ideals of benevolence, harmony, obligation and co-operation. The 'minimal and irreducible location' of these values is in turn to be found in the ontological unit of the family.[14]

Kōsaka's analysis of the main characteristics of 'pure experience', the principle concept of Nishida's first publication, demonstrates the fact that a comparable relational ontology was incorporated into the philosophy of the Kyoto School from its very inception. The notion of pure experience has been accused of solipsism and of ignoring the problems of subjectivity. For example, Sho Hayashi and Lange dismiss the concept as a 'naïve account of subjective Idealism through the monism of consciousness'.[15] However, this critique ignores the East Asian orientation of Nishida's assertion that it is not 'that experience

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[11] Parkes, 'The Definite Internationalism of the Kyoto School', 162.
[12] See *Analects* 1.2
[13] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 29-31.
[14] Tingyang Zhao, 'Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven' (Tian-xia, 天下)', *Social Identities*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (January 2006): 32-33.
[15] Sho Hayashi and Elena Lange, 'The Ideology of Identity in the Thought of Nishida Kitarō', *Memoirs of the Faculty of Education and Regional Studies*, Fukui University, Series I Humanities (Philosophy) No. 47 (2007): 23; 26-27; Suares, *The Kyoto School's Takeover of Hegel*, 13.

exists because there is an individual, but that an individual exists because there is experience'.[16] Kōsaka explains that Nishida rejected the idea of 'first positing a self that then experiences' the world, as is typical in the Western tradition. Rather, the truth of experience was to be found in the fact that the experiencing self is also experienced.[i] The unity of pure experience therefore comes before any conception of the self or consciousness, which only emerge upon reflection.[17] In this sense, the self is empty since its identity is dependent upon the experiences it has of the world within which it resides: 'it is the self as it exists in the world, expresses the world and works within the world that is problematized'. It is in this sense that Kōsaka believes Nishida 'may be said to have transcended simple subjectivism and idealism from the very beginning'.[18/ii] Furthermore, Nishida did not conceive the concept of pure experience in terms of passive sensibility, but rather active perception. This is because experience is only possible through the mediation of a living body that is able to interact and affect the world of which it too is a part, such as through the movement of the eyes and hands.[19] In a manner comparable with the holistic tradition of Chinese philosophy, epistemology is therefore 'inseparable' from ontology in the world of pure experience because experience itself is dependent on the 'co-dependency' of the subject and object that is facilitated by the human body.[20] This resonates with the Confucian perspective of 'embodying our experience', which is reinforced by the tradition's focus on somatic practice over theoretical speculation.[21]

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[16] Kitarō Nishida, *An Inquiry into the Good*, trans. by Masao Abe and Christopher Ives (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1990), xxx.
[17] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 58.
[18] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 2.
[19] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 59.
[20] Jana Rošker, 'Epistemology in Chinese Philosophy', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Winter 2015 Edition), accessed on March 9, 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2015/entries/chinese-epistemology/.
[21] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics,* 21; Graham Parkes, 'Awe and Humility in the Face of Things: Somatic Practice in East-Asian Philosophies', *European Journal for Philosophy of Religion*, 4/3 (Autumn 2012): 71-75.

Ames explains that from this perspective 'our entire psychophysical persons are involved in the process of assimilating and transforming the world as it is experienced'.[22]

The totality and unity of pure experience are no less dynamic in character, as shown in Kōsaka's example of experiencing a bird moving from branch to branch. In the Western tradition, the totality of experience has generally been conceived as an 'aggregate' of elements.[iii] The experience of the moving bird is therefore perceived in terms of the separate branches and the bird. The unity of the movement of the bird from one location to another is in turn facilitated through consciousness, for example via the unity that results from apperception. In pure experience, however, what is actually perceived is the entirety of the 'movement' of the bird *from* one branch *to* another.[iv] It is the whole experience of a moving bird and the context within which this movement takes place. This includes the self that perceives the movement. The individual elements of the bird and branches, even the perceiving self, are only attained after the experience is analysed post-event. They are therefore secondary in nature. Because the traditional Western conception of experience focuses primarily on these 'substances',[v] it has neglected the movement that is in fact perceived in experience and expressed in terms of the 'relationship of from … to'.[vi] Kōsaka explains that Kant interpreted such relationships in terms of the categories, which were transcendental and therefore preceded experience. In this sense, Kant's conception of consciousness was substantial because the subjective form of experience, that which facilitates the unity of experience by establishing the causal relationships that exist between individual entities, is believed to be completely separate from the objective contents of the experience itself. This resulted in the re-postulation of the strict dualism between the

[22] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics,* 21.

subject and object that has been so central to Western philosophy. For Nishida, however, it is in fact the 'relationships'[vii] expressed through 'verbs' and 'prepositions' that are of greater importance than the 'substances' represented by 'nouns'.[viii] This is because it is these relationships that capture the dynamism of a lived experience and therefore life itself.[23]

In terms of the political philosophy of Kōsaka, the unity of subject and object translates into the unity and mutual co-dependency of 'I' and 'Thou' within the social world. The ontological significance of this relationship is perhaps best captured by Kōsaka's fellow *Chūō Kōron* participant Iwao Kōyama:

> I and Thou constitute an ontological unity that should not be separated. I without Thou is not I … Because separating one from the other makes both concepts meaningless, I and Thou, though including moments of antagonism, is an ontological unit that should not be examined any further. As the direct state of social existence, [the unity of] I and Thou represents the smallest ontological unit, permitting no further analysis (even if such an analysis were undertaken it would no longer relate to social existence).[24/ix]

Although Kōyama does not specifically use the example of the family, in a manner comparable with Confucianism he identifies the smallest ontological unit as a social group of interdependent persons. Kōsaka also recognises the fundamental sociality of human beings in this way: 'The I is unable to support itself without Thou. In this sense we are

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[23] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 58-62.
[24] Iwao Kōyama, *Bunka-ruikei-gaku no gainen* [*The Concepts of Cultural Typology*] (Nagano: Shinanokyōikukai, 1933), 3-4.

essentially social existences'.[25/x] This results in an interpretation of the political world that is remarkably similar to Confucianism. For example, the Chinese character for benevolent conduct (仁/*ren*) literally means the 'best relationship 'of-two-persons".[26] Ames and Rosemont explain that the concept of *ren* 'underscores the Confucian assumption that one cannot become a person by oneself – we are … irreducibly social'.[27] An important aspect of *ren* is the fulfilment of the responsibilities that accompany the relationships that define us as people in the wider ethical community. A similar conception of moral responsibility is identifiable in Kōsaka's political philosophy as well, thanks to the ontological importance he assigns to the interdependence of 'I and Thou'. It should be noted that during the *Chūō Kōron* discussions both Kōyama and Kōsaka openly discuss the relationships that transpire within a family between a parent and child and between a husband and wife. Kōyama in particular describes the family as the 'most fundamental model in all human ethics' and believes it can form the basis for developing the new moral principles that would be required for the success of the Co-Prosperity Sphere.[28]

However, relational ontology is not only concerned with the horizontal relationships that exist between individuals, but also with the vertical relationships that exist between a particular person and the various social groups to which he or she belongs, such as the family, the local community and the state, as well as the world as a whole.[29] This relationship is also strongly implied in Nishida's discussions on

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[25] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki Sekai*, 46.
[26] Zhao, 'Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept', 35.
[27] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 48.
[28] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The Second Symposium', 237-252; Although his conception of the family is very different to that of Confucianism, it is worth noting the ethical importance that Hegel also attributes to the family as the immediate phase of objective spirit – Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 110-122.
[29] Based on Nishida's logic of place, I interpret the family, the local community and the state in terms of an ever widening topos of social existence that envelops all lower 'places' within it. Because each place represents nothingness for the subject therein, I believe it is beneficial to distinguish between the 'horizontal' relationships within a particular topos and the 'vertical' relationships that exist between different places. See pages 67-68 below.

the unity of subject and object in the context of pure experience, a theme that remained an important philosophical concern throughout his career. Dalissier indicates that a similar conception of the unity of consciousness and reality is discernible in the Confucian tradition as well, as exemplified in the opening passages of the *Great Learning*.[30] Specifically, this text describes the deep interconnectedness of all things from the heart-mind of the individual to the great expanse of All-Under-Heaven. This is said to have allowed the sage kings of the past to bring tranquillity to the world through the careful 'investigation of things' (格物/*gewu*) within their innermost self, ensuring the sincerity of their intentions and the rectification of their hearts.[31]

The 'investigation of things' refers to a fundamental comprehension of the 'Pattern' that underlies reality.[32] Andrew Plaks describes this as 'understanding the place and meaning of all things in the world' or the 'inalienable 'interrelatedness' of self and other in the … centre of inner selfhood'.[33] This generally follows the interpretation of the *Great Learning* that is presented by the Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Yang-Ming, who is described by Goto-Jones as one of Nishida's preferred Confucian scholars.[34] Specifically, Wang Yang-Ming argued that all people have an innate knowledge of the 'Principle of Nature', which they share in unity with all other things.[35] In this sense, there is no strict distinction between the internal (subject) and external (object)

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[30] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy', 214.
[31] *Daxue & Zhongyong*, 135; See also Ian Johnston and Wang Ping, 'Introduction: The Daxue', in *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 22-24.
[32] Bryan Van Norden, 'Wang Yangming', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2014 Edition), accessed March 9, 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/wang-yangming/.
[33] Andrew Plaks, 'Appendix I: Further Discussion of Basic Concepts', in *Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung (The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean)*, trans. Andrew Plaks (London & New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 111.
[34] Goto-Jones, *Political philosophy in Japan*, 39.
[35] *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings by Wang Yang-Ming*, trans. by Wing-tsit Chan (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1963). The *Instructions for Practical Living* will be abbreviated as *IPL* in all references hereafter.

or the individual person and the world as a whole as everything is a part of Nature and is therefore governed by the same Principle or Pattern:

> The mind is the Way, and the Way is Heaven. If one knows the mind, he knows both the Way and Heaven (*IPL* 1:68).

As a consequence, the true meaning of the 'investigation of things' was to be found in inner reflection or 'rectifying' (格/ge) the heart-mind so as to recover one's original nature in alignment with Heaven and Earth:

> The great man regards Heaven, Earth and the myriad things as one body. He regards the world as one family and the country as one person. As to those who make a cleavage between objects and distinguish between the self and other, they are small men.[36]

The concept of pure experience is also based on a similar notion of interrelatedness. Firstly, experience is itself dependent on the unity of subject and object facilitated through the mediation of a living body, which is both a part of the world that is experienced and the means through which perception of this world is possible. Secondly, it is from the unity of subject and object within pure experience that the notions of self and other emerge. They are therefore both dependent upon this unity for their respective identities. Becoming self-aware of this

[36] *Inquiry on the Great Learning* in *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo Confucian Writings by Wang Yang-Ming*, 269-280; See also Zhu Xi's commentary to the *Doctrine of the Mean*: 'The Way … is the virtue of all natures, and in all cases is the mind-heart. There is nothing that does not have it. There is no time that it is not so … Now because Heaven and Earth, the ten thousand things, and myself are all one substance, if my heart-mind is rectified, then the mind-hearts of Heaven and Earth are also rectified; if my *qi* (spirit, vital force) is propitious, then the *qi* of Heaven and Earth is also propitious' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 411.

interrelatedness in turn facilitates the sincerity of intentions, since the sage-king thereby recognises his dependency on the other for his own existence, helping him to overcome 'egocentrism' and rectify his heart-mind.[37] Thanks to the Confucian 'predilection for correlative thinking', which emphasises the correspondences that are discernible between a 'microcosm and macrocosm', the sage-king was in turn able to extend his personal self-cultivation out to the family, the state and eventually to All-Under-Heaven.[38]

Dalissier goes on to highlight the epistemic similarities between the 'unity of man and cosmos' that is taught in the Confucian tradition and Nishida's ethical discussions on 'sincerity' in the context of the unification of consciousness that is attained through the 'mutual forgetting of self and other, and to a merging of subject and object'.[39] In the *Great Learning*, the notion of 'making your intentions *cheng* 誠 (genuine, true, sincere) is to forbid deception in yourself', implying the need to properly recognise and embody one's place in the field of inter-relations.[40] In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, sincerity is further associated with the 'Way of Heaven'; that is the processes and patterns of Nature or the world at large.[41] In Confucianism, these patterns were often interpreted in terms of the interactions of the complementary pairings of Yin and Yang.[42] The person who embodies sincerity is in alignment

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[37] *Daxue & Zhongyong*, 135; Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 72.
[38] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 162; *Daxue and Zhongyong*.
[39] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy', 215 & 220.
[40] *Daxue & Zhongyong*, 153; Dalissier uses the James Legge translation which states that 'What is meant by "making the thoughts sincere" is allowing no self-deception' – *The Great Learning by Confucius*, trans. James Legge (University of Adelaide: ebooks@Adelaide, 2010). Available at https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/confucius/c748g/. A highly suggestive though somewhat problematic rendering is provided by Andrew Plaks: 'What is meant by the words: 'achieving a state of integral wholeness within one's innermost consciousness' is that one must avoid all manner of self-deception' – *Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung (The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean*), 11.
[41] *Daxue & Zhongyong*, 457.
[42] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 287-301; See also Zhu Xi's commentary to the *Doctrine of the Mean:* 'Heaven, through Yin and Yang and the Five Phases, transforms and gives rise to the ten thousand things'; '[T]he ends and beginnings of things are nothing other than what are created by the merging and the dispersing of Yin and Yang' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 409; 437.

with the Way of Heaven because they are able 'to be in the centre … without effort' and 'to attain without thinking'.[43] This is comparable to Nishida's later conception of action-intuition, the seeds of which are also to be found in the philosophy of pure experience.[44] In *An Inquiry into the Good*, the notion of goodness is conceived specifically in terms of the 'satisfaction of a sincere demand' for the unification of consciousness or the merging of subject and object. Dalissier concludes that Nishida's account of personality may therefore 'indicate the fact of choosing the good and thus "realize the celestial part in each human being," as we find expressed in the [*Doctrine of the*] *Mean*'.[45]

Nishida interprets sincerity 'in the sense of the truly deepest demands of spirit as a whole', continuing that these 'true demands' are not artificially created by us but are rather 'facts of nature'.[46] This may be understood in terms of our inherent natural dispositions, the patterns and processes of Nature itself, and our fundamental sociality as part of the wider community. Kōsaka presents an appraisal of pure experience that is remarkably similar to that of Dalissier:

> True goodness is the consummation of the individual or self-realisation. What is more, the realisation of the self is also the

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[43] *Daxue & Zhongyong*, 457; Dalissier uses the Legge translation which states that 'He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought' – *The Doctrine of the Mean – Confucius*, trans. James Legge (University of Adelaide: ebooks@Adelaide, 2014). Available at https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/confucius/c748d/. Plaks writes: "Integral wholeness' means a state of centred balance requiring no striving, complete attainment requiring no mental effort' – *Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung (The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean*), 42; See also *Analects* 6.29.

[44] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 64.

[45] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy', 220-221; Compare Kitarō Nishida, 'Appendix: A Translation of Nishida's "General Summary" from *The System of Self-Consciousness of the Universal*', trans. by Robert Wargo, in *The Logic of Nothingness: A Study of Nishida Kitarō*, 205-206: '[A]s one continues to go deeper in the noetic direction of the self that truly sees (sees while being nothing), as one reaches the historical self, both the noetic self and ideal determination can no longer be seen … a "historical idea" cannot be observed. All that can be seen are the forms, such as a historical period, on the analogy of expressions … History is the acting-self trying to see "ideas" as noetic determinations of the profound life. The real matter of history is not sensation … but the deep flow of our life'.

[46] Nishida, *An Inquiry into the Good*, 144.

> realisation of the life of Nature. It is the actualisation of the Mandate of Heaven (天命/*tenmei*). Nishida's theory of ethics is a theory of energetism, a theory of self-realisation. To seek for or to move toward the good is to know one's true self; to coincide with the true existence of the self is considered the highest good.[xi]

To know one's true self is to overcome egocentrism and realise one's place within the field of relations. It is also to understand the ways of Nature. This is possible because as living beings we are able to know other living beings, including the life of the cosmos or the great expanse of Nature. As Kōsaka explains, 'the life or unifying power of the cosmos is no different from our own life or the unifying power of the self'.[47/xii] Moreover, through comprehending the interactions of Yin and Yang within Nature it is possible to regulate human praxis in alignment with the 'Pattern of Heaven', allowing for effortless action in one's relationship with others and the world.[48/xiii] As a result, the Confucian gentleman is endowed with the power or virtue (徳/*toku* /*de*) to attract and influence others through the 'sympathetic resonance' that is facilitated by our shared *qi* (気) energies.[49] This is why the self-cultivation of the sage-kings could be extended out to All-Under-Heaven.

Taking the influence of Confucianism on Nishida's philosophy seriously sheds light on the reason why the unity of subject and object had such important ethical implications. He therefore interprets freedom not as something that opposes nature, but as something that

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[47] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 67-68; 64.
[48] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 289; To be in alignment with the Principle or Pattern of Heaven is associated with the idea of attaining the centre: 'The Way is the proper expression of heavenly principle; it is being central and nothing more' (Zhu Xi) – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 417; See also *Analects* 6.29.
[49] Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 73-74.

is realised through following our true nature.[50] In other words, goodness is the result of making the most of 'our personal qualities and careers as contextualised members of a specific community'.[51] Dalissier goes on to cite Confucius's own references to the sincerity of intentions during the performance of the rites, the means through which a person coordinates his or her behaviour in line with accepted social customs, as well as the significance of forgetting or subduing the self (克己/*keji*) in regard to their proper execution.[52] This reaffirms the practical implications of sincerity and the inherent emptiness of the self in the Confucian tradition. It also invokes further comparisons with Nishida's later conception of action-intuition and the related idea of 'from the created to the creating', which is also interpreted in terms of the relationship of 'from … to'.

Within the social world, the vertical dimension of relational ontology comes to be interpreted in terms of the logic of place. The foundations of this logic may be traced back to Nishida's early concern for the dynamic relations of experience expressed through verbs and prepositions over the substantiality of the noun. This is because the basis of the logic of place is the form of a simple judgment which is understood in terms of a universal predicate that subsumes or envelopes the substantiality of a particular subject. For example, in the judgment 'red is a colour', red is the particular and colour the universal. Rephrased in spatial terms, colour is the place within which the particular of red is located. It is therefore the context within which red is distinguished from other colours such as blue, thereby determining its identity. In relation to the social world, the interactions that occur between particular things on the same plane of existence, for example between different individuals or between comparable social groups, are

[50] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō,* 67.
[51] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 57.
[52] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy', 220 & 218; See *Analects* 3.4 & 12.1.

also located within a place that constitutes the specific context of these interactions.[53] For instance, the interaction between a parent and a child occurs within the place or context of the family, thereby ensuring the interactions are of a familial nature. Different families in turn interact within the place of the community, different communities within the state and so on. This allows for analogies to be drawn between the respective interactions that take place within higher (macrocosm) and lower (microcosm) planes of social existence, though the specific context of each level determines the nature of these interactions. This is comparable to the teachings of the *Great Learning* and the related methodology of correlative thinking.

Although the principle ontological unit of Kōsaka's philosophy is the unity of I and Thou, his focus on history and politics ensures that he is primarily concerned with the interactions that take place between the various peoples, nations and states that populate the historical world and which he conceived as the true subjects of history. Nevertheless, he understood these interactions in terms of the interdependence of 'I and Thou': – 'Just as there is no I without Thou, there is no state without other states'.[54/xiv] In this sense, he would also seem to adopt a form of correlative thinking in his philosophy, allowing him to draw analogies between the interrelations of individuals and the interrelations of social groups. His focus on the relationships between different groups and the responsibilities that result are in turn consistent with the ideal of benevolence (仁/*ren*) as employed at higher levels of social existence. For example, he argues that other peoples and nations (民族/*minzoku*) must not be treated only as the means to achieving national goals, but in terms of mediation and therefore mutual co-dependency. Moreover, this requires recognition of

[53] Iwao Kōyama, *Nishida tetsugaku* [*Nishida Philosophy*] (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1951), 33-53; Stevens, 'The Transcendental Path', 60.
[54] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 251.

the self-determination and independence of these other peoples, through which the self-determination and independence of the nation to which one belongs is also assured.[55] This is consistent with the interactions that take place between the states participating in the Confucian ideal of All-Under-Heaven and Mencius's discussions on benevolent government. Ames and Rosemont explain that the concept of harmony in the Confucian tradition was understood in terms of cooperative relations that enhance the parties concerned while respecting their 'separate and particular identities'.[56] This remains the case across the various levels of social existence. The result is a very different conception of international relations.

Parkes explains that in the Western tradition the tendency to think in terms of 'autonomous selves' allows for a transition from the idea of a group of self-interested individuals forming associations based on a social contract, to the idea of a group of self-interested nation-states forming similar associations at the international level, as in the case of the League of Nations.[57] Tingyang Zhao interprets this in terms of a Western political system premised on the singular entities of 'individuals, nations and internationals'.[58] By contrast, in Confucianism the expectation is for a 'plurality of nations to behave more as different members of a family'.[59] This is reflected by the reverential designations of 'cousins, brothers, uncles and nephews' that were used to refer to the leaders of the tributary nations of the Chinese Empire.[60] Zhao interprets this as a political system based on the group-like entities of 'families, states and All-Under-Heaven'.[61] While an emphasis on groups does not rule out 'competition and disputes

[55] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no Tetsugaku*, 129-131.
[56] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 56.
[57] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 163.
[58] Zhao, 'Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept', 33.
[59] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 163.
[60] Cho-Yun Hsu, 'Applying Confucian Ethics to International Relations', *Ethics & International Affairs,* Vol. 5 (1991): 151.
[61] Zhao, 'Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept', 33.

between members', it does result in a different understanding of the type of relationships that are thought to obtain between the various states participating in 'All-Under-Heaven'. This is because the focus is on maintaining the harmony of this enlarged family over securing the autonomy of the 'discrete' individual units that have negotiated 'themselves into some sort of trans-social contract'.[62] The Confucian idea of All-Under-Heaven offers an important East Asian precedent for the Kyoto School's speculations on the Co-Prosperity Sphere.[63] For example, Sadami Suzuki believes that the *Chūo Kōron* discussions depicted a 'vision of family' in which Japan acted as the 'father' nation.[64] Though hierarchical in conception, in the Confucian tradition the relationship between a father and his children is the root of benevolent conduct and therefore harmonious interactions in the world.[65] It is for this reason that Kōsaka believed that Japanese regional leadership had the potential to overcome the failings of Western imperialism. On the other hand, the *Chūō Kōron* participants also discussed the importance of the 'existential' relationship that exists in the family between husband and wife, which is based on an emotional bond that is freely chosen. In this sense it is no good simply forcing a hierarchical structure on the members of the Co-Prosperity Sphere as a similar emotional commitment was also needed among its members (Kōyama).[66]

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[62] Parkes, 'The definite internationalism of the Kyoto School', 163.
[63] Kōsaka *et al.*, 'The Third Symposium', 302.
[64] Masako Hayashi, 'Kindai Nihon no (Minzoku Seishin) niyoru (Kokumin Bunka) no Keifu: Doitsu to no Hikaku wo Shiza toshite [A Genealogy of 'National Culture' based on the 'Nationalist Spirit' of Modern Japan: A Viewpoint from a Comparison with Germany]', *Gifu Daigaku Chiiki Gakubu Kenkyū Hōkoku no. 25* (2009): 20.
[65] Compare G.W.F. Hegel, *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind*, trans. by Williams Wallace and A.V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 218: 'The rights of the father of the family over its members are equally duties towards them, just as the children's duty of obedience is their right to be brought up to be free human beings'.
[66] Kōsaka *et al*, 'The Second Symposium', 248.

3b: The Hermeneutics of Roads

Although Kōsaka does not specifically refer to the idea of a relational ontology in his philosophy, his short essay 'The Hermeneutic Structure of Roads' demonstrates his recognition of the relational outlook of the East Asian tradition and its importance for his speculations. In this short paper, which he presented at a philosophy conference held to commemorate the 60th anniversary of Dōshisha University in 1935, he discusses the significance of roads within the historical world. He goes on to associate this analysis with the East Asian philosophies of the Way, a concept that is itself expressed using the Chinese character for road (道/*michi*). As with all things in the historical world, roads are interpreted in terms of a dialectical logic that reflects the contradictory nature of historical phenomena. Specifically, he identifies the dynamism of roads in their 'publicness'[xv] and 'infinitude',[xvi] the static nature of roads in their 'fixedness'[xvii] and 'restrictiveness',[xviii] and the moment of mediation in terms of their 'reversibility'.[xix] For example, all roads are public in the sense that they permit the passage of other people. What is more, roads lead us to a world that unfolds infinitely into the distance. However, through their repeated use roads become fixed or established in place, thereby restricting the direction and location of human activity. Finally, roads are multidirectional. Not only do they invite us to enter into the world, but they bring the 'unknown world' closer to us.[xx] Kōsaka continues that the historical meaning of roads is to be found within two specific phenomena that they facilitate: 'encounters'[xxi] and 'wanderings'.[xxii] By stepping out into the world along roads we are able to encounter the other or the 'Thou' upon which the identity of 'I' depends. It is through such meetings that we also encounter and take part in the historical world itself. Moreover, it is via the experiences of our wanderings or

travels that we grow as people. Roads therefore facilitate the nurturing of the historicity and subjectivity of the 'I'.[67]

Significantly, roads are primarily interpreted in terms of the 'temporal space'[xxiii] that serves as 'the base of history'.[xxiv] This is a reference to the external environment of nature within the historical world. In the narrow sense of the term, this indicates the geographical regions or territories that constitute the specific 'climates' for the peoples that live, cultivate and work upon the land.[xxv] However, the 'place' or 'topos'[xxvi] of the historical world is a 'subjective nature that is contextual, systematic and dynamic'.[xxvii] This conception of nature is no longer simply concerned with the phenomena of the natural world. Rather, it is conceived as the historical nature that results from the mediation of the material and spiritual within the creative processes of historical praxis, through which it becomes the place, location or context of human interactions.[68] On the one hand, the activities of a nation inevitably transform the land as it is incorporated into the infrastructures of human society. On the other, through the mediation of the subjectivity or agency of a people, nature becomes able to express itself within the historical world. The lay of the land, the quality of the soil and the distribution of resources all determine the activities of a society. Over time, such influences are in turn translated into the specific customs, conventions, and mores of a national culture. In this sense, the 'logos of nature' is absorbed into the traditions of a people, as exemplified by numerous legends and myths of antiquity.[69/xxviii] It is the phenomenon of roads, however, that Kōsaka identifies as the principle expression of the logos of nature in the historical world. This is because it is through roads that external nature or 'climate' attains a

[67] Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō', 367-380.
[68] Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō', 367.
[69] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 232.

historical context and dynamism, as well as the subjectivity necessary to narrate itself in history.[70]

Kōsaka states that the purpose of roads is not simply the facilitation of transportation and communication, but rather the broad mediation of people via which the historical world itself manifests. Within a network of roads, the relationships and livelihoods of different people acquire a 'fixed organisation for the first time'.[xxix] This is because it is through the use of roads that people first 'stand in the world … and become persons' via their encounters and interactions with others.[xxx] For this reason, 'it can be said that roads are themselves an objective of humanity'.[xxxi] Kōsaka continues that roads are the physical 'realisation of the relationships between people' since they are the principle means and location for their mediation with each other.[xxxii] Furthermore, 'this mediation itself acquires its own subjectivity' as a consequence.[xxxiii] In this way, roads are comparable to language as independent expressions within the historical world. In other words, roads are a spatial expression of the mediation that has taken place between different peoples and between the land and a nation. However, whereas language is a human expression, roads are interpreted as an expression of the 'Earth' itself. Kōsaka continues:[71/xxxiv]

> If I am permitted to make a bold generalisation and state that Western thought is a philosophy that derives from the logos and Eastern thought a philosophy rooted in the Way (道/roads), then whereas the logos is language and therefore a human expression, roads may be interpreted in terms of the Way of Heaven, which is based on the expressiveness of nature.[72/xxxv]

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[70] Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō', 375.
[71] Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō', 377-379.
[72] Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō', 379.

He goes on to state that while language is open and explicit, the expressiveness of roads or the Way is silent and hidden. Although the notion of a 'hidden expression' is contradictory, 'it is this contradiction itself … that teaches the expressions of Heaven'.[73/xxxvi] He concludes that 'deep within the phenomenon of roads resides the metaphysics of Heaven', which may be interpreted in terms of the Confucian tradition.[74/xxxvii]

For Kōsaka, roads are the physical manifestation of the inherent interrelatedness of humanity as a social existence. A road is not only a means through which different people are able to participate in the historical world. It is an objective in itself as it facilitates the very relationships that define people as members of a specific community, nation or culture. As Kōsaka argues, through the mediation of roads 'movement' itself acquires an independent significance in the historical world. It is the dynamism of human interaction that creates history. What is more, roads embody the fact that we all reside in the same world, via which we are interconnected and mediated.[75] The relationship between humanity and nature is, however, co-dependent. Human activity is bound by the potentiality of nature. In other words, the process of historical creation must follow natural laws. Nevertheless, the products of this process are no longer a mere extension of the natural world, but rather a consequence of the mediation of both the material and the spiritual. Roads are only found in the historical world, not the natural world. Yet in this way nature too becomes endowed with subjectivity and thereby participates in history. It therefore confronts us as a 'Thou' that speaks and narrates

[73] See *Analects* 17.19; See also Ames and Hall, 'Glossary of Key Terms', 64-65.
[74] Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō', 380.
[75] Kōsaka, 'Michi no kaishakugaku-teki-kōzō', 374-375.

its logos to us.[76/xxxviii] In this sense, the Way of Heaven is a result of the unity and co-dependence of subject and object or 'I' and 'Thou'.

The relational outlook of East Asian philosophies has ensured that one of the most important concepts of this intellectual tradition is also interpreted in terms of roads. Ames and Rosemont explain the concept of the Way conveys a variety of meanings: 'to lead through … road, path, way, method, art, teachings; to explain, to tell, doctrines'. They continue that at its most fundamental level the concept seems to 'denote the active project of "road building," … to connote a road that has been made, and hence can be travelled'. The idea of road building suggests that the Way is both inherited from our cultural ancestors, and something that is added to in the present. Most significantly, Ames and Rosemont argue that it is necessary to 'distinguish between simply travelling on a road, and making the journey one's own'. It is therefore necessary for a person to fully embody their experiences of travelling along the Way in order to grow as a person, a process that reinforces the Way in turn. The *Zhuangzi* (2:20) asserts that the 'Way is made in the walking of it'.[77] A similar emphasis is found in the Confucian tradition as well: 'The Master said, "It is the person who is able to broaden the way, not the way that broadens the person"' (*Analects* 15.29).[78] Significantly, Nishida also talked about roads or the Way (道) as the 'technique of Heaven and Earth' in his own deliberations on East Asian morality.[79/xxxix] Tetusfumi Hanazawa believes that this is consistent with Kōsaka's discussions on the East

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[76] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 232.
[77] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 45 & 29.
[78] Compare Stevens, 'The Transcendental Path', 65: 'The metaphor of a path [in Buddhism] … is a way of pointing to the fact that we have the potential to change and grow. The path is not an external and objectively given to be followed. It takes shape by action carried out in a state of awareness. In an important sense, *we* are the path. At the same time, neither is the path … left to the arbitrary devices of each individual. It is a discipline with certain criteria of development that have to be learned, understood and adapted practically to one's own situation'; See also *Analects* 2.4.
[79] Kitarō Nishida, 'Tetsugaku ronbunshū dai yon [Philosophical Papers – No. 4]' *Nishida Kitarō zenshū dai jū kan* [*The Complete Works of Kitarō Nishida Volume 10*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 159.

Asian philosophies of the Way that developed as a result of the relationship between humankind and nature.[80]

3c: The Philosophy of Change

An important aspect of the relational ontology of the East Asian tradition is its focus on the dynamism, movement and processes of change observable in the field of relations that constitute the world. Ames and Rosemont highlight the manner in which this differs from the substance-based ontology of Western philosophy via the example of how a tree is perceived differently in the two traditions. A substantially informed understanding of the tree leads to an emphasis on its continuity over time. In principle, the tree is regarded as being the same tree in essence irrespective of the various changes it experiences with the passing of the seasons. Alternatively, 'in the world of lived experience', over the course of the year the tree is seen to flower and bud, grow green leaves that turn brown, and eventually become bare as the dead leaves are shed. From the perspective of these observable changes, the tree in summer is not perceived to be the same tree in winter. Whereas in the West the notion of self-subsistent entities has led to a focus on the continuity that is presupposed behind the 'appearances' of experience, leading to the postulation of superordinate principles that are thought to govern reality, in the East Asian tradition it is the very changes of experience that are thought to represent the truth of existence. For Chinese thinkers, the 'only constant is change itself'. They have therefore shown little interest in the 'essence of things' or the associated notion of self-identity.[81] Consequently, the principle philosophical questions of the East Asian tradition have not been concerned with discerning the truth of reality

[80] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 38.
[81] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 23; 29-30; 25.

per se, but rather with the practical matter of establishing the best Way in light of a world of constant change.[82]

According to Nathan Sivin, early scientific thought in the West interpreted the 'coherent order' that is discernible in nature through associating the seemingly 'unchanging reality' behind the world of appearances 'with some basic stuff out of which all things around us, despite their apparent diversity, are formed'.[83] Ames and Rosemont assert that Sivin's observations not only apply to the realm of science, but may be extended to the realm of 'ethical discourse' as well. This is because 'the "basic stuff" of the scientific West resembles the enduring self, or soul ("strict self-identity") of the moral and religious West'.[84] In the East Asian tradition, however, Sivin explains that the most influential scientific explanations 'made sense of the momentary event by fitting it into the cyclical rhythms of natural process'.[85] Once more, Ames and Rosemont argue that this scientific understanding is extendable to the ethical realm in terms of the emphasis that is placed on social processes in the Chinese tradition.[86] An important example of which is the identification of the 'rhythms of natural process' with the interaction of Yin and Yang as explained in the 'Great Commentary' to the *Yijing* or *Book of Changes*, one of the Five Classics of the Confucian tradition.

In his analysis of Confucian metaphysics, Tanabe describes the *Yijing* as an attempt to discern the patterns that govern the changes and transitions that are experienced by all things through comprehending the interactions of the contrary principles of Yin and Yang. These principles were derived from observing the various

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[82] Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 70.
[83] Nathan Sivin, 'Chinese Alchemy and the Manipulation of Time', *Isis*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Dec., 1976): 514.
[84] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 25; Compare Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, trans. by Carol Diethe (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 26.
[85] Sivin, 'Chinese Alchemy and the Manipulation of Time', 514.
[86] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 25.

changes that are experienced by the phenomena of Heaven and Earth, such as the movement of the sun and moon, the coming of summer and winter and the transition from night to day. The concept of Yin represents that which is dark, passive, soft, and yielding. This is thought to constitute the ground, material or the receptacle for change. The concept of Yang, in contrast, is that which is bright, active, hard, and firm. It therefore represents the power of birth and generation and is regarded as the driver of change. However, the principles of Yin and Yang are not conceived as opposites in perpetual conflict, but rather the reciprocal poles of the single order that has emerged from out of the 'Great Ultimate'.[xl] This Tanabe defines as the unifying principle of all things. Why this had happened was deemed inconsequential since the interactions of Yin and Yang were seemingly capable of explaining the changes that actually take place in the world. Of greater importance was the need to comprehend the nature of this interaction so as to guide human behaviour in accordance with these processes. This was primarily understood in terms of the interactions that are observable between the various complementary pairings that are identifiable in the world, such as man and woman, husband and wife, lord and vassal, even Heaven and Earth itself. Sufficient knowledge of these interactions in turn permitted the regulation of human praxis in alignment with the so-called 'Pattern of Heaven'.[xli] Following this pattern thereby contributed to the establishment and maintenance of a harmonious society.[87]

Although the world is in a state of continuous flux it is possible to discern patterns and cycles within change, as in the case of the yearly transition of the four seasons.[88] This apparent order within nature was attributed to the interactions of Yin and Yang, and it was thought that a similar state of order could be realised in society by

[87] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 287-301.
[88] Parkes, 'Winds, Waters and Earth Energies', 194.

ensuring that human praxis followed a comparable set of patterns. For instance, 'just as there is Heaven and Earth' in the natural world, there is a need to distinguish 'between above and below' in the social world (*Xunzi* 9.70).[89] However, these relationships were not simply conceived in terms of a restrictive hierarchy of subservience. Without the ruler (Yang) the people would lack direction and be without order, but without the rich diversity of the common people (Yin) in terms of the breadth of occupations necessary to allow a community to function, society itself would fall into ruin. Yin and Yang are not understood in terms of a confrontational opposition, but in terms of mutual co-dependence. The principle of Yin is that which allows the movement of Yang. Yin is the mediation that is necessary for the Great Ultimate to invoke motion as Yang.[90] What is more, there is nothing in the world that is deemed inherently Yin and Yang 'in and of itself'. It is only in 'relation to one or more other "things"' that something exhibits the characteristics of one or the other. Consequently, a change of context results in a corresponding change in the respective dominance of Yin or Yang.[91] This means that different situations require different responses. Just as a farmer must sow in the spring, nurture in the summer, harvest in the autumn, and take stock in the winter, the ruler must too behave in a proper manner at the appropriate time. For instance, the king must not 'interfere with the busy seasons in the fields' (*Mencius* 1A:3).[92]

The Confucian conception of the person is also influenced by the specific 'correlationality' of an individual with others and the world 'at any given time, with differing relations holding at different times'. In the Confucian worldview 'relatedness' is considered 'intrinsic and

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[89] *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, trans. by Eric L. Hutton (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014) – References are based on the chapter and line system employed by Hutton.
[90] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 291-297.
[91] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 25.
[92] *Mencius*, trans. by D.C. Lau (London & New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

constitutive'. Consequently, 'the dissolution of relationships' is said to be 'surgical, diminishing both parties in the degree that a particular relationship is important to them'. In other words, a change in the nature of a relationship results in a comparable change in the very nature of the persons involved in this relationship. We also change as persons when different relationships take precedence over others at different times and in different contexts. For example, a particular individual may be both a father within the family and a merchant within the community. However, how this individual behaves in the context of these distinct roles in relation to his children and customers is very different, on occasion even contradictory. The respective natures of these distinct social roles are also susceptible to changes over time. Although filial piety is a key value within the Confucian tradition, what defines a filial act between a parent and child is dependent on their respective circumstances. For instance, while still young a child stands in a 'relationship of beneficiary to their parents'. However, as the child becomes an adult and the parents grow older, their respective roles switch so that the child is the benefactor and the parents the beneficiaries. In other words, 'no one … is either benefactor or beneficiary in and of herself, but only in relation to specific others at specific times'.[93]

Confucian values are sometimes presented as static moral principles comparable to the ethical doctrines of the Western tradition.[94] For example, Kant viewed morality as a rational science. He therefore believed it was possible to ascertain one correct course of action for all circumstances based on the dicta of the categorical imperative. For instance, lying is always considered to be morally

[93] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 23-24.
[94] See Julia Ching, 'Chinese Ethics and Kant', *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (1978): 161-172; Gabriella Pohoață, 'Confucius and Kant or the Ethics of Duty', *Cogito - Multidisciplinary research Journal*, Issue 1 (2010): 50-56; Sandra A. Wawrytko, 'Confucius and Kant: The Ethics of Respect', *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1982): 237-257.

wrong.[95] However, such portrayals of Confucian principles ignore the importance of the ever-changing circumstances of the social world. Although the notion of *yi* (義) is often translated as 'righteousness, morality or duty', encouraging comparisons with Western moral theories, Ames and Rosemont believe that it is perhaps better to understand this concept as 'one's sense of appropriateness that enables one to act in a proper and fitting manner, given the specific circumstances'.[96] In relation to the behaviour of the Confucian gentleman Xunzi (3.60) states that 'Through *yi* (義), he changes and adapts to circumstances, because he knows when it is appropriate to bend and straighten'. For example, the sage king Shun lied to his parents about his marriage in order to fulfil his filial duty to the extent that this was possible given the circumstances: If he had told them then he 'would have to put aside the most important of human relationships [between a man and a woman] and this would sour his relationship with his parents' (*Mencius* 5A:2). It is for similar reasons that Confucius often gave different answers to the same question depending on who he was talking to.[97] This is because everyone is different in terms of their character, natural ability and personal circumstances – 'The gentleman is neither presumptuous nor secretive or blind; he carefully acts according to the other person's character' (*Xunzi* 1.200). All of these things are again susceptible to the changes that inevitably accompany the flow of time. Watsuji points out that the passages of the *Analects* are each short propositions that are like aphorisms. Many are a 'living dialogue' from which it is possible to discern the character and personalities of the Master's pupils, as well as the probable circumstances within which the exchange took place.[xlii]

[95] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 80-82.
[96] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 53-54.
[97] See *Analects* 11.22.

Their continued relevance lies in the fact that they accurately capture the inherent sociality of human existence.[98]

The emphasis on change in the Eastern tradition has translated into political theory as well. Just like the natural world is determined by the cycle of life and death, the social world is defined by the cycle of rise and fall. As a consequence, the establishment of peace and harmony within a community is ultimately a transient state of affairs because political reality never remains the same. A ruler must continuously strive to maintain his virtue (徳/*de*/*toku*). This is not only to ensure that his personal desires do not interfere with the responsibilities of government, but because the validity of any regime in the Confucian world is premised on its ability to act appropriately in different situations.[99] This requires a deep insight into the particular patterns or processes that are dominant in the present moment, one of the main reasons why the *Book of Changes* was such an important text in the East Asian tradition.[100] Any failure in this regard would put a regime in jeopardy because it suggested that the moral vitality of the ruler was in decline as his actions had begun to deviate from the 'Way of Heaven and Earth'.[101/xliii] Whatever the personal failings of the ruler, such difficulties necessarily arise because Heaven and Earth are in a continuous state of flux, thereby ensuring that different guiding principles are required at different times. Mencius (2B:13) suggests that every 'five hundred years a true King should arise … from whom an age takes its name'. In the Confucian world, it is a political fact that no dynasty is capable of lasting forever. According to Williams this has led to the development of a unique pattern of regime change across the Sinitic cultures of East Asia, which he refers to as Confucian Revolution.

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[98] Watsuji, 'Kōshi', 349.
[99] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 19.
[100] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 15.
[101] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 290.

The relational ontology at the heart of Kōsaka's speculations ensured that he also perceived the historical world in terms of a continual process of change. This is discernible in his appropriation of the idea of absolute mediation from Tanabe's dialectical logic of the species – 'within the historical world, there is nothing that is not mediated'.[102/xliv] All things are therefore embedded in a dynamic field of relations with everything else – 'Press hard on any … aspect of reality and another aspect will come into play that matches it'.[103] This included individual entities such as the self,[xlv] the nation and the state,[xlvi] which are all recreated anew in each passing moment within the process of 'from the created to the creating' due to the co-dependency of subject and object.[104] In a manner comparable to the Confucian tradition, Kōsaka also identified historical nature as the 'source of historical life and death'.[105/xlvii] The relative power of a particular nation on the historical stage is grounded in its ability to draw upon the cultural resources at its disposal to respond to the problems of an age. The moment that it fails in this its power begins to wane. It is in this sense that the Kyoto School philosophers are said to have 'fully anticipated the … arrival of the day when Japan would have to yield its leadership role to its hegemonic successor'.[106] This is why it was so important for Kōsaka that Japan fulfilled its responsibilities as the leading member of the Co-Prosperity Sphere and help nurture the national subjectivity of the other nations of East Asia. If not, the unity achieved under Japanese hegemony in the region would disintegrate once its moral energy (道徳的精力/*dōtoku-teki-seiryoku*) had been spent.

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[102] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki Sekai*, 336.
[103] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 95.
[104] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 121; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 128.
[105] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 176.
[106] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 55.

It is also important to note that the philosophy of Yin and Yang represents an influential East Asian forerunner to the dialectical logic that the Kyoto School philosophers appropriated from Hegel. Tanabe explains that the primary motivation behind the *Yijing* was to simplify the diversity of changes observable in reality through returning them to the unity of a constant and unchanging principle. The notion of the 'Great Ultimate' therefore satisfied a 'demand for the universalisation of thought'.[xlviii] However, this alone was unable to account for the dynamism perceived in reality, leading to the further postulation of the complementary principles of Yin and Yang. These are thought to have emerged from out of the Great Ultimate, the common universal through which Yin and Yang are in turn mediated. Unlike the strict dualism of ancient Greek and Christian philosophies, the 'unified dualism' of the *Yijing* therefore embodies a dialectical unity.[107/xlix] Although it may be argued that Tanabe is guilty of over-reading his own appropriation of dialectical logic back into the philosophy of Yin and Yang, it is important to acknowledge the conscious decision that was made by the Kyoto School philosophers to focus on Western thinkers that they identified as more conducive to the cultural inheritance of Japan.[108] A tentative comparison may therefore be made between the triad of Yin, Yang and the Great Ultimate and Kōsaka's own dialectical unity of the historical substratum (material/Yin), historical subjectivity (ideal/Yang) and the nothingness-like universal (absolute nothingness/Great Ultimate). This comparison is strengthened by his description of historical nature as the 'dark foothold' of history, which he goes on to discuss as both the material and receptacle of change within the historical world.[109/l]

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[107] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 291-297.
[108] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy'; Saures, *The Kyoto School's Takeover of Hegel*, xi.
[109] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 174; See Chapter 9 for a detailed analysis of the similarities beween Kōsaka's conception of the historical world and Yin/Yang cosmology.

Chapter 3 Japanese Citations

[i] 我がまずあって、その我が経験する

[ii] 我とは何かと問われる場合に於いても、世界を意識する我ではなく、世界に於てあり、世界を表現し、世界に於て働くところの存在する我が問題なのである。かかる意味に於ては、西田哲学は、初めから単なる主観主義、観念論を越えていると云うべきであろう

[iii] 雑多的な色彩の集合…普通の経験論は要素から出発して、その結合として全体を考えようとする

[iv] 運動

[v] 実体的にのみものを見て

[vi] from…to の関係

[vii] 関係の面

[viii] 名詞的なものよりも、動詞的、前置詞的なものがより一層重要である

[ix] 私と汝は離すべからざる実在的統一をなす。汝なく汝に対せぬ私は私ではない…そして私と汝を分離してしまえば私と云い汝と云うは無意味なるが故に、私と汝は対立の契機を含み乍ら之以上分析すべからざる実在の単位と云わなければならぬ。私と汝は生活の直接事態として之以上の分析を許さぬ（分析すれば最早や生活ではなくなる）実在の最小単位である

[x] 汝なくして我は我を支え得ない。我々はかかる意味に於ても本来社会的なる存在である

[xi] 真の善は個性の完成であり、自己実現である。しかも自己の実現は大自然の生命の実現であり、天命が行われることである。先生の倫理説は、活動説 energetism であり、自己実現説 self-realization である。善を求め、善に遷るのは、真の自己を知ることであり、自己の真実在と一致するのが最上の善なのである

[xii] 生きたものは生きたものを知るのである…宇宙の生命、宇宙の統一力は我々の生命、我の統一力と別物ではなく、一つである

[xiii] 天理

[xiv] 汝に対せざる我がなき如く、他の国家に対せざる国家はない

[xv] 公共性

[xvi] 無限性

[xvii] 定着性

[xviii] 拘束性

[xix] 可逆性

[xx] 未知の世界

[xxi] 出会う

[xxii] 経巡る

[xxiii] 時間的空間

[xxiv] 歴史の底面

[xxv] 風土

[xxvi] 歴史の場所

[xxvii] 歴史の場所をなすものは、脈絡を有し、体系を有し、自らに運動を有する主体的なる自然であらねばならない

[xxviii] 自然のロゴス

[xxix] 道に於て人と人との生活は始めて一定の組織を有つのである

[xxx] 道に於て人は始めて世の中に立つ…人は始めて人となる

[xxxi] かくて道そのものが人間にとって目的であると云うことも出来るであろう

[xxxii] それは人と人の間柄の有つ実在性である

[xxxiii] しかもその媒介は自らの主体性を有したのである

[xxxiv] 大地の表現

[xxxv] もし大胆な概括が許されて、西洋の哲学はロゴスに由来する哲学であり、東洋の哲学は道に根ざす哲学であると語り得るならば、それもロゴスは言葉であり、言葉は人の表現であるに対して、道は天の道であり、自然の表現であるに基づく

[xxxvi] 隠れたる表現とは矛盾であろう。しかしその矛盾こそ…天の表現たることを教えるのではなかろうか

[xxxvii] 道の奥には、天の形而上学…存するのである

[xxxviii] 一つの汝である

[xxxix] 道とは天地の技術である

[xl] 大極

[xli] 天理

[xlii] 生きた対話関係

[xliii] 天地の道

[xliv] 歴史的世界に於てはいかなるものも無媒介ではない

[xlv] しかも自己を否定した立場から新たなる創造は起こり、新たなる自己は生起する

[xlvi] 民族は固定し終わったものではない。むしろ絶えず現在出来上がりつつある

[xlvii] 歴史的生死の源泉は原始自然ではなかろうか

[xlviii] 思想の普遍化の要求上

[xlix] 弁証法的正反合の二元合一的綜合

[1] 暗き足場

Chapter 4: The Thesis of Confucian Revolution

4a: Confucian Revolution

The establishment of social harmony within a community is 'celebrated as the highest cultural achievement' within the Confucian tradition.[1] In an ideal society this would be based on the humaneness or benevolence (仁/*ren*) that is nurtured within familial relations and realised in the wider community through observance of the rites and proper social distinctions. The social hierarchy that emerges is in turn founded upon a system of social mobility based on meritocracy: 'Promote the worthy and capable without waiting for them to rise through the ranks' (*Xunzi* 9.1). In reality, however, the respective histories of the Sinitic cultures of East Asia have been dominated by various forms of 'Oriental despotism' or authoritarian rule, be it the absolute monarchs of China, the various forms of military government in Japan or the Communist dictatorship of modern North Korea.[2] This is despite the intellectual dominance that the Confucian tradition has enjoyed politically across the region for over a millennium. Williams interprets the apparent discrepancies between the ideal of benevolent government preached by Mencius and the harsh political realities of the Confucian world in terms of the concept of 'Confucianism informed by Legalism' (儒表法里).[3]

Although social harmony through benevolent government is the principle goal of Confucianism, this is premised on the existence of some form of shared community and political organisation:

> In order for people to live, they cannot be without community. If they form communities but lack social distinctions then they will struggle with each other. If they struggle with each other then

[1] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 57.
[2] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 6; 20; 23; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 98.
[3] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 73; Williams, 'In Response to Thomas Rhydwen', 81.

> there will be chaos … to lack social divisions is the greatest harm to people, and to have social divisions is the root benefit for the whole (*Xunzi* 9.105).[4]

It is no coincidence that Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi all travelled to meet with the rulers of the various kingdoms of the age in order to convince them to adopt the methods of benevolent government. A state system was already in place, all that was needed was to convince the ruler of the merits of adopting the Confucian Way.

However, there is no guarantee that there will always be a stable political system because all regimes are subject to the cycle of rise and fall. While the legendary sage kings are thought to have unified the whole of China through the methods of benevolent government, the regimes that they established had each fallen into moral decline and eventual ruin after their passing. The consequence of regime collapse was the outbreak of war and the widespread suffering of the people. This is exemplified by the conflicts that arose between the various states vying for supremacy in Confucius's own day as a consequence of the centuries of moral decline that had befallen the Zhou dynasty.[5] As a result, pragmatically minded Confucian thinkers such as Xunzi could not ignore the tangible successes of the Legalist state of Qin which had established an impressive level of social order within its borders.[6] This success was consummated with the military victory of Qin over all its rivals, establishing the first imperial dynasty of China. The excesses of this short-lived dynasty, for instance the infamous 'burning of books' that was initiated by Xunzi's former pupil and chancellor to the first emperor Li Si, ensured that the moderation

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[4] See also the *Doctrine of the Mean:* 'The Way of man is to strive for government' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 447.
[5] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 2.
[6] John Knoblock, 'General Introduction', in *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works – Volume 1 Books 1-6*, trans. by John Knoblock (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 8-9; See *Xunzi* 15.155 & 16.230.

espoused by Confucianism would become the political standard for its successor the Han. Nevertheless, the Qin dynasty had shown that the standardisation of laws and the homogenisation of ideas could unify the various peoples of China, thereby establishing the social order that was necessary for nurturing social harmony and benevolent conduct across the empire.[7] The early successes of the Qin and the political stability established by the Han thereafter gave political credence to the Confucian assertion that there 'is one Way and one only' (*Mencius* 3A:1). Not in the sense that there is only one correct method for governing a community in all circumstances, but in the sense that there needs to be one consensus about the method for governing a community in the current circumstances. This is part of the reason why Williams describes the Way as 'a form; not a content'.[8]

Because the world is in a continuous state of flux, the balance of Yin and Yang within a society will at some point be thrown out of kilter. This is not a question of if, only a question of when. The resulting demise of a regime leads to the disintegration of the conditions necessary for maintaining the harmony of the community. Drawing upon the respective lessons of the Qin and Han dynasties, a method of regime change emerged within the Confucian world that would ensure that any new government would be strong enough to 'withstand the forces of history' for as long as possible, in turn prolonging the social order necessary to facilitate a peaceful and harmonious society. Williams refers to this process as Confucian Revolution (易姓革命), based on the triad of *toku* (徳/*de*), a complex idea of moral energy and political effectiveness that I render as virtue, *tenkō* (転向), the political conversion of a population, and *tenmei* (天命/*tianxia*) or the Mandate of Heaven. However, rigorous governments in

[7] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 71; 68.
[8] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 53.

the Confucian world have often been despotic in nature and secured through military conquest. Nevertheless, the social order that is achieved by the stable government that emerges from an emphatic military victory, even if that of an authoritarian regime, is in the end deemed more desirable than the social chaos that results from the outright collapse of the political system.[9]

As a consequence, the practical role of Confucianism over the centuries has been to curb 'the excesses of the pioneering Qin experiment' and therefore to 'ameliorate the worst effects of authoritarian rule':

> Qin's power to inspire awe rattles all within the four seas … Nevertheless, its worries and troubles are innumerable … Let it curtail its use of awe-inspiring power and return to good form … let it employ gentleman who are upright, have integrity, possess trustworthiness and perfect themselves, and let it bring order to all under Heaven (*Xunzi* 16.265).[10]

While seemingly contradictory in orientation – Legalism as a political doctrine of strict regimentation and harsh punishments, and Confucianism as a moral doctrine of benevolent conduct and filial piety – Williams believes they represent 'two sides of the same … coin'. In other words, they are the Yin and Yang of East Asian political reality.[11] As Kōsaka points out, political insight cannot be based purely on 'philosophical meditation'.[i] After all, a political crisis may require an immediate response to ensure the survival of the state. This is one reason for the emergence of Machiavellian realism in the Western tradition. Nevertheless, the political cannot separate itself entirely

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[9] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 69; 11-12; 21.
[10] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 76; 71.
[11] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 79.

from the ethical because rulers must be prepared to bear the responsibility for what takes place during their reign.[12] Herein lies the so-called 'right of rebellion' in Mencius's thought.[13] Certainly, Confucianism sets high moral standards in regard to political conduct. In practice, however, the intellectual hegemony that the tradition has enjoyed across East Asia has been based on a pragmatic compromise between the philosophical ideal and the harsh lessons of history.

Although the three concepts of *toku*, *tenkō*, and *tenmei* are interrelated, it is a secularised version of the Mandate of Heaven that is pivotal for comprehending Confucian Revolution. This is because it is the Mandate of Heaven that bestows moral legitimacy upon a political regime through conceptions of 'destiny, moral authority, practical effectiveness', and critically for Williams, 'raw power'. Despite the 'traditional Confucian suspicion of warriors', the person embodying the virtue (徳/*toku*) necessary for securing the Mandate of Heaven is often described as having great military leadership:[14]

> Collecting and harmonizing, he will form a unified force … When extended, they are like the long blade of Moye – those who touch it will be cleaved. When pointed, they are like the sharp tip of Moye – those who confront it will be ruptured. When they encamp in a circle or establish perimeter in a square, they are like a massive boulder – those who charge against it will have their horns broken. Accordingly, the opposing force, defeated and disgraced, will withdraw (*Xunzi* 15.55).

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[12] Kōsaka, 'Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku', 70-71.
[13] Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, *East Asia: The Great Tradition* (Boston & Tokyo: Houghton Mifflin Co. & Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962), 81.
[14] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 25; 98; See *Analects* 12.19, 13.11; *Mencius* 1B:11, 4A:14, 6B:9; Xunzi 8.355, 9.135, 9.465 and Chapter 15.

Xunzi is here talking about a ruler who practises the Confucian Way – he is successful in military affairs because he implements benevolent government and has therefore secured the loyalty of his people and the admiration of his foes. Nonetheless, military success hereby comes to embody a strong indication of the virtue (徳/*toku*) of a ruler or would-be successor to the Mandate of Heaven. This is because a successful military campaign represents an impressive logistical feat that demonstrates the leader's firm grasp of political reality or the Pattern of Heaven, which as Kosaka points out has been an important aspect of the success of many great generals in the past, as well as the leader's ability to command, motivate and organise the people.[15/ii] Williams concludes that might 'makes right in Confucian Asia because for might to succeed it must be right; and, having triumphed, might is assumed to be right until proven otherwise'.[16]

It is important to note that Williams's focus on the significance of military 'might' contradicts the core teachings of Confucian thinkers such as Mencius and Xunzi, both of whom emphasise the virtue (徳/*de*) of the exemplary person over brute physical force:

> There are people who say, "I am expert at military formation; I am expert at waging war." This is a grave crime. If the ruler of a state is drawn to benevolence he will have no match in the Empire (*Mencius* 7B:4).

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[15] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 89; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 166.
[16] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 25; Compare 'Chapter 1: On Assessments' in *Sun-Tzu: The Art of Warfare – The First English Translation Incorporating the Recently Discovered Yin-Ch'üeh-Shan Texts*, trans. by Roger Ames (New York & Toronto: A Ballantine Book/Random House Publishing Group, 1993), 102-105: '[T]o gauge the outcome of war we must appraise the situation on the basis of the following … criteria … The first … is the Way … The Way is what brings the thinking of the people in line with their superiors. Hence you can send them to their deaths or let them live, and they will have no misgivings … Therefore, to gauge the outcome of war we must compare the two sides by assessing their relative strengths. This is to ask … Which ruler has the Way?'; See also *Mencius* 7A:12.

> These four emperors and two kings all employed a military approach based on *ren* and *yi* in conducting their campaigns … those nearby drew close to their goodness and far away regions admired their virtue. The blades of their weapons were not stained with blood, but people far and near came and submitted to them. Such was the abundance of their virtue (*Xunzi* 15.365).[17]

Nevertheless, this does not change the fact that during the interregnum periods that typically follow the collapse of a dynasty, the histories of the Sinitic cultures have often been characterised by tragic violence. If this is to be comprehended from an East Asian perspective, Williams believes that it is still necessary to try and account for these struggles from a Confucian standpoint since it represents the principle political tradition of the region. This is the case even if it is a form of Confucianism that has been informed by the hard realism of Legalism because the focus is on political reality, not political idealism. As a consequence, the ideal of benevolence that is espoused by Confucian peoples during times of peace is eclipsed by the political pragmatism that is displayed by Confucian peoples during times of war – 'the fundamental task of military forces and offensive warfare lies with unifying the people' (*Xunzi* 15.10). Indeed, bringing an end to the suffering that is inflicted on a community by war as quickly as possible, even at a human cost, is itself an act of benevolence if it restores social harmony to the community as a whole.[18]

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[17] See *Analects* 12.19; 13.11; Compare 'Chapter 3: Planning the Attack' in *Sun-Tzu: The Art of Warfare*, 110-113: 'It is best to keep one's state intact; to crush the enemy's state is only second best. It is best to keep one's own army … intact; to crush the enemy's army … is only second best. So to win a hundred victories in a hundred battles is not the highest excellence; the highest excellence is to subdue the enemy's army without fighting at all'.

[18] See *Mencius* 7A:12; Compare Roger Ames, 'Introduction – Wisdom and Warfare', in *Sun-Tzu: The Art of War*, 39-43: 'What it means to be exemplary, then, is not determined by what function one serves or by what skills one possesses, but by one's character. The assumption is that persons of superior character will be exemplary in whatever occupations they turn their

It is significant, therefore, that Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi all recognised punitive expeditions against those who had deviated from the Way of benevolence or humaneness:

> Chen Chengzi assassinated Duke Jian. Confucius having cleansed himself ceremonially went to court and reported to Duke Ai, saying, "Chen Chengzi has assassinated his lord. I implore you to send an army to punish him" (*Analects* 14.21).

> King Hsüan said … 'If I do not annex Yen, I am afraid Heaven will send down disasters. What would you think if I decided on annexation?' 'If in annexing Yen,' answered Mencius, 'you please its people, then annex it' (*Mencius* 1B:10).

> King Wu attacked the possessor of the Shang. He executed Zhòu, cut off his head, and hung it from a red banner. Carrying out punitive campaigns against those who are violent and executing those who are brutal is the blossoming of order (*Xunzi* 18.190).

While Confucian thinkers condemn the violent conduct of state rulers who are motivated purely by personal gain, it is accepted that in certain situations military intervention may be unavoidable if it is the only way of improving the welfare of the people.

Mencius (7B:2; 3B:9) placed important restrictions on this apparent concession. Firstly, he points out that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* acknowledged 'no just wars', a work that he attributed to Confucius. He continues that there are 'only cases of one war not being quite as bad as another'. Specifically, this is understood as a

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hand to – an assumption that is alive and well today … It is the ability of the leader to achieve "harmony," however it is defined, that is signatory of what it means to be a person of superior character, whether this harmony is expressed through communal leadership or military prowess'.

punitive expedition or 'war waged by one in authority against his subordinates'. He concludes that it is therefore 'not for peers to punish one another by war', a reference to the various kings who were vying for supremacy at the time. This limits what constitutes an acceptable use of force within the Confucian tradition as only those in 'authority' are permitted to conduct military interventions. There is one important exception, however. When asked whether regicide is permissible in reference to the King Wu's military campaign against the tyrant king Zhòu of the Shang dynasty, with whom he and the Duke of Zhou fought for three years, Mencius responded that:

> He who mutilates benevolence is a mutilator; he who cripples rightness is a crippler; and a man who is both a mutilator and a crippler is an "outcast". I have indeed heard of the punishment of the "outcast [Zhòu]", but I have not heard of any regicide (*Mencius* 1B:8).[19]

At the time of his insurrection, King Wu was in a position of subordination to Zhòu as the current ruler of the Chinese people. This is why Mencius was asked whether King Wu had not in fact committed regicide by rebelling. Nonetheless, Mencius (4A:7) maintained that King Wu was fully justified in his conduct. This is because 'the Mandate of Heaven', which confers moral legitimacy upon a regime, is 'not immutable'.[20]

D.C. Lau explains that the Duke of Zhou, someone who was greatly revered by Confucius, expounded a philosophy on the Mandate of Heaven that not only instilled 'resignation in the conquered', but inculcated 'a self-searching vigilance' in the Zhou rulers thereafter. The

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[19] See also *Mencius* 3B:9.
[20] See also the *Great Learning:* "'Take warning from the Yin; the great Mandate is not easy [to hold on to]" … "The Mandate of Heaven is not ever-lasting"' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 169.

Shang kings maintained that they governed 'by virtue of the Mandate of Heaven'. However, the Duke of Zhou believed that the Shang rulers had forgotten that the Mandate could also be withdrawn. King Wu had 'shown this to be the case' by 'wresting the Empire' from Zhòu's grasp. In other words, the ruling dynasty could only retain the Mandate if it acted in accordance with the Way. Once a ruler 'strayed from the path of virtue' the Mandate would be lost. Lau describes this doctrine as a 'double-edged' sword because although it explained the reasons why the Shang dynasty had collapsed, 'it also laid down the conditions which must constantly be fulfilled' if the Zhou kings were to remain in power.[21] In turn, this doctrine had important implications for Mencius's understanding of what constituted legitimate authority. Although the tyrant Zhòu was formally the Emperor, he had lost the authority to rule as a consequence of his immoral conduct. King Wu in contrast, while in a position of subordination to the Shang, held true authority because his actions were currently in line with the Way of Heaven. He had demonstrated this by the very fact he was able to emerge victorious. As a consequence, Mencius argued that he had never heard of regicide in the case of punishing the outcast Zhòu.

This philosophy provides the ideological foundations for the periodic regime changes that are facilitated by Confucian Revolutions. Of most significance from the perspective of Williams's thesis, however, is the fact that King Wu's actions were only justified because he was ultimately successful in his rebellion. It is only because Zhòu lost the war that the people accepted King Wu's insubordination as an act undertaken in accordance with the Will of Heaven.[22] Of course, Zhòu's many misdemeanours no doubt ensured that King Wu was able to rally the oppressed peoples of the Empire to his cause.[23] This relates to

[21] Lau, 'Introduction', xi-xii; See also *Analects,* 7.5.
[22] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 19.
[23] See *Xunzi* 8.330.

Mencius's (5A:1) description of the people as the 'eyes' and 'ears' of Heaven. Nevertheless, if King Wu had failed in his insurrection, the implication would be that Zhòu retained the Mandate and therefore remained the legitimate ruler of China. This is why it was so important for both the ruler and would-be usurper to continually gauge the patterns and processes of Heaven as expressed through the 'general will of the people'.[24] Confucius said that if 'the way is going to prevail in the world, it is because circumstances would have it so; if it is not going to prevail, it is because they won't' (*Analects*, 14.36). In a similar fashion, Mencius argued that:

> [E]ither a gentleman does not go to war or else he is sure of victory, for he will have the whole Empire at his behest, while his opponent will have his own flesh and blood turning against him (*Mencius* 2B:1).

Williams concludes that 'Mencius's classic assertion that the people may overthrow a bad ruler really means that an absolute ruler may be cast out only if and when he becomes ineffective'. On the other hand, it is only by successfully 'striking down the old regime [that] its opponents win legitimacy for their cause'.[25] This portrayal is supported by Edwin Reischauer and John Fairbank, who argue that the so-called 'right of rebellion' expounded by Mencius would only 'be an effective right … if the rebels proved successful'.[26] It is for this reason that Williams believes that might makes right in Confucian Asia. During times of social turmoil, it is often only through a decisive demonstration of military power that one is able to prove without doubt that the previous regime has finally lost the Mandate to rule and

[24] Zhao, 'Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept', 30.
[25] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 19.
[26] Reischauer and Fairbank, *East Asia: The Great Tradition*, 81.

that the new political orientation one proposes is a more accurate reflection of the present needs of the community. If this was not the case, then Heaven as expressed through the will of people would not have permitted victory.[27]

Williams describes the concept of *toku* as 'one of most etymologically complex ideas in the synthesis of Confucian thought and traditional statecraft'.[28] It primarily refers to the 'power' that is accumulated through a tireless regime of self-cultivation and the mastering of somatic practice.[29] An important example of such practice is ritual propriety or the rites, 'the meaning invested roles, relationships, and institutions which facilitate communication, and which foster a sense of community'.[30] Perfecting the rites requires both precision and sincerity in one's actions and behaviour towards other people. However, a person who masters the rites becomes 'more open and responsive to the world' as repeated practice nurtures a sense of 'self-restraint', thereby enhancing 'social harmony' through one's ability to skilfully interact with others. An important consequence of this rigorous process of self-cultivation is the accumulation of a power or virtue (徳/*de*) that 'has an almost magical effect' on other people.[31] In part this is due to the powerful aesthetic imagery that results from the seemingly effortless enactment of the rites in an appropriate and

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[27] Although Williams's focus is on political realism over political idealism, his presentation of the Confucian tradition is contentious. For example, 'When a tyrant wages an unjust war and is victorious, and thereby able to tyrannise the people', Parkes doubts whether 'any Confucian thinker would say that he has the Mandate'. Williams would likely respond by highlighting the role that Confucian scholars have historically played in legitimatising the various imperial dynasties of China based on the idea of the Mandate of Heaven, which, as Kōsaka also points out, were typically established through warfare. Nevertheless, the very notion that 'might' could ever be 'right' would suggest that during times of social turmoil it is in fact the Legalist tradition, rather than Confucianism per se, which takes precedence in determining the outcome of Confucian Revolutions – Graham Parkes, Personal Correspondence, 4th May 2016; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 180-181; See also *Han Feizi* 49 & 50 in *Han Feizi: Basic Writings*, trans. by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 97-130: 'The nation at peace may patronize Confucian scholars and cavaliers, but the nation in danger must call upon fighting men' (108).
[28] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 55.
[29] Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 71-75.
[30] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 51.
[31] Parkes, Awe and Humility, 72-74; See *Analects* 12.1.

heartfelt manner, 'manifesting the original brightness of innate virtue'.[32] In turn, this power allows the Confucian gentleman to 'sway others, win them other to one's side, and have them do one's bidding' through sympathetic resonance.[33] As Mencius (2A:2) states, the flood-like *qi* (気) of the Confucian gentleman 'will fill the space between Heaven and Earth'.

In the political context, the standard of appropriate behaviour in the Confucian world is measured in terms of successful statecraft. Specifically, this is the ability of the current or new leadership to maintain social order within the present political climate. This is only possible through a thorough understanding of current trends. A successful regime must therefore be in alignment with the Way of Heaven in the present moment, because if it wasn't there would be visible signs of its decline. Traditionally, these have included natural disasters such as famines and floods. Considering the fact that China was an agrarian society that was dependent upon the successful management of a community's relationship with the natural world, such concerns were not unfounded.[34] In this way, political success became the standard of appropriateness for the Confucian political realist, bestowing upon a stable regime and its associated institutions and methods a reserve of virtue (徳/*toku*) or political legitimacy that is not easily depleted.[35] Securing the Mandate of Heaven in this manner also ensures that the opponents to the current political regime are

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[32] *Daxue & Zhongyong,* 135.
[33] Eric L. Hutton, 'Footnote 7 – Chapter 10: Enriching the State', in *Xunzi: The Complete Text*, 98; Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 74; See also Zhu Xi's commentary to the *Great Learning*: 'Once my own enlightened virtue is already manifest, then I have the means of bringing awe and submission to the minds and wills of the people' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 149.
[34] See to *Xunzi* 9.340.
[35] Williams's conception of *toku* or *de* (徳) is inspired by Paul Mus, who, based on his experiences of Vietnam, translated the concept 'not as a static virtue but as a system of rule'. Importantly for Williams, Mus traced 'the development of the patterns of behaviour involved in … struggles to force regime change back to the [Zhou] dynasty' of China – Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 60; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 97; See also John T. McAlister, Jr. & Paul Mus, *The Vietnamese and Their Revolution* (New York, Evanston & London: Harper Torchbooks, 1970).

regarded as illegitimate because subversive to the harmony of the community. This remains the case until these opponents can prove beyond doubt that their proposals are the one correct Way in the current political climate. This also includes the methods of past regimes that were once considered 'moral', but have since lost the legitimacy that is conferred by the Mandate of Heaven.[36] In the end, words count for little if not backed up with corresponding actions – 'be cautious in what you say and then make good on your word' (*Analects* 1.6).

Williams defines *tenkō* as the 'collective moral conversion of an entire people in the pursuit of harmony as a form of consensus about reality'.[37] The consummation of a Confucian Revolution is therefore dependent on securing the support of the people, who are the eyes and ears of Heaven:

> There is a way to win the Empire; win the people and you will win the Empire. There is a way to win the people; win their hearts and you will win the people (*Mencius* 4A:9).[38]

In pragmatic terms, the way to win the hearts of the people is to prove one's grasp of political reality. This is achieved through tangible political successes, be it through a decisive military victory over the other contenders for the Mandate of Heaven or demonstrating one's ability to bring peace and stability to the community. During times of turmoil, this may be regarded as the same thing. The political effectiveness of a regime therefore translates into the moral legitimacy of a regime, leading to the mass conversion of the population to its methods of rule: 'The excellence (德) of the exemplary person is the

[36] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 96; 39; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 19.
[37] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 12.
[38] See also the *Great Learning:* '[T]o gain the multitude is to gain the state; to lose the multitude is to lose the state' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 169.

wind, while the petty person is the grass. As the wind blows, the grass is sure to bend' (*Analects* 12.19).[39]

The interregnum between the collapse of a regime and the consummation of the Confucian Revolution that results is often brutal. This is because these 'civil wars are concluded in a practical and morally satisfying way only when one side wins conclusively'.[40] Such struggles may therefore witness multiple acts of conversion among sections of the population as the fortunes of war shifts from one side to another.[41] In the end, however, there can only be one holder of the Mandate because a broad consensus is needed to establish social order:

> According to Confucius, "There cannot be two kings for the people, just as there cannot be two suns in the heavens" (*Mencius* 5A:4).
>
> When the most exalted position is held by one person alone, there will be order, but if held by two people there will be chaos … there has not yet been a case where two people who both occupy the most exalted position and contend for greater authority can last for long (*Xunzi* 14.105).

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[39] See also *Mencius*, 3A:2.
[40] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 81.
[41] Williams gives the example of one South Vietnamese soldier who defected five times between the North and South over the course of the Vietnam War. Williams goes on to distinguish between *tenkō*, temporary shifts in a person's allegiance that 'may occur any number of times during the interregnum' of a Confucian Revolution 'in response to the ebb and flow of the military success of one side or the other', and the mass *Tenkō* of the whole population once a regime finally 'wins the Mandate of Heaven'. He concludes that the 'shifts in the soldier's loyalties were not arbitrary or opportunistic or accidental … They are measured judgments … attempts to read reality with conviction. To make a sound judgment about the nature of reality (that is where true power lies) is to contribute personally to the fostering of a harmonious but robust political consensus. Thus, Confucian opportunism is not supposed to be an exercise in consistency. One changes one's mind as one's well-grounded perception of reality shifts' – Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 46-47; See also Frances FitzGerald, *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* (Boston & Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), 24.

It is therefore essential to clarify which way is the correct Way in the present circumstances because people 'who have chosen different ways (道) cannot make plans together' (*Analects* 15.40). Once the Mandate is secured and the Way of a society decided, the people are 'sure to bend' to the 'wind' of the new regime because there is an obligation to conform to the new consensus if it can secure the peace and stability of a community.

Williams goes on to highlight Kōyama's comments during the first symposium in relation to the Meiji Restoration, which he believes are indicative of the phenomenon of Confucian Revolution in Japan:

> After 1868, the Edo Shogunate was decisively rejected, and rejecting the Shogunate meant turning one's back on Edo culture as a whole. Overnight everything about the Edo period was condemned as a form of medieval darkness. This was the fundamental undercurrent of post-Meiji thought and feeling, and it explains why 1868 marked such a radical break with the past.[42]

The 'Mandate of Heaven' incorporates an 'ethical expectation' that is 'never given permanently to any incumbent ruling group'. What is more, the Mandate is said to manifest 'through the wishes and conduct of the ordinary people'.[43] It could therefore be rescinded once the popular consensus for a regime had begun to wane:

> There is a saying, "The lord is the boat. The common people are the water. The water can support the boat. The water can also overturn the boat" (*Xunzi* 9.95).

[42] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 39; Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The First Symposium', 125.
[43] Hsu, 'Applying Confucian Ethics to International Relations', 150.

Towards the end of the Edo period, the Tokugawa Shogunate was shown to be inept at handling the new threat posed by Western powers. As a consequence the virtue (徳/*toku*) of the regime, which constituted both its political legitimacy and effectiveness, was justifiably called into question. The eventual collapse of the Shogunate showed that the Mandate had been lost, revoking the political legitimacy of the Tokugawa to rule Japan. The establishment of the Meiji government in its stead signalled to the people the endowment of a new Mandate. This was reinforced by the new government's military successes over the forces loyal to the Tokugawa. The result was the mass *tenkō* or conversion of the populace to the new political orientation, while the previous era was consigned to history. Williams believes that understanding the 'logic and conventions' of regime change in Confucian societies in this way in turn provides a rigorous East Asian interpretive framework from which to assess the factional struggles that beset Japan during the 1920s and 30s as part of the Post-Meiji Confucian Revolution. This includes its apparent consummation with the rise of the Control Faction led by Tōjō in 1941.

The death of the Meiji emperor in 1912 brought to a close a period of momentous social change and reform in Japan, transforming the country from a feudal backwater into a genuine power on the world stage in the space of only forty years. However, it also signified the 'eclipse' of the consensus that had been reached under the symbol of the Meiji emperor's leadership.[44] The foundation of a new regime is often typified by 'a burst of administrative energy' due to the 'fresh vigour and confidence' that results from successfully securing the Mandate of Heaven.[45] This is rarely the case for the successors of the regime's founders, however, as they inherit the virtue (徳/*toku*) of their

[44] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 82.
[45] John W. Darness, *Governing China, 150-1850* (Indianapolis and Cambridge, Hackett Publishing Company, 2010), 68; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 9.

forerunners without having proved their grasp of political reality. If a regime is to survive, therefore, it is necessary to periodically orchestrate 'reform … from the top' in order to renew its reserves of virtue (徳/*toku*) through demonstrating once more its political effectiveness.[46] The 'Taishō experiment' in liberalism may be viewed as just such an attempt.[47] Ultimately, however, it failed because it proved unable to secure a lasting consensus on national policy. For the pragmatically minded Confucian this is a damning appraisal because the Mandate requires an ability to rule.

The failure of the Taishō government to successfully revitalise the moral energy or virtue of the state consequently led to a prolonged struggle to initiate 'regime change' within the '*forms and formalities'* of the modern state system 'inherited from the Meiji period'.[48] As a result, the 1930s witnessed numerous attempts to re-establish a broad consensus on national policy, particularly in regard to the location of sovereignty within the Japanese state, its overseas empire and its relations with the Western powers, by the various factions that briefly secured the reins of government through 'Confucian-style purges of the intellectual losers'.[49] For example, 'the Ōsumi purges in 1933-4 targeted naval officers who continued to insist that Japan was not threatened by the growth of American naval power'.[50] It was with the accession of the Control Faction led by Tōjō, however, that a national consensus was finally reached based on the decision to go to war with America. The success of the military attack on Pearl Harbor only strengthened his claim to the Mandate as a demonstration of military might was a demonstration of political ability and therefore legitimacy. In the end, however, this Confucian Revolution was itself overturned

[46] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 94; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 32.
[47] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 98.
[48] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 17.
[49] Goto-Jones, 'The way of revering the Japanese emperor'; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xlv.
[50] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xlv.

as Japan was comprehensively defeated. This ensured that the Mandate of Heaven passed from Japanese to American hands in 1945, thereby facilitating its successful programme of liberal 'state-building' during the occupation.[51]

Williams's thesis of Confucian Revolution provides a compelling schema of interpretation from which to analyse the factional struggles of the early Shōwa period from an East Asian perspective. However, questions arise as to whether this is an accurate portrayal of Japanese political reality during the war, especially as his interpretation does not appear to reflect how the participants of the so-called Post-Meiji Confucian Revolution actually understood what was happening at the time. As Williams himself concedes, 'why … are our supposedly Confucian thinkers and politicians not more explicit about the political framework in which they think and act?' One possible answer may be found in the 'closed character of the Confucian episteme'. This is the idea that 'as whole communities move from one moral unanimity to another in the unfolding of a Confucian Revolution, the thinker follows suit'.[52] As Hans-Georg Moeller points out, it is simply not possible to remain unaffected by the dominant ethical paradigm of an age.[53] From the perspective of historical reality, Kōsaka argues that a revolutionary is unable to write a history about the revolution he is participating in while it is taking place because it is still history in the making. It is only once such an historical event reaches some form of conclusion within a society that it 'falls away' from the present and

[51] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 64; Williams's thesis of Confucian Revolution provides a compelling East Asian account of 'how the Japanese moved during the course of 1945 from fierce, indeed suicidal, resistance to the American assault on the Japanese homeland, to prompt and complete surrender, and then to ready and enthusiastic cooperation with the US occupation'. It is within the context of this moral paradigm shift, facilitated by the logic and conventions of Confucian regime change, that Williams also interprets the post-war criticisms of the wartime Kyoto School in Japan from the pacifist standpoint institutionalised in Article 9 of the 1947 constitution (*Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 24; 63-64).
[52] Williams, 'In Response to Thomas Rhydwen', 81.
[53] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 91; See Appendix for a discussion of moral paradigms.

becomes a fact of the past, and therefore an object of historical retrospection.[54]

Although the Kyoto School philosophers do not explicitly discuss their own participation in the factional struggles of the late 1930s and 40s, on a number of occasions they highlight past examples of regime change in East Asia which may be categorised in terms of Confucian Revolution. This is exemplified by Kōyama's reflections on the Meiji Restoration as mentioned above. It is perhaps Nishida, however, who most clearly summarises the logic of regime change in the Confucian world. A highly suggestive summary of his arguments is provided by Setsuzō Kōsaka:

> The world is a contradictory self-identity that constantly moves as that which is created, to that which creates. Once the form of a society no longer matches its environment and thereby reaches a dead-end, a 'revolutionary change of dynasty' (易姓革命 /Confucian Revolution) would take place in China based on the idea of the Mandate of Heaven. In Japan this resulted in the restoration of the Imperial Household. This did not entail a simple return to the system or culture of the past, however, but rather taking the first steps toward a new world. This is what is called the Meiji Restoration.[55/iii]

While Nishida distinguishes between the respective forms of regime change in China and Japan, in part due to the unbroken line of succession in the case of Japan's Imperial Family, the causes and consequences of these regime changes were essentially the same. For whatever reason, the form of a society no longer matched the

[54] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 156.
[55] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 119; Kitarō Nishida, 'Nihon bunka no mondai [The Problems of Japanese Culture]', *Nishida Kitarō zenshū dai jūni kan* [*The Complete Works of Kitarō Nishida Volume 12*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 336-337.

environment within which it was located (its place or topos). The result was a social revolution that transformed the very structures of the community.

4b: The Intellectual Consequences of Confucian Revolution

Williams believes that once the Mandate to rule has been conferred upon a new regime, there are only three options left for the supporters of the previous government or the other contenders for the Mandate of Heaven: 'suicide [or exile], illegitimate underground resistance or sincere *tenkō*'.[56] This is because 'one is *morally obliged* to embrace the new regime' since to disregard the ruling of Heaven is to subvert the social harmony that is thereby established. The Kyoto School became active participants in the Post-Meiji Confucian Revolution toward the end of this internal struggle when Sōkichi Takagi, a member of the Yonai Peace Faction of the Japanese Navy and chief of the Navy Ministry's Research Section, approached Nishida about the possibility of receiving intellectual cooperation in resisting the Army in 1939. Williams speculates that the Navy may have made such overtures to the Kyoto School 'in reaction to the escalation of the Army's struggle against China'. In particular, the Yonai faction opposed the Control Faction of Tōjō in regard to forming an alliance with Nazi Germany and the prospect of rushing into a 'war to resist American hegemony in the Pacific'.[57] However, once Tōjō had secured the reins of power a national consensus was reached in relation to the conflict, thereby conferring legitimacy upon his regime.

The Kyoto School refused to convert to the new national orientation because it believed that the Tōjō government had

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[56] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 25; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 9; 50-51; See *Mencius* 1B:8; 5A:3; 5A:6; 7A:31; *Xunzi* 15.395; 25.205; See also the *Great Learning* and Zhu Xi's commentary: 'Only a man who is *ren* 仁 will send away and banish such a person … and will not allow him to dwell with him in the Middle Kingdom'; 'The man of *ren* 仁 must deeply reject and thoroughly dislike them' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 171-173.
[57] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 25; xlv-xlvii.

fundamentally misread political reality. Although there was a general consensus across the board in relation to the threat that America posed to Japanese regional hegemony, or for the more ideally minded the threat it posed to the self-autonomy of the peoples of East Asia, there were divisive disagreements about how best to respond to the encroachment of the United States into the Pacific. For the Yonai faction, the only option was to play the waiting game and build up Japan's national strength because it was no good starting 'a war that Japan could not win'. For instance, the Navy had calculated that the country would need at least a '70 per cent fleet ratio *vis-à-vis* the United States in capital ships' just to have a 'fighting chance' of defending the Japanese mainland, a condition that it was never able to meet. Consequently, both the Kyoto School and the Yonai faction had serious doubts about the basis on which the Tōjō government had decided to go to war when it did.[58] Indeed, the first *Chūō Kōron* symposium was originally held as 'a direct appeal to the Japanese public over the heads of the Tojo regime, but … this initiative was overtaken by events' as less than two weeks later Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor.[59] Intellectual exile was also not considered a realistic option because the very fate of the Japanese nation was at stake. As a result, the Kyoto School and its allies in the Navy were subsequently forced underground in their resistance to Tōjō as their viewpoint diverged from the national consensus, as exemplified by the fact that Takagi was 'purged from the Navy Ministry's Research Section [in 1942]' as a consequence 'of his opposition to Tōjō's decision for war'.[60] In this way, Williams insists that the Kyoto School's political activities, including the *Chūō Kōron* discussions, need to be understood

[58] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 71-72.
[59] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War,* 72.
[60] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xlix;

as part of a Confucian struggle that was 'governed by the logic and conventions of dynastic succession to the Mandate of Heaven'.[61]

If the thesis of Confucian Revolution is accepted, various questions arise about the manner in which Japanese society during the war has been analysed in liberal presentations of the Kyoto School. This is exemplified by the work of Goto-Jones. Although he argues that it would be ahistorical and culturally insensitive to attribute a left-right political spectrum to Japan's Confucian tradition, he proceeds to re-label a liberal discourse that reveals 'a field of political philosophy with parameters defined by tolerant and intolerant extremes' with Confucian designations. This is based on the supposed authoritarian and pluralistic interpretations that are possible of Prince Shōtoku's 'Seventeen-Article Constitution', the primary historical conversation partner of Japan's indigenous political tradition.[62] Such divergent interpretations derive from the ambiguities inherent in the Constitution in relation to the concept of harmony, hierarchical designations, and the related issue of the predetermined nature of an individual. For example, Goto-Jones argues that the Constitution is unclear on whether harmony should be enforced on the people or whether is it a 'principle of tolerance', a question he rephrases in terms of whether harmony should be comprehended 'as an end or a means'. The political spectrum itself ranges from the 'monarchical authoritarianism' that was exemplified by the Tokugawa Shogunate and the ultra-nationalism of the 1930s and 40s, to the more 'permissive pluralism' that was supported by Nishida and earlier Neo-Confucians of the Japanese tradition. It is important to note that Goto-Jones goes

[61] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 96; My analysis of Confucian Revolution from pages 103 to 110 is an extensive reworking of an earlier examination I conducted in my review of Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance* – Rhydwen, 'Review Essay: A Confucian Understanding of the Kyoto School's Wartime Philosophy', 73-75.
[62] Considering the Confucian influences on Prince Shōtoku's Constitution, I believe it may be reasonably argued that it is in fact the Confucian canon itself that constitutes the primary historical conversation partner for the Japanese tradition of political thought.

to great lengths to disassociate Nishida's philosophy from anyone he regards as tainted by ultra-nationalism, including the four *Chūō Kōron* participants and Tanabe.[63]

Goto-Jones's attempt to differentiate the various political groups and thinkers of Shōwa Japan along a spectrum based on a Japanese history of political thought is informative and serves as an important reminder of how Confucian ideas have often been manipulated to the political advantage of incumbent regimes. Nevertheless, he seems to ignore his earlier warning about cultural insensitivity by artificially analysing Confucianism in liberal terms despite the divergent presuppositions of these two schools of thought. It is not a question of whether harmony is an end or a means in Confucianism because of the circular dynamic of the tradition's underlying worldview, as exemplified by the interdependence of Yin and Yang. For Confucianism, harmony is both the goal of benevolent government and the prerequisite of its successful implementation. The thesis of Confucian Revolution, in contrast, is an attempt to understand the manner in which aspects of the Confucian canon have translated into the patterns of political behaviour that are observable across the Sinitic cultures of East Asia. This is deemed feasible due to the intellectual hegemony that the Confucian tradition has enjoyed over the centuries. Williams himself questions the suitability of applying the 'French Revolutionary categories of 'left' and 'right" to the Japanese political context.[64] Although not directly related to his research on Confucianism, in his first book on the Kyoto School Williams suggests that political behaviour is best understood in terms of a relationship between the centre and periphery of a debate, which he initially uses to distinguish between political realists and idealists during the war.[65] While

[63] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 7; 28-31; 153.
[64] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 42; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 99.
[65] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 41-42.

somewhat different from its original context, the model of a centre and periphery is also useful for interpreting the behaviour of different groups within a Confucian society once the recipient of the Mandate of Heaven has been determined.[66]

By securing the Mandate, the Tōjō regime was able to occupy the centre of the political system as the legitimate government of Japan. All other factions, regardless of where they were located on Goto-Jones's political spectrum, were a part of the political periphery. The image of a circle that is used by Williams is useful in terms of understanding the varying perspectives of these different groups in regard to how they grasped political reality. It also invokes the idea that Japanese society tended to gravitate towards the centre while a moral consensus on the current political situation was maintained. For example, there was a general acceptance between the various factions in relation to the threat that America posed to Japanese sovereignty in the Pacific. The distance of the various groups from the centre in turn reflects how accurately their respective 'Ways' were thought to be applicable to the current situation of the country as perceived by the majority of Japanese people. Although the Kyoto School and their allies from the Navy were a part of the political periphery during the war, they were perhaps located relatively close to the centre in the sense that they broadly agreed with the reasons why Japan went to war and because of the fact that the Navy was itself a junior partner of the military junta. This is despite the fact that the members of the Kyoto School were poles apart from Tōjō ideologically speaking, since they were strong advocates of political tolerance over authoritarian oppression. This also reflects the fact that the centre itself was

[66] Compare *Ames,* 'Introduction – Centripetal Harmony and Authority', in *Sun-Tzu: The Art of War*, 64-66: 'Authority is constituted as other centres are drawn up into one encompassing center and suspended within it through patterns of deference. This calculus of centers through their interplay produces a balancing centripetal center that tends to distribute the forces of its field symmetrically around its own axis'.

unstable because of the lingering doubts that many members of the political establishment, particularly in the Navy, still held in relation to Tōjō's 'reading of reality'.

In any case, the conclusion of the war witnessed a seismic shift in the location of the political centre as Japan was utterly defeated. As a result, the various nuances of the debates of the 1930s and 40s became meaningless from the perspective of post-war society, which in a predictable fashion turned its back on the past consensus as the country had since 'converted' to the new political orientation that was facilitated under American leadership. Consequently, both the virtue (徳/*toku*) of Tōjō's Control Faction and the wartime Kyoto School had evaporated. This is one of the main reasons why both were so heavily criticised for their roles during the war, despite the stark differences in their ideological standpoints. However, this is only to be expected as the new Mandate of Japan maintained that the war itself had been immoral in light of the country's new pacifist constitution.[67] On the other end of the scale, communist intellectuals during the 1930s and 40s were located on the fringes of the political periphery. Although the persecution of Marxists is often highlighted as an example of domestic oppression, in terms of the interpretative framework of Confucian Revolution the communists were susceptible to such clampdowns because they had deviated too far from the general consensus on political reality at the time. Hence the large number of communists who converted to the virtue (徳/*toku*) of the ruling elite once it became clear that Marxism was a spent force in the current political climate. This situation was dramatically reversed after the war, however, due to the radical relocation of the political centre that followed the passing of the Mandate into American hands.

[67] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 94; 24-25.

If this is an accurate description of Japanese political reality, it is also necessary to re-examine the manner in which the activities of Japanese intellectuals during the 1930s and 40s have been assessed. Goto-Jones believes that the proper role of academics is based on the 'imperative for intellectuals to be exiles in their own homes' or 'to exercise criticism before solidarity and consistency before partisanship'. He draws a distinction between 'insiders', scholars who are implicated in the establishment and its policy decisions, and 'outsiders', intellectuals who distance themselves 'from the institutions that disseminate orthodoxy'. Although Goto-Jones portrays Nishida as an 'outsider' during the years leading up to the war due to his retirement from Kyoto University in 1928 and his 'subsequent declining of invitations to join government forums', he is highly critical of Tanabe and the *Chūō Kōron* participants for 'striving to establish themselves as 'insiders" by 'vying for positions at prestigious universities' and at government sponsored bodies. This is because "nothing disfigures the intellectual' more than allegiance with some partisan cause'.[68] A similar concern is identifiable in the Confucian tradition as well. Xunzi (14.1; 9.60), for instance, states that the Confucian gentleman 'does not listen to words of praise from those who form parties and cliques', and that to 'be biased, partisan, and have no guiding principle is a perverted way of judging affairs'.

Nevertheless, it is debatable whether the distinction between insider and outsider is an accurate portrayal of the role of intellectuals in Confucian societies. Firstly, in Confucianism there is an expectation that the intellectual will put his knowledge to use for the benefit of the community, either through passing on his teachings to others or by putting his ideas into practice when in a position of office. Consequently, there has been a long tradition of 'scholar-officials' in

[68] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 9-15.

Confucian cultures, while the ideal of the Confucian gentleman or exemplary person in turn became strongly associated with someone in a position of authority over others.[69] Certainly, the gentleman as a man of integrity does not form parties and cliques with an eye to power or personal profit.[70] Rather, he acts in accordance with the Way, which in practical terms means acting appropriately based on an accurate and impartial understanding of political reality:

> The Master said, "Exemplary persons (君子) in making their way in the world are neither bent on nor against anything; rather, they go with what is appropriate (義) (*Analects* 4.10).

This also ensures that the Confucian gentleman will attempt to rectify the actions of a ruler who has deviated from the Way of Heaven, at least to the extent that this is possible in the prevailing circumstances.[71]

Secondly, the idea that criticism should always come before solidarity goes against the principle goal of Confucianism, which is to facilitate harmony within a community or social group. This has led to a fundamental misunderstanding about the nature of the behavioural patterns that are associated with Confucian Revolutions. The idea of *tenkō* or conversion, for example, is so disturbing for the Western researcher because it seems to suggest that the Confucian is 'bereft of a moral rudder and intellectual paddle'. Japanese intellectuals are therefore accused of lacking integrity during the 1930s and 40s because they were willing to conform to the official orthodoxy, even if only superficially, over maintaining scholarly consistency. However, as a member of a group in East Asia 'one is obliged to conform *sincerely* to

[69] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 239; Watsuji, 'Nihon no shindō', 304-305.
[70] See *Analects* 4.12, 14.12.
[71] See *Mencius* 2B:5; 2B:12; 3B:6; 4B:3; 5B:9; 6B:6; 6B:7; *Xunzi* 4.230; 13; 27.210.

its mores and objectives'. Debates within a group often take place with an eye toward consensus building. A decision is made once everybody is on board, either because an agreement has been reached or because those who disagree are willing to concede the point to ensure a consensus. What is more, once the decision is made everyone shares responsibility, irrespective of one's personal opinions on the matter. This is because it is solidarity, not criticism, which is the moral ideal – 'The nail that stands out is hammered down'.[72] That is not to say that there is no dissent in Confucian societies. However, the manner in which such dissent manifests has to be understood in the context of Confucian patterns of political behaviour – when the Way does not prevail in a society 'be perilously high-minded in your conduct, but be prudent in what you say' (*Analects* 14.3).

According to Williams Confucians are 'truth-seekers'. Based on a thorough assessment of the prevailing trends and patterns of a community, Confucians seek to establish the one best Way or truth for securing peace and harmony. However, because of the changing nature of the world the truths that are discovered are always transient in nature:

> The truth of the Mandate holder, the truth of his regime and the truth that the bulk of the society conforms to does not endure; these truths are contingent and therefore not eternal.

Confucian Revolutions generate a 'series of 'truths". While these truths are 'sincere and correct at the time of the regime in question', the truth before and after the regime are very different because changing circumstances require new guiding principles.[73] The prevailing

[72] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 46-47; 82; An important modern example of such group decision making is the *ringi* (稟議) system employed in Japanese corporations.
[73] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 45; 50.

paradigm of a society will in turn affect how the 'truth' of the previous regime is assessed. This is often of a highly critical nature because the virtue (徳/*toku*) of the present regime was secured as a consequence of the failings of its predecessor. Nevertheless, these criticisms are themselves contingent because they are only true for the duration that the virtue of the present regime is maintained. Once its reserves of virtue are depleted and the Mandate of Heaven is lost its claims to truth will also be rescinded. Confucian intellectuals are consistent but only in terms of the form rather than the content of an argument. This is because the Confucian gentleman needs to be adaptable to the ever-changing situation of a society. This is the reason why he should not be 'partisan' in the fulfilment of his public duties.

Kōsaka's political activities during the 1930s and 40s were consistent with those expected of a Confucian-inspired intellectual. Like his colleagues, he had serious doubts about the truth-claims of the Tōjō government. While he acknowledged that maintaining internal harmony was essential during a time of national crisis, he believed that such a consensus needed to be built upon a rigorous and open debate of the known 'historical' facts. As a result, the 'strong points' of the various ideological perspectives that are held by different people should not be rejected out of hand simply for being non-Japanese if they could be successfully utilised for the benefit of society.[74] The Army, however, was forcing a consensus upon the people through a programme of indoctrination, censorship and oppression. Although Tōjō appealed emotionally to the hearts of many in relation to the perceived threat represented by the United States, an enforced consensus based exclusively on the ideology of the Japanists was dangerous because it was woefully inflexible before the rapidly changing circumstances of a world at war. This is one of the reasons

[74] Masaaki Kōsaka, 'Shisō-sen no keijijō-teki konkyo [The Metaphysical Basis of Intellectual Warfare]', *Chūō Kōron* June (1943), 10; Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The First Symposium', 148-151.

why the Kyoto School were such strong advocates of academic freedoms.[75] Proper decisions needed to be based on a thorough understanding of historical reality, which would not be possible with overly 'religious, mythical or ideological' interpretations of the facts.[76]

Kōsaka continued to publish his ideas on the responsibilities that were held by the Japanese people in relation to the other nations of East Asia in the hope that the Army and its supporters would listen to reason.[77] However, it was highly unlikely that reform could be initiated successfully in the public sphere alone because the Tōjō regime, for better or worse, was the morally legitimate government of Japan. While by disassociating oneself from the ruling elite a scholar may secure his or her individual moral integrity, the Confucian intellectual is obliged to try and initiate change for the better if the opportunity arises – 'If the way (道) is going to prevail in the world, it is because circumstances (命) would have it so (*Analects* 14.36). Because the Navy represented the only realistic option for countering the recklessness of the Army, the Kyoto School philosophers willingly cooperated with the Yonai Peace Faction.[78/iv] What is more, this opportunity only presented itself through the mediation of Nishida, despite his supposed 'outsider' status.[79] While questions have been raised as to what the Navy could have expected from their alliance with the Kyoto School, in Confucian terms this was understandable because any attempt to undermine the virtue (徳/*toku*) of the Tōjō regime had to be based on a viable interpretation of political reality.[80]

Although the Kyoto School thinkers continued to express their ideas to the extent that this was possible in the public forum, because

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[75] Michiko Yusa and Pierre Lavelle, 'Correspondence,' *Monumenta Nipponica*, 49/4 (Winter, 1994): 524-529.
[76] Williams, 'Footnote 98' in Kōsaka *et al.*, 'The First Symposium', 150.
[77] Kōsaka, 'Aru tetsugakusha no hansei', 18-19.
[78] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 240.
[79] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xliii; xlvi-xlvii.
[80] Yasumasa Ōshima, *et al.* 'Zadankai: Daitōa sensō', 27-28.

of the seditious nature of their alliance with the Navy the main meetings were held in secret – 'Be known in the world when the way prevails, but remain hidden away when it does not' (*Analects* 8.13). As is to be expected, the objectives of the alliance between the Kyoto School and the Navy changed in accordance with the shifting circumstances of the time. In the beginning they debated how to prevent the outbreak of war with America (1941). The focus shifted to the problems of the Co-Prosperity Sphere after the outbreak of hostilities (1942) and then to bringing down the Tōjō cabinet once the conflict took an irreparable turn for the worse (1943). When it became clear that Japan would be defeated, the debate again shifted to the inevitable fallout of the war and the recovery of the Japanese nation (1944).[81] While it is difficult to judge the extent to which the Kyoto School influenced Navy policy, it is reasonable to assume that their suggestions were taken into account considering the number of meetings that were held at the Navy's expense.[82] At the same time, the Navy ensured that the opinions of the Kyoto School would continue to be heard by organising the *Chūō Kōron* symposia and having Kōsaka and Kōyama join the national committee for censorship to ensure that it was not completely dominated by the Army and its extremist supporters.[83] By having someone involved in the debates of the committee, and therefore the process of consensus building, it was hoped that they would be able to exert an influence on the outcome of the decisions made. Ultimately, Kōsaka's involvement in this committee was the main reason why he was automatically purged from Kyoto University during the American occupation. Although Tetsushi Furukawa and Michio Takeyama are often highly critical of Japanese intellectuals who supported the war, they expressed their admiration

[81] Ōhashi, *Kyoto gakuha to Nihon kaigun*, 17-18; Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 112.
[82] Ōshima, 'Daitōa sensō to Kyoto gakuha'.
[83] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 113-114.

for the fact that the Kyoto School philosophers complied with the purge quietly and without attempting to defend their actions.[84] Even though Kōsaka joined the committee as part of an effort to counter the Army, as a member of the group he too shared responsibility for the decisions that were made. Moreover, the wartime Kyoto School had lost its virtue (徳/*toku*) once Japan was defeated because its arguments had been based on support for the war. As a Confucian-inspired intellectual it was only natural that Kōsaka would accept his intellectual exile and convert to the new political orientation thereafter as he was a part of the losing side of the decisive Confucian Revolution of 1945.[85]

[84] Ōshima, *et al.,* 'Zadankai: Daitōa sensō to Nihon no chishikijintachi nitsuite – Kyoto gakuha', 25.26.
[85] Kōsaka, 'Aru tetsugakusha no hansei', 9-10.

Chapter 4 Japanese Citations

[i] 哲学的な瞑想ではあり得ない

[ii] 偉大な将軍は深い政治的洞察を有たなければならない

[iii] 世界は矛盾的自己同一としてどこまでも作られたものから作るものへと動いていく。環境に適さない社会形態が行き詰まると中国では天命の思想により易姓革命が起り、日本では皇室に復する復古となる。それは昔の制度、文物に帰るというのではなく、逆に新たなる世界へ歩みだすのである。明治維新とはそういうものであった

Nishida's original prose: 主体が環境を環境が主体を限定する。一つの世界が成立するには、それぞれの環境に応じて主体的なものがなければならない。併し世界は矛盾的自己同一として何処までも作られたものから作るものへと動いていくのである…我国歴史に於て主体的なるものは、それぞれの時代に於てそれぞれの時代の担い手の役目を演じたのであろう。併し作られて作るものとして、如何なる主体ももはや環境に適せない、即ち社会形態が行詰まる時が来なければならない。歴史が生きるものであるかぎり、然らざるを得ない。支那ではかかる場合が易世革命となった。我国ではそれがいつも皇室に帰ると云うことであった、復古と云うことであった。そしてそれはいつも昔の制度文物に返ると云うことでなく、逆に新なる世界へと歩み出すと云うことであった。明治維新と云う如きものが最も之を明にして居ると思う/A subject determines its environment and the environment determines the subject. In order for a 'world' to form there must be something subjective that matches its environment. Nevertheless, the world is a contradictory self-identity that constantly moves as that which is created to that which creates. In the history of our country there has been something subjective within different ages that has been able to bear the burdens of the period. However, as [a process] of from the created to the creating, there will come a time when the subject no longer matches its environment, in other words a time when the form of a society reaches a dead-end. As long as history is a 'living' thing this will always be so. In the case of China this led to a 'revolutionary change of dynasty'. In our country, this always resulted in a return to the Imperial Family or in a form of 'Restoration'. What is more, this did not always mean a return to a past system or culture, but rather the first steps to a new world. I think it is the Meiji Restoration that best demonstrates this.

[iv] 東条を中心とする陸軍のやり方にはわれわれも強い不満を持ち、せめてもの期待を海軍に対して抱いていた

Part Three – The Philosophy of Masaaki Kōsaka

In this section I present a detailed examination of Kōsaka's philosophy of history. Although I continue to highlight the importance of the respective philosophies of Nishida and Tanabe for Kōsaka's speculations, the focus of my analysis shifts away from the general cultural and intellectual influences of Confucianism, to his personal engagement with and reflections upon the Western philosophical tradition. This marks a significant break with the first half of the dissertation. However, the main aim of these four chapters is to accurately portray the philosophy of a Japanese thinker whose ideas remain relatively unknown in the post-war era. It is therefore essential that Kōsaka be allowed to speak in his own words as far as possible. While I believe Confucianism was a significant influence upon his conception of the historical world, like many of his associates in the Kyoto School he rarely cites directly from East Asian sources in his writings. I therefore present my own Confucian interpretation of Kōsaka's philosophy of history separately from this examination in Chapter 9. This ensures that readers who disagree with the importance I attribute to Confucianism are still able to engage his ideas free from the biases of the interpretative schema I adopt.

Although I refer to a wide selection of Kōsaka's books and papers, I draw upon three of his works in particular. The first is his major pre-war text *The Historical World*, which was published in 1937. The other two books are works that are representative of his wartime thought, *The Philosophy of the Nation* from 1942 and the *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* from 1943. While Kōsaka no doubt continued to develop his understanding of the historical world over the course of his career, most notably in relation to his conception of historical subjectivity, overall his wartime philosophy is generally consistent with his pre-war speculations. I therefore stress the continuity in the

philosophical ideas that he expresses in each of these works. I begin by introducing some of the main influences upon Kōsaka's deliberations as highlighted by his son Setsuzō Kōsaka, followed by a number of ideas that I personally identify as vital for comprehending Kōsaka's arguments. I then proceed to examine various aspects of his philosophical system, starting with his epistemology and then proceeding on to his conception of historical nature and historical subjectivity. This analysis loosely follows the order in which Kōsaka himself presented his ideas in *The Historical World*, the work that laid the foundations for all of his later speculations.

Chapter 5: The Philosophical Beginnings of the Historical World

5a: Goethe, Kant and Nishida

Setsuzō Kōsaka describes three main influences upon his father's early gestation of the philosophy of history. These were Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, Immanuel Kant and his mentor at Kyoto University, Kitarō Nishida. Specifically, Setsuzō Kōsaka focuses on the importance of Goethe for his father's recognition of the significance of metaphysics, the influence of Kant's essay on *Perpetual Peace* for his philosophical conception of history, and Nishida's deliberations on the 'eternal now' as the principle standpoint from which he undertook his investigations.[1] Other important Western influences include G.W.F. Hegel's political philosophy and Wilhelm Dilthey's own reflections upon the formation of the historical world. It should also be noted that the work of other thinkers associated with the Kyoto School were important sources of inspiration for Kōsaka's philosophical deliberations as well. This includes Tetsurō Watsuji and his research on the social and cultural significance of climate, Kiyoshi Miki and his deliberations on the philosophy of history and the key concept of subjectivity, and Hajime Tanabe's monumental work on the logic of the species.[2]

Goethe and Metaphysics

Kōsaka was attracted to the works of Goethe from an early age and he always kept in his study a large volume on the German poet written by his school teacher Kinji Kimura. In particular, Kōsaka was greatly affected by the following quote from *Faust*:

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[1] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei*, 54-110.

[2] Tetsurō Watsuji, 'Fūdo [Climate]', *Watsuji Tetsurō zenshū dai hachi kan* [*The Complete Works of Tetsurō Watsuji: Volume 8*] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962), 1-256; Kiyoshi Miki, 'Rekishi tetsugaku [The Philosophy of History]', *Miki Kiyoshi zenshū dai roku kan* [*The Complete Works of Kiyoshi Miki: Volume 6*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967) 1-287; Hajime Tanabe, *Shu no ronri: Tanabe Hajime tetsugaku sen I* [*Logic of the Species: Selected Works of Hajime Tanabe Vol. 1*], edited by Masakatsu Fujita (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 2010).

> That I may detect the inmost force
> Which binds the world, and guides its course;
> Its germs, productive powers explore,
> And rummage in empty words no more![3/i]

He quotes a part of the original German at the start of his book *The Philosophy of the Nation*, stating that anyone who feels the same desire to understand the inner workings of the world 'stands before metaphysics'.[4/ii] Shirō Kōsaka describes Kōsaka as 'less a metaphysician than a historian of philosophy'.[5] However, Setsuzō Kōsaka believes that these words from Goethe were an important impetus throughout the course of his father's investigations on the philosophy of history.[6] Kōsaka states that Nishida and Tanabe taught him the importance of logic, because without logic there could be no metaphysics, and 'without an exploration of the metaphysical world there could be no true philosophy'.[7/iii] Any attempt to answer the question of what it is that 'binds the world' necessarily encounters the metaphysical. Kant believed that human beings naturally concern themselves with the world around them, while human reason is disposed to seek answers to the problems it encounters and completion

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[3] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei,* 95; Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust – A Tragedy*, trans. by Bayard Taylor (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company – Riverside Press Cambridge, 1912), 18 (Although Taylor's translation is old, of all the editions I have consulted he most accurately captures the nuance of Kōsaka's own interpretation of this passage – 'I wish to know what it is that guides/controls the world from its innermost depths; I wish to see all the powers that move here and all the seeds [from which they derive].' (The original Japanese is provided in endnote i) – For a more recent and very different translation of this passage see also Johan Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust with the Urfaust*, trans. by John R. Williams (Ware (UK): Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2007), 14: 'I'll know what makes the world revolve, Its inner mysteries resolve, No more in empty words I'll deal – Creation's wellsprings I'll reveal').
[4] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 1.
[5] Shirō Kōsaka, 'Kōsaka Masaaki (1900-1969)', in James W. Heisig, *et al.*, *Japanese Philosophy: A Sourcebook* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 708.
[6] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me.*
[7] Kōsaka, 'Jō [Introduction]' in *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku,* 3-4.

to the solutions it proposes.[8] Consequently, human beings have a natural propensity for the metaphysical once they encounter a question for which the answer transcends the limits of human experience.

For Kant himself, these were questions such as 'What can I know?', 'What ought I to do?', and 'What may I hope?'.[9] However, as a consequence of this natural propensity, the history of Western metaphysics has often been a tale of wild speculations and one-sided dogmatism. Nevertheless, Nishida taught Kōsaka that because 'philosophy is an academic discipline of totality'[iv] it necessarily encounters the metaphysical problems of the 'absolute', 'transcendence' and the 'inmost force' that drives the world.[10/v] In his introduction to *The Historical World*, Kōsaka writes:

> If human existence is an existence that philosophises, then the historical is no longer simply temporal, but contains a deep crevice that transcends time. In the depths of history there is something that is profoundly philosophical, something that is profoundly eternal.[11/vi]

Although Kant was known by his contemporaries as the 'all-destroyer' for revealing the inherent fallacies of metaphysical theories, Kōsaka was greatly influenced by Kant's development of a new philosophy of 'practical-subjectivity' or *shutaisei* (主体性), in which the focus of metaphysics shifted away from purely theoretical concerns to the practical realisation of metaphysical ideals.[12]

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[8] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Kanto* (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1977), 66.
[9] Immanuel Kant, *Immanuel Kant, Critique of Pure Reason,* trans. J. M. D. Meiklejohn (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2003), 451.
[10] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 97; Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 134.
[11] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 3.
[12] Kōsaka, *Kanto kaishaku no mondai*, 171.

Kant and Metaphysics

For much of his early academic career Kōsaka was known as a Kantian scholar. His graduation thesis at Kyoto University was on Kant's conception of general consciousness and the problems of transcendental apperception.[13] After securing a teaching position he went on to publish numerous articles on Kant including a paper on the meaning of nature within his philosophy.[14] However, in his writings on Kant, Kōsaka would often focus on the practical dimension of Kantian metaphysics, an important influence for his own formulations of historical subjectivity. The antinomies of pure reason demonstrated the futility of attempting to solve the fundamental problems of metaphysics theoretically, whether concerning the existence of God, immortality or freedom. However, through the practical application of the moral law as a regulative principle, the noumenon of freedom attained a positive significance. This is because the *a priori* moral law always implies freedom, and those who act in accordance with its maxims must necessarily be autonomous in their self-determination.[15] Kōsaka states that for Kant it is only through its 'practical application [that reason] became constructive and the bounds [of its use] established. In this way, the metaphysical world comes to be practically constituted'.[16/vii] On numerous occasions Kōsaka reiterates the practical significance of the metaphysical concepts he employs. For instance, the historical substratum of nature only holds meaning as substance in the historical world through the necessity of its positon in relation to the continual process of historical rebirth or creation in the present. Nature is the necessary material for the development of the human spirit, which as Hegel taught was practically orientated as it

[13] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 10.
[14] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 313.
[15] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, trans. by Mary Gregor (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 26.
[16] Kōsaka, *Kanto*, 66.

aimed toward the self-realisation of its concept, or in other words, freedom.[17] Kōsaka reinterprets this in terms of the development of historical subjectivity.

In regard to the philosophy of history specifically, Setsuzō Kōsaka points out the importance of Kant's essay on *Perpetual Peace.* Kōsaka translated this work in 1926 and it was included in the twelfth volume of Kant's collected works under the title of 'Kant's Thought on General History'.[18/viii] This translation was also republished as a standalone book in 1949.[19] There are numerous points of congruence between the ideas of Kōsaka and Kant, especially in relation to the importance of treating the state as a moral 'personality' in its role of representing the will of a nation, and the importance of war historically for the migration of peoples and the early foundation of political institutions.[20/ix] Furthermore, for Kōsaka this essay represented an example of Kant's practical application of metaphysics. Sanjūrō Tomonaga, a member of the first generation of the Kyoto School who both taught Kōsaka and helped him secure a lecturing position in Tokyo after graduation, argued that Kant's call for perpetual peace was not something limited to a specific time, but was rather an 'eternal problem' of reason. Consequently, although its realisation may be impossible in practice, as a demand of practical reason the call to end war has absolute authority. It was therefore a moral duty that required continual effort.[21]

Because the historical world was understood by Kōsaka as a 'nothingness-like universal', and therefore subject to the negating forces of mediation, there always remained the possibility of war

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[17] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 224-225.
[18] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 97.
[19] Immanuel Kant, *Eien heiwa no tameni*, trans. by Masaaki Kōsaka (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1949).
[20] Immanuel Kant, 'Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch,' in *Kant: Political Writings*, trans. by H.B. Nesbit (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[21] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 66-70; Sanjūrō Tomonaga, *Kanto no heiwa-ron* [*Kant's Theory for Peace*] (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1947 [first edition 1922]), 78-80.

between peoples.[22/x] Nevertheless, in terms of the practical use of reason the categorical imperative demonstrated the absolute authority of morality.[23] Kōsaka therefore agreed with Kant that war was not something that should take place, while his demand for war never to be repeated was thought to hold firm before reason. The objective of eternal peace represented a goal for which it was the moral duty of humanity to continually strive towards. Indeed, the formation of the state was itself an historical example of a solution to war and conflict between different peoples. As his son indicates, through his translation of *Perpetual Peace* Kōsaka came to appreciate the importance of the political and the moral significance of the state.[24] For Kant, the state was an essential condition for the realisation of world peace, and Kōsaka himself identified the political as one of the two axes of the historical world, the other being culture.

Importantly, Kant also incorporated a philosophical interpretation of history in this essay in the form of the providence of nature, which was presented as a guarantee for the possibility of realising perpetual peace. Kōsaka himself rejected purely teleological interpretations of history because they subsumed the past within a continuous line of development, reducing the past to the 'means' through which the goal of the present was realised.[25/xi] In the words of Herbert Butterfield, this way of thinking attributes a 'line of causation' to history that converges 'beautifully upon the [morally superior] present'.[26] This was a consequence of attempting to understand history from the standpoint of an *a priori* principle, which was not only ahistorical, but destroyed the rich diversity of the past and its

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[22] Kosaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 305.
[23] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku,* 67.
[24] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukume wo mitsumeta me*, pg. 97.
[25] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* pg. 15.
[26] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History,* 12.

independent meaning.[27] Karl Otto-Apel notes the similarities between Kant's description of providence working against the will of humankind and Hegel's later discussions of the 'cunning of reason'.[28] Nevertheless, it is likely that Kōsaka came to appreciate through Kant the importance of history in terms of the practical application of metaphysical principles. After his translation of *Perpetual Peace*, Kōsaka published a further two papers on Kant's general philosophy of history and the problem of history in his religious thought.[29]

Kōsaka also notes the significance of Kant's distinction between a world of external freedom or laws governed by the teleology of providence and the world of internal freedom governed by morality. For Kōsaka, this suggested that there was something more to history than just a 'continuous' line of development or progression.[30/xii] Indeed, Kant himself did not believe that providence was something that could be discerned directly in experience itself. Rather, it was a consequence of the need for morality to be possible in reality and therefore for its objectives to be realisable in the sensible realm of experience or nature.[31] This led to the necessary application of analogies of 'human artifices' when looking at nature from the standpoint of freedom, thereby attributing the 'underlying wisdom of a higher cause'.[32] Providence was therefore a consequence of the judgement of the human will as a guarantee for the practical demand of reason that all hostilities should cease, which as a demand of the moral law must be possible in actuality. It was therefore an answer to his question: 'What can I hope for?'. For Kōsaka, the fact that the world of internal freedom

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[27] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu,* 143-144.
[28] Karl Otto Apel, 'Kant's "Toward Perpetual Peace" as Historical Prognosis from the Point of View of Moral Duty', in James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (eds), *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal* (Cambridge, USA & London, UK: The MIT Press, 1997), 81.
[29] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukume wo mitsumeta me*, 313.
[30] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 15-16.
[31] Kōsaka, *Kanto,* 284-287.
[32] Kant, *Perpetual Peace,* 108-109.

was kept free from the teleology of the external realm ensured that the moral decisions made by the free personalities of the past did not become a part of a chain of historical necessity that would destroy any meaning of freedom inherent in these past decisions. In order to be able to understand this philosophically, an alternative to the 'continuous' dialectic of Hegel was required, which Kōsaka found in Nishida's 'dialectic of discontinuity'.[33/xiii] Through the application of this logic, Kōsaka was able to account for the meaning of the past independently from the present.[34] The temporal application of the dialectic of discontinuity was in turn made possible through the related concept of the 'eternal now'.[xiv]

Nishida and the Eternal Now

After his retirement from Kyoto University, Nishida gave a special lecture at Dōshisha University in 1928 on the 'eternal now'.[35] A summary of the contents of this lecture is provided by Kōsaka in his introduction to *The Historical World*, 'Things that are Historical', which was published as a separate paper in 1932.[36] He explains that there are four conceptions of time: causality or time understood from the past, teleology or time understood from the future, practical time or the temporal as understood from the present, and the eternal now or time understood from the eternal. The first conception, that of causality, is based on an understanding of time flowing from the past into the future. It is therefore based on a sequential interpretation of time that emphasises the prior causes of historical phenomena. For example, a 'shoot' is understood to 'flower and then bear fruit', or a 'child' is understood to 'become an adult and then an elderly person'.[xv]

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[33] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 25-26.
[34] Hanazawa, *Koksaka Masaaki*, 40.
[35] Setsuzo Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 103.
[36] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 30.

The shoot necessarily precedes the flower and the child the adult. In this sense both may be regarded as the cause for what follows.

The second conception, that of teleology, understands time as flowing from the future into the past. Although still sequential, teleology reverses the focus of time so that an emphasis is placed on future goals or that which lies ahead. For instance, 'next year' is understood to 'become this year', just as the present year will become a part of the past as 'last year'. In the same way, the 'child' is no longer thought to 'move closer to becoming an elderly person, rather old age moves closer to youth. We do not approach death, death approaches us'.[37/xvi] Death represents an absolute truth for humanity because it is the necessary end awaiting all human life in the future.[38] Alternatively, becoming a responsible adult may be regarded as the main goal for children. It is therefore a focus on the future that lends weight to the necessity of educating youth in society. The third interpretation of time, that of the practical dimension of the temporal, finds its origins in the philosophy of Augustine who said that we have 'a present of past things, a present of present things, and a present of future things'. Consequently, time is understood to flow out from the present into the past and the future. The practical implications of this are that the past is held in the present as 'memory', the present as 'direct perception', and the future as 'expectation'.[39] It is only human beings that exist in the present who are able to work towards a future objective or who can be held accountable for the consequences of their past actions. As a

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[37] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 19-20.
[38] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Jitsuzonshugi* (Tokyo: Atene Bunko/Kōbundō, 1948).
[39] Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by R.S. Pine-Coffin (London & New York: Penguin Books, 1961), 269; Compare Wilhelm Dilthey, *Selected Works・Volume III – The Formation of the Historical World in the Human Sciences*, eds. Rudolf A. Makkreel and Frithjof Rodi (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University press, 2002), 93-94: 'Concrete time … consists in the restless advance of the present, in which what is present continually becomes past and the future becomes present. The present is the filling of a moment of time with reality. It is a lived experience in contrast to the memory of one and in contrast to wishing, hoping, expecting, or fearing something experiencable in the future'.

result, the present of Augustine 'envelops all of the past, present and future' within it.[40/xvii]

Although the time of the practical present may be regarded as sequential in the sense that it flows out into the past and future, Augustine's interpretation of time allows for a spatial conception of the temporal insofar as the present becomes the 'place' that encloses the past, present and future within it.[xviii] However, following the teachings of Nishida, Kōsaka explains that this is no longer a temporal present that stands in opposition to the temporal phases of the past and future. This is because as 'a present that incorporates all of the past, present and future' it consequently 'transcends time'.[xix] In actuality, it is the eternal present or the eternal now. Time is no longer understood as flowing from the present into the past and future, but rather as flowing from the source of the 'eternal now into the past, present and future alike'. Kōsaka explains that 'we no longer go out from the present, but rather descend into the present … into the past … into the future'.[xx] In his chapter on the historical substratum of nature, Kōsaka quotes Nicholas Cusanus, who argued that the present may be conceived as the focal point of time because the past was once the present, while the future is destined to become it. The past and future therefore represent the historical development of the present, and time may in turn be conceived as a long series of presents. This is reinterpreted by Kōsaka so that history may be understood as the continual development and repetition of the eternal now, or as a long series of eternal presents.

Through adopting the eternal now, Kōsaka introduces the metaphysical into his understanding of historical time. Consequently, he admits that 'it is impossible to apprehend the eternal now objectively or to find it conceptually in the external world'.[xxi] However, as a Kantian in his approach to metaphysics, Kōsaka conceived the

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[40] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 20.

eternal now as a concern of historical praxis. The realisation of the eternal present was only possible 'at the moment of determination when all of the past and future are laid down during practical action'.[41/xxii] In this moment the eternal now fulfils its role as the place where historical creation, mediated by the necessity of the past and the freedom of the future, can occur.[42] This is why primordial nature, the 'dark foothold'[xxiii] or substratum that is said to permit the materialisation of the eternal now within the historical world, was not an object of intellectual intuition but rather of Nishida's 'action-intuition'.[43/xxiv]

The closeness of the practical to the eternal becomes apparent in Kōsaka's explanation of the interrelatedness of the four conceptions of time. He states that the first conception of time, that of causality, aims for the second, that of teleology. Likewise, teleology aims for the practical and the practical the eternal. Human beings are unable to live by focusing entirely on the past, despite its formative importance for who they are. Subsequently, their focus shifts to future goals, which in turn leads to a focus on what is necessary to realise these goals or praxis in the present. However, as Hegel taught, through membership of social groups the selfish objectives of specific individuals contribute toward and evolve into the shared communal goals of a society. The universal ideals of reason thereby serve as the regulative principles that guide collective human behaviour. The praxis of the present may therefore be said to aim for the realisation of the eternal, since these intelligible ideals transcend the temporal realm.

Nevertheless, Kōsaka warns that stopping here would destroy the independent meaning of each conception of time. The relationship between the four aspects of time was not simply one-directional, but

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[41] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 20-21; 170-171.
[42] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku,* 63.
[43] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 174; 181; Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 43-44.

dialectical. The lower levels of time are both enveloped by those higher up, while simultaneously forming the ground upon which the higher levels are supported. Kōsaka compares this to the relationship between the body and soul – 'just as the body is the basis for the soul … a body that is not imprinted with the soul cannot be called a body'.[xxv] The body is the 'negative principle' of the soul.[xxvi] However, as the soul's negation the body is also the soul's 'material'.[xxvii] The negative principle of the body therefore becomes a positive moment of mediation, leading to salvation from the negation.[44] The lower levels of time are too comparable to the body as they constitute the negative moments or material for the eternal.[45] The analogy of time and the body also hints at Kōsaka's rejection of purely idealistic interpretations of history and the need for a historical substratum (being) in order to realise the ideals of a community in actuality.[46] The result is a close relationship between the eternal now and historical nature. This is because nature is both understood to yearn for the eternal, for example in terms of the natural laws or in an animal's instinct to prolong the life of its species, while simultaneously existing in the temporal realm of history. The connection between the eternal now and nature ensures that the eternal is not something that transcends time, but is a necessary part of it. Kant himself understood causality in terms of the natural laws of cause and effect. It is no coincidence that the material realm of nature, which in terms of Kantian causality constitutes the lowest level of time for Kōsaka, forms the foundations for the development of spirit and the infinite creativity of nothingness or the eternal at the highest level of time.

Kōsaka concludes his explanation of the eternal now by stating that:

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[44] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 225: 'A soul without a body would not be a living thing, nor would a body without a soul'.
[45] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 22
[46] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 44.

> Time must be understood as showing a complex mix of the temporal and the eternal. Time is not simply subsumed within the eternal; the eternal is likewise supported within time. The eternal does not transcend time, it is an aspect of true time.[xxviii]

He goes on to identify the world as the mediation of the substantial and subjective or the material and spiritual, stating that the 'historical world is a world where freedom is each respective single event, while conversely it is also a world where all events together represent the realisation of substantial freedom'.[xxix] This resembles his earlier discussions of history as the development of the eternal now, where he states that the eternal now is at once both one and many. This is because it is present in every moment, while simultaneously the same single eternal now when taken as the whole sequence of events. The relationship between the eternal now and freedom is guaranteed by the fact that history is supported through historical nature and therefore the eternal now. The eternal now represents the absolute negation of freedom, through which freedom paradoxically becomes possible. The determination of the ego requires the ego to break through its narrow frame and step into the world. This is because its determination cannot remain empty or only subjective, but must be mediated by the world:

> The ego breaks through its base and is conversely reborn out of something that is not the ego, this is determination. Through its determination the ego is discarded and freedom is negated. Freedom itself becomes an event.[47/xxx]

[47] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 20 & 41: 'The will is free, so that freedom is both the substance of right and its goal, while the system of right is the realm of freedom made actual, the world of mind brought forth out of itself like a second nature'; 'A person must translate his freedom into an external sphere in order to exist as Idea'.

He continues by saying that it is through such determination that the eternal now is both practically realised, while simultaneously 'from the base of the eternal' determination itself is born:[xxxi] 'The ground of the ego becomes groundless and freedom is negated within the substance of freedom. This is the eternal now'.[48/xxxii] Becoming groundless allows one to transcend one's limits and rise up to the eternal. In this way it also becomes possible for a dialogue with the historical Thou of the past, because the eternal now, as the 'place' of historical praxis, encompasses all of the past, present and future within it.

5b: The Necessity of a Philosophy of History

Kōsaka's first publication of his ideas on the historical world in 1932 was greatly praised by both Nishida and the novelist Tōson Shimazaki. Kōsaka continued to focus on the philosophy of history thereafter, and published a further six essays that together would make up the various chapters of his first book on his own philosophical ideas, *The Historical World.*[49] Each of the later essays was both a development and amendment of his earlier arguments as he responded to the criticisms of his colleagues and his own understanding of history evolved. However, this historical research derived not only from a purely academic interest but also from practical necessity. Hanazawa explains that before Kōsaka published *The Historical World* there had been only one previous book that focused specifically on the philosophy of history in Japan, a work that was entitled *The Philosophy of History* (1932) by Kiyoshi Miki.[xxxiii] Nevertheless, at the time arguments concerning history were becoming more central to philosophical debates, a trend that would continue throughout the war.[50] This coincided with the so-called *Kehre* or turn of the Kyoto School in the

[48] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 24; 241; 172.
[49] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukume wo mitsumeta me*, 94.
[50] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 31; 29.

late 1920s and early 1930s 'away from an exclusive focus on religious and metaphysical concerns to history and politics', for which the philosophy of 'Tanabe was instrumental'.[51]

Consequently, Tanabe's work on the logic of the species became an important work of reference for the members of the second generation in their engagement with the historical and political.[52] This included Kōsaka who stated that his own works were also an attempt to 'solve the problem of the logic of the species in my own way'.[53/xxxiv] Importantly, Tanabe insisted that 'a concrete logic could not stop at formalism; it had to be a logic of reality, a logic of existence'.[54/xxxv] Of his motivations he explains:

> I proposed to investigate the actual structure of society as a state understood as a system of dialectical relationships … I wanted to address [the kind] of nationalism that was coming to the fore in those years … this meant I had to criticise … the theory of liberalism that dominated Japanese thinking [from the 1920s] as well as the totalitarianism that emerged in the mid-1930s.[55]

Kōsaka himself would come to understand logic, which was essential for metaphysics and therefore philosophy as a whole, as 'the phenomenon of the self-mediation of the historical world itself'.[56/xxxvi] Philosophy and reality are deeply intertwined. This means that philosophy has to address contemporary issues to be relevant. Its logical concepts must therefore correspond to actual phenomena in the real world. In the case of Tanabe's logical concept of the species, it represented 'the specific base of general society, for example the species

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[51] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War,* 19.
[52] Unpublished letter from Kōyama to Kōsaka in Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 73-74.
[53] Kōsaka, 'Introduction,' in *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku,* 2.
[54] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 100.
[55] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 97.
[56] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 381.

substratum that forms the basis of the nation, social classes, and the state, *etc'*.[57/xxxvii] In this way, the world itself may also be said to impact the orientation of philosophy in turn. Hanazawa states that broadly speaking the philosophy of history had become a global trend. It was therefore only natural that Kōsaka focused on the historical as well.

One of the major reasons for the growing interest in the philosophy of history was the circumstances in which Japan was situated at the time. Many intellectuals believed that a philosophical understanding of history would shed light on Japan's present situation and the likely direction that events would take. Hanazawa suggests that Kōsaka's philosophy evolved from a 'static'[xxxviii] analysis of the historical world in the pre-war years to incorporate the moral 'ought' of Kantianism after the outbreak of hostilities.[58/xxxix] Kōsaka himself argued that during times of 'historical crisis' there is no guarantee that the position in which a nation finds itself will not have changed from one moment to the next.[xl] He continues: 'I strongly believe that philosophical speculation must not be limited to particular place [or context]'. Nonetheless, at the same time it should always be 'deeply rooted in historical reality'.[xli] This is because 'philosophy must become a discipline of *orientation* within the historical world, where the ethical substance [of a people] moves at its very source'.[59/xlii]

Although his pre-war analysis of the historical world may have been 'static' in formulation, the need for developing what would become the foundation of his wartime philosophy may also be seen as a philosophical response to the problems that Japan was facing at the time.[60] The Shōwa period was a time of great unrest and uncertainty both internationally and domestically. In 1927 there was the Shōwa Financial Crisis and in 1929 the Great Depression; in 1931 the

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[57] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku,* 91.
[58] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 29; 13.
[59] Kōsaka, 'Jō', *Minzoku no tetsugaku,* 1-2.
[60] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 29-30.

outbreak of the Manchuria Incident, while in 1933 Japan withdrew from the League of Nations and the National Socialists took power in Germany. What is more, Kōsaka himself was directly affected by political events when the Minister of Education Ichirō Hatoyama suspended the Kyoto University Law Professor Yukitoki Takigawa for suspected communist/liberal sympathies, forcing Kōsaka to cancel his own lecture series on the philosophy of history after only two sessions.[61] In his 'Afterword' to *The Historical World*, Kōsaka reminisces on the events that took place:

> I was given the opportunity to present a special lecture series on the philosophy of history at the Philosophy Department of Kyoto Imperial University. Unfortunately, shortly after the lecture series began I was forced to cancel. This was because of the escalation of the so-called Kyoto University (Takigawa) Incident at the start of the summer of 1933. The centre of the 'vortex' was the Law Department, although we [in Philosophy] were also affected. However, with each new day we were caught up in different rumours, assertions and opinions, and could only drift at the fringes of this vortex. There was no way to know where the centre of the vortex was, where the flow of the vortex was heading, nor from where the vortex had formed. This ignorance made our actions utterly powerless.[62/xliii]

He asks whether it is not possible to ascertain where the true centre of historical events is, and whether there is not a way of proceeding from the historical periphery to the historical centre. These questions, he says, were the biggest motivation for what would become the first chapter of *The Historical World,* 'The Historical Periphery', which was

[61] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 96.
[62] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 385.

published as a separate paper in 1934.[63] These questions also confirmed for Kōsaka both the importance of the political in the historical world and the need for philosophy to 'show the proper path of history'.[xliv] This also reflects the extent of Kant's influence upon his thought.[64] For Kōsaka, if philosophy was to adequately address the issues of reality it would first have to grasp the historical nature of this reality.

5c: The Fundamental Assumptions of the Philosophy of History

There are three important assumptions that underlie Kōsaka's philosophy of history and shape its general character. The first is his acknowledgement of Dilthey's assertion that human existence is fundamentally historical; the second is his emphasis on the importance of practical-subjectivity; and the third is his adoption of Nishida's stance of absolute nothingness.

Historical Existence

Dilthey argued that 'We are historical beings before being observers in history, and only because we are the former do we become the latter'.[65/xlv] As a consequence, Kōsaka adopted the phenomenological methodology of hermeneutics as employed by Dilthey and Heidegger, whose work *Being and Time* Kōsaka would later cite as an important influence.[66] Specifically, just as Dilthey attempted to understand life from the phenomena of life itself, so Kōsaka attempted to understand the historical world from the phenomena of the historical world itself:

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[63] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 30.
[64] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 103.
[65] Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 297; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 145.
[66] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 33.

> On the one hand, I analyse the variety of phenomena in the historical world, while on the other, I attempt to track the formation of the historical world itself through this analysis. This is why I refer to the work as a phenomenology of the historical world.[xlvi]

Kōsaka believed that humanity, as a fundamentally historical existence, 'holds its essence within its own history' and therefore within the phenomena of the historical world.[67/xlvii] However, he also believed that human beings are by definition social creatures. He therefore agreed with Tanabe that one of the main problems of hermeneutics was the fact that it could not escape from its predisposition toward internality and abstract idealism.[68] Hermeneutics differed from the critical methodology of Kant in that it did not deduce the formal abstractions of general consciousness, which being *a priori* in nature transcended time. Rather, through the methodology of reduction, hermeneutics apprehended the experience of phenomena in the internal flow of time within pure consciousness. Nevertheless, both of these approaches are abstract in the sense that they 'lack the standpoint of objective spirit and overlook the historical and social subject'.[69/xlviii]

In his critique of the 'general consciousness' of Kant, which in terms of the relationship between the subject and object may be regarded as concrete since the subject encompasses all of nature within it, Kōsaka explains that in regard to relationships between different

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[67] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 382; 3; Compare Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 298: 'Human beings recognize themselves only in history, not through introspection. Basically, we all search for the human being in history; but more broadly we look to history for what makes us human'.
[68] Hajime Tanabe, 'Shakai sonzai no ronri [The Logic of Social Existence]', in *Tanabe Hajime Zenshū*, Vol. 6 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1963), 85; Hajime Tanabe, 'Shu no ronri to sekai zushiki [The Logic of the Species and a World Schema]', in *Tanabe Hajime Zenshū*, Vol. 6, 178-180; 186.
[69] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 183-185.

subjects it is abstract because it exists in isolation. A person is only truly human in their interactions with others, an idea that is lacking from general consciousness hence its abstractness in social terms.[70] The same may also be said of the pure consciousness of phenomenology, which based on the methods of Kant is predisposed to internality. Consequently, Kōsaka describes the methodology of the philosophy of history as a process of concretion. This required the ego to break through its bottom or limited frame, and therefore step out of the confines of general consciousness or pure consciousness into the external world. This he describes as a 'return to the world of objective spirit'.[71/xlix] The fact that Kōsaka discusses this in his chapter on the historical substratum or substance reflects the importance of nature for objective spirit, which was a product of the mediation of the subjective and substantial. Importantly, however, the objective spirit of Hegel was not the spirit of an abstract individual, but the manifestation of the spirit of a community or society that through the cumulative interactions of its members had come to organise itself along more rational lines.[72] In order to understand the true nature of the historical existence of humanity, it is essential to take into account the historicity of humanity as a community. This is demonstrated by the fact that people are born into a society that already has a language, customs and traditions, each products of the history of this society, and each something that a single individual is all but powerless to change on his or her own.[73] In this respect the historical nature of human beings may be seen as a consequence of the very fact that people are social creatures.

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[70] Kōsaka, *Kanto Kaishaku no Mondai*, 197-198.
[71] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 186; 129.
[72] Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 217-256; Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 105-223.
[73] A comparison may be made with Dilthey's discussion on general life-experience, the ethnic nation and the political state – Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 154-155; 190-197; 289-290; 302-305.

Practical Subjectivity (Shutaisei)[1]

Although Dilthey was an important influence on his deliberations, Kōsaka attempted to overcome the limitations of Dilthey's philosophy of life through a synthesis with the principle of reason from the standpoint of the eternal now.[74] Philosophy could not end only with an interpretation of phenomena because it was primarily a practical concern, hence the necessity of the standpoint of reason. However, Kōsaka rejected interpreting history only from the standpoint of pure reason because it was fundamentally ahistorical and resulted in the entirety of history being subsumed under the *a priori* principles of a philosophical system, as exemplified by Hegel's philosophy of history. Instead of 'observing history from within reason', Kōsaka believed that reason should be 'observed from within history'.[75/li] Nevertheless, historical reason was not instrumental reason, but rather the practical reason of spirit or what the Kyoto School philosophers referred to as practical subjectivity (*shutaisei*), an idea strongly associated with political agency.[76] In his wartime writings, Kōsaka interprets subjectivity in terms of a dynamic cycle of historical problems and solutions. Specifically, this refers to the ability of the historical subject to rationally comprehend and resolve the problems that arise within the current historical environment.[77] In this sense history proceeds as a subjectively driven discontinuous-continuity, as the solutions developed by the historical subjects of a previous age become the problems that must be resolved by the historical subjects of the present.

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[74] For Kōsaka's analysis of Dilthey's typology see also Masaaki Kōsaka, *Shōchōteki ningen* [Symbolic Humans] (Tokyo: Genbundō, 1941), 3-37.
[75] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 382; 33; 35; Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 297-298
[76] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 30; 136.
[77] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 126; Compare Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 207: 'Every age refers back to the preceding age, takes up forces that were developed in it, and simultaneously, it already contains the stirring and creativity that prepares for the succeeding age. Just as it arose from the insufficiency of an earlier age, so it carries within itself the limits, tensions, and suffering that prepares for the future age'.

Philosophies of practical subjectivity in the Western tradition may trace their origins back to Kant, who first approached the Cartesian ego not as a theoretical substance, but as a practical subject. Kōsaka explains how through Kant the consciousness of the Enlightenment developed into the spirit of German Idealism, which he describes in the Kantian terms of a progression from the standpoint of the 'intellect'[lii] to the standpoint of 'reason':[liii]

> The ego does not simply discover laws within nature. Rather, the ego stipulates these laws for nature [via the *a priori* categories of the understanding]. In this sense, it is the ego that makes nature possible … However, this legislator of nature is not the true self. The theoretical ego is only one aspect of the true self, which is practically-orientated and forms its own foundations … This is not a substance, but a subject … Philosophy up until [Kant] did not treat [the ego] as a subject of moral practice, only as an object of metaphysical speculation. This led to the numerous errors of rational psychology, which Kant attributes to his so-called paralogism … the whereabouts of the [true] self is located in a far deeper place.[78/liv]

Nonetheless, Kōsaka believed that there is a limit to what Kant's individual subject alone can achieve in the historical world, perhaps reflecting his own powerlessness before the events that unfolded in 1933. Williams defines the concept of practical subjectivity employed by the *Chūō Kōron* participants as the 'rational self-mastery' of a people or nation, 'a complex set of values, practices and institutions without which the planet cannot be properly managed or … history

[78] Kōsaka, *Kanto*, 185-186; Kant *Critique of Pure Reason*, 221-228.

cannot be made'.[79] This again demonstrates the influence of Hegel's conception of objective spirit upon the Kyoto School, for as Hegel argued individual 'morality is not yet ethical life', which Kōsaka describes as the true location of the historical world.[80/lv] Kōsaka goes on to identify the state as the prime mover of history, continuing that the 'power of an individual separated from the state is weak'.[81/lvi] However, he focused on peoples, nations and states not only because of the limitations of individual subjectivity when taken in isolation, which was nevertheless essential for the collective subjectivity of a community and the formation of the state, but also because of the very nature of the historical world itself. Specifically, there could be no history without the social.

In the *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, Kōsaka explains:

> Generally, historical time does not form within the individual; it is only through human groupings that historical time is created and stored … historical memory is not the memory of the individual but the memory of the group, the [historical] will is the will of the group.[82/lvii]

Likewise, in *The Philosophy of the Nation* he argues that:

> The nation is the reservoir of history and time … Time and history is not created in the place of the single consciousness of an individual, it is created and stored within the nation and the state.[83/lviii]

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[79] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific* War, 11.
[80] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsuagaku*, 67.
[81] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 298-298.
[82] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 184.
[83] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku,* 126.

The historical phenomena of culture, tradition, customs and conventions are all products of the social. Articles that are produced by a single person in isolation do not constitute culture. As Nishida taught, culture only emerges as a consequence of the interactions of people and the resulting dialectical interplay of expression and recognition/understanding. This leads to a cyclical process of cultural formation based on the concept of action-intuition, which is described in terms of 'from the created to the creating'.[84/lix] This is only possible within the social context of a species-existence that persists over time. In other words, culture is produced and maintained through the nation and state, which Kōsaka therefore considered the proper subjects of history.[85]

Absolute Nothingness

Kōsaka regarded Nishida's concept of absolute nothingness as the 'major premise'[lx] of his deliberations, stating that the 'historical world symbolises absolute nothingness through its respective [historical] periods and [cultural] regions'.[86/lxi] Hanazawa defines absolute nothingness as a 'non-substantial substratum'.[87/lxii] A similar definition is proposed by Kōsaka, who stated that the 'world is not any kind of substance or substratum. It is the mediating process of all worlds, a place of mediation'.[88/lxiii] Although Kōsaka acknowledged the necessity of the historical substratum of nature or being, all existences in the historical world are mediated through subjective practice and

[84] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku,* 26-27.
[85] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 248: 'What happens to a people, and takes place within it, has its essential meaning in relation to the state; the mere particularities of individuals are at the greatest distance from this object, an object belonging to history'.
[86] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 90; Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu,* 166.
[87] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 35.
[88] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 191.

historical nature was no exception.[89] It too was therefore subject to the forces of mediation and as such part of a process of continual change and recreation in the present. As a consequence, Kōsaka may be described as an anti-essentialist in his approach to the historical world and the political, which is reflected in his adoption of Nishida's dialectic of nothingness or discontinuous-continuity.

Interestingly, Kōsaka compares the dialectic of nothingness with the antinomies of Kant as opposed to the all-subsuming dialectic of Hegel. This is because Hegel's logic attributed a 'continuous' line of development to history that destroyed the independent significance of individual events. In contrast, an antinomy of pure reason attributes equal weight to its thesis and antithesis, ultimately rejecting both in terms of positive theoretical proof. Likewise, the dialectic of nothingness does not entail the 'and this, and that'[lxiv] of Hegel's all-subsuming logic, but rather the 'not this, not that' of Kant's antinomies.[90/lxv] History is therefore understood as a discontinuous-continuity, which in turn guaranteed the freedom of the historical Thou both temporally and spatially. On a personal note, Kōsaka greatly disliked absolute assertions in philosophy and was highly sceptical of Hegel's speculations on absolute spirit. This is because he thought Hegel had transcended the legitimate restrictions that Kant attributed to the human spirit as exemplified by his conception of the 'thing-in-itself', a symbol of the limitations of human reason and the ignorance of human knowledge.[91] Kōsaka argued that reality is always relative in its manifestations, one of the main reasons for the metaphysical symbolism he later adopts in his philosophy. Consequently, it is only absolute nothingness that could fulfil the requirements of the absolute without negating the individual

[89] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 35.
[90] Masaaki Kōsaka, *Tetsugaku ha nan no tameni* (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1992), 163.
[91] Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukumei wo mitsumeta me*, 84.

significance of the particular. This was possible because of the qualitative differences between the absolute as nothingness and the particular as being.[92]

It is important to note, however, that Kōsaka did not regard the historical world as equivalent to absolute nothingness itself. Although Tanabe's deliberations on absolute mediation were influential on Kōsaka, who held that within the historical world 'there is nothing that it is not mediated', in regard to the idea of absolute nothingness he was closer to the position of Nishida.[93/lxvi] He states that:

> Although from the side of absolute nothingness, the historical world is something that should be mediated within it, absolute mediation itself, from the side of the historical world, must remain something unmediated.[lxvii]

If not, there was a danger that the necessary limitations of the historical and the human, which by their very nature are imperfect, would be obliterated in favour of something analogous to a 'false equality' between the absolute and the relative.[94/lxviii] Although the historical world displayed the characteristics of nothingness in terms of its negative mediation of the confrontational relationships of competing peoples, nations and states, something that is substantial cannot be absolute nothingness itself.[95] Rather, as the mediation of the subjective and the substantial, the historical world therefore mediated both nothingness and being alike. It was consequently a 'nothingness-like universal'[lxix] or a 'nothingness-like being'.[lxx] This is inherently contradictory. However, Kōsaka insisted that the contradictions in his

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[92] Kōsaka, *Tetsugaku ha nan no tameni*, 163.
[93] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 336; Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 44-46; Kōsaka, 'Introduction', in *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 2.
[94] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 303
[95] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 44.

logic reflected the dialectical character of the historical world itself. What is more, it was this contradictory nature of the historical world that permitted the possibility of subjective practice and therefore historical progression from one period to another.[96] In terms of the practical implications of the mediating powers of absolute nothingness in the historical world, he defines it as 'absolute relativity'.[97/lxxi] Everything that exists is subject to the forces of mediation. The historical world is therefore a world of birth and death. This is why history cannot be conceived only as a continuous progression, but rather as a 'discontinuous-continuity', a 'nothingness-like universal', or as a 'world of worlds'.[98/lxxii]

[96] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 303.
[97] Kōsaka, *Tetsugaku ha nan no tameni,* 163.
[98] Kosaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 305; 353.

Chapter 5 Japanese Citations

[i] 「世界を奥の奥で統べているのは何か、それが知りたい、そこで動いている一切の力、一切の種子は何か、それが見たい。」

[ii] このような要求を人が感じた時、彼はまがいもなく形而上学の前に立っているのである

[iii] 論理なくして形而上学は成立せず、形而上学への冒険—しかしそれなくしては真の哲学は成立しない

[iv] 哲学は全体の学問であって

[v] 超越と絶対

[vi] たとえば人間存在は哲学する存在であると云うことによって、歴史的なるものは単に時間的ではなくして、超時間的なる深き裂目を有することが知られるであろう。歴史の底には深く哲学的なるもの永遠なるものが存するのである

[vii] 理性は本来実践的であり、実践的使用に於いて構成的たり得ることによって、自らの領域を有し、かくて形而上的世界を実践的に構成し来る

[viii] 『一般歴史考其他』

[ix] 人格

[x] 無的普遍

[xi] 手段

[xii] 連続

[xiii] 非連続の連続

[xiv] 永遠の今

[xv] 苗が花となり、花が果となるように。又子供が大人となり、大人が老人となるように

[xvi] 来年はやがて今年となり、今年はやがて昨年となる。子供が老人に近づくのではなく、老人が子供に近づくのである。我々が死に近よるのではない。死が我々に近よるのである

[xvii] 現在が過去、現在、未来をつつむのである

[xviii] 場所

[xix] 我々はアウグスチヌスの現在が、もはや過去及び未来に対する現在ではなくして、過去、現在、未来を含む現在であるが故に、時間を超えた現在であることを気づかしめられる

[xx] 現在から過去及び未来に行くのではなくして、永遠の今から、過去、現在、未来に行くのである。現在から外へ出るのではない、我々は却て現在の内におりてくるのである。又過去におりてくるのである。又未来に下りてくるのである

[xxi] まことに永遠の現在を客観的に捕えることは不可能であり、観想的にそれを外に見出すことも不可能である

[xxii] あらゆる過去と未来とを実在の一点に賭けて決断に出づる時、一ただその時、永遠の現在も実践的に行ぜられるのである

[xxiii] 暗き足場

[xxiv] 行為的直観

[xxv] 肉は霊の地盤でありながら…霊の刻印を印せざる肉は肉とも言い得ないのである

[xxvi] 否定の原理

[xxvii] 素材

[xxviii] 時は永遠と時との錯綜であることを示すものとして解さなければならない。時は単に永遠の下に摂せられるのではない。永遠は所謂時に於て支えられているのである。永遠は時を超えたものではない。永遠は真の時の一面なのである

[xxix] 歴史的世界とは、そこに於ては自由はそれぞれに一つの出来事であり、逆にすべての出来事は実体的自由の実現である如き世界である

[xxx] 自我の底が破れて、自我が却て自我ならぬものから逆に誕生し来ること、それが決断である。決断に於ては自我は放棄され、自由は否定される。自由そのものが一つの出来事となる

[xxxi] 永遠の底から決断が誕生する

[xxxii] 自我の底は無底であり、自由の基底に於て自由は否定される。それが永遠の今であるであろう

[xxxiii] 『歴史哲学』

[xxxiv] 種の論理の問題を自分なりに解決してみたいと努力した

[xxxv] 具体的な論理は単に形式的な論理ではなく、現実の論理、存在の論理でなければならない

[xxxvi] 論理そのものが歴史的世界の自己媒介の現象であるであろう

[xxxvii] 種的基体である…即ち、総じて社会一般、例えば民族、階級、国家等々の存在の基底をなす種的基体の謂なのである

[xxxviii] 静的

[xxxix] 当為

[xl] 歴史的危機

[xli] 私はもとより哲学がその場限りの思索であってはならないことは、深く信じている。しかしそれと共に哲学は、あくまで深い歴史的現実に根ざすべきはずのものであると考える

[xlii] 哲学は、人倫的実体そのものの根源から動き行く歴史的世界に対し、その方向づけの学問でなければならない

[xliii] 私は歴史哲学に関する特殊講義を京都帝国大学の哲学科に於いてなす機会を与えられた。しかも開講後ほどなく、私は講義を中断するの余儀なきに到った。時に昭和八年の初夏、所謂京大事件の勃発によるのである。渦動は法学部を中心として起こって、我々にも及んだ。しかし我々は日々に異なる噂、宣伝、輿論の波にもまれ、渦動の周辺に漂うのみにて、いずこに渦の中心があり、いずこに向かって渦が流れ去り、またいずこよりして渦は成立し来たったかを、明確に知る便もなかった。その無知が我々の実践を無力ならしめる

[xliv] 歴史のあるべき道を示す哲学

[xlv] 「我々は歴史の観察者たる以前に、まず歴史的存在である、しかして我々は歴史的存在なるが故にのみ、歴史の観察者たり得る」

[xlvi] この書は一方に於ては歴史的世界の種々なる現象の分析を営むと共に、他方に於てはかかる諸現象の分析を通じて、歴史的世界そのものの成立を跡づけんと試みたものである。歴史的世界の現象学と名付けた所以である

[xlvii] 歴史的動物として自己の本質を自己の歴史の内に於て有つ

[xlviii] 客観精神の見地を欠き、歴史的社会的主体を観過する

[xlix] 客観的精神の世界に再び置き戻す

[l] 主体性

[li] 我々は歴史を理性に於て見る代わりに、理性を歴史に於て見なければならない

[lii] 悟性

[liii] 理性

[liv] 自我が自然から法則を汲むのではなく、却って自我が自然に法則を規定するのである。自然をその法則性に関して可能ならしめるのは自我である…しかしそれにもましてカントの意識は、かかる自然の立法者としての自我すら未だ真の自我ではなく、真の自我はかかる理論的なる自我をその一面とし、自らは却ってその根底をなす如き実践的なる自我であることを主張した点にあるのである…それは実体 substanz ではなくして、主体 subjekt である。しかも従来の哲学はそれを道徳的実践の主体としてではなく、形而上的思弁の客体として捉えんとした。ここに合理的心理学の幾多の誤謬が生じたのである。カントはかかる誤謬が彼の所謂論過 Paralogismen に基づく…自我の所在がより深き場面に存すること

[lv] 道徳性は未だ人倫態とは言い得ない

[lvi] 国家は世界歴史の最大の動力である…それを離れては個人の力は弱い

[lvii] 総じては歴史的時間は単なる個人に於ては成立せず、人間的集団を通じてのみ歴史的時間は創造され、貯蔵される…歴史的記憶は個人の記憶ではなくして集団の記憶であり、その意志も集団の意志なのである

[lviii] 民族が歴史の貯蔵庫 reservoir であり、時間の貯蔵庫である…時間と歴史とは、単に個人意識の場に成立するのではなく、民族と国家を通じて創造されつつ保存されて行くのである

[lix] 作られたものから作るものへ

[lx] 大前提

[lxi] 歴史的世界は時代的にも地域的にも絶対無を象徴するのである

[lxii] 無基体の基体

[lxiii] 世界はいかなる実体でもなく、また基体でもない。しからずして諸世界の媒介過程であり、媒介の場である

[lxiv] あれもこれも

[lxv] あれでもない、これでもない

[lxvi] 歴史的世界に於てはいかなるものも無媒介ではない

[lxvii] 絶対無の側よりすれば、歴史的世界もその中に媒介されているべきであるけれど、絶対媒介そのものが、歴史的世界の側よりしては未媒介であり、無媒介として残されるのでなければならない

[lxviii] 悪平等

[lxix] 無的普遍

[lxx] 有的無

[lxxi] 絶対的相対性

[lxxii] 世界の世界

Chapter 6: The Epistemology of the Historical World

6a: The Historical Universalism of Proper Nouns

The Historical World

Kōsaka's philosophy of history is not wholly concerned with the past, but rather the historical world as it manifests in the 'eternal' present, which in terms of the process of historical formation represents the focal point of time through its mediation of the necessity of the past and the freedom of the future within historical praxis.[1] Where the purpose of the academic discipline of history is to record the past, the philosophy of history is a discipline of 'orientation' that reveals the direction of world history, and therefore guides action in the present. This explains Kōsaka's attempt to ascertain the relationship between the historical periphery and the centre of the historical world. However, knowledge of the past is still essential because that which is historical is necessarily mediated by the past. This includes historical knowledge itself. Kōsaka explains:

> Knowledge and existence in the present, as the historical present, are always received from the past, or in other words they have been necessarily mediated by the traditions and lore [of a culture].[2/i]

In this sense, historical knowledge or cognisance is itself an historical event within the historical world and therefore an aspect of the ongoing processes of historical formation.[3] Furthermore, Kōsaka believed that the potentiality of the past continues to affect historical creation in the present via the mediation of cultural types and models.

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[1] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku,* 67
[2] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 92-93.
[3] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu,* 100.

As a consequence, Kōsaka adopts many of the methodological approaches of the academic discipline of history, in particular those of Leopold von Ranke who attempted to record the past 'as it really was'.[4] Nevertheless, as Kōsaka is concerned with the historical world itself, rather than just history per se, he also employs a hermeneutical approach in order to analyse the phenomena and appearances of historical reality. For instance, the first chapter of *The Historical World* examines the phenomena of the historical periphery, which alone is unable to constitute the historical centre itself. These include rumours, fashions, social conversations and conventions. However, because the historical periphery represents the temporal material for the eternal in its mediation with the historical centre (the eternal now), even within the rumours and fashions of a society the 'character of an age'[ii] appears, while the 'worldview of a society' is likewise discernible from social conversations and conventions.[5/iii]

Historical Essence

Kōsaka held that the essence of history was not atemporal or universal in an *a priori* sense. Rather, it universalises itself through its own historical development. It therefore can only be said to exist through the world-historical events of the historical world, that is to say events that hold world-historical significance. For example, Rome's victory against Carthage in the Punic Wars was a world-historical event because it determined the historical direction of the Classical World in the Mediterranean thereafter. The essence of history acquires universal relevance as the material of the historical periphery flows into the intrinsic principles that determine historical periods. Concerning these underlying principles, an entire historical period spanning hundreds of years may also be treated as a single historical

[4] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 14.
[5] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 98.

event. Importantly, however, nothing that manifests within the historical world is ever complete:

> That which is absolute is never able to be wholly expressed by a specific culture. All cultures that reach completion fall away from its attachment to life, [which it finds] in the ambience of the historical periphery. As it does, it loses its primary power of extension and gives up its seat to a new culture.[6/iv]

As with everything else in the historical world, Kōsaka conceived the essence of history to be in a continual process of historical creation. Consequently, the universal relevance of the historical essence, embodied in the unique principles that define historical periods, only held such universal relevance in terms of their symbolic significance. Kōsaka explains that a symbol refers to a thing that comes to represent something else of a qualitatively different nature. For example, the funeral rituals of a society are symbolic of the phenomenon of death. However, death itself cannot be experienced by the living. Metaphysical symbolism therefore arises when the material of being serves as the medium through which nothingness and its related ideals are expressed in reality.[7] Nishida suggests that the importance of symbolism for Kōsaka was a consequence of his hermeneutical approach to the historical world.[8] In any case, Kōsaka understood the discipline of history to be concerned primarily with historical events, or that which is symbolic or representative of such events, be it individuals, nations, states or cultures.[9]

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[6] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki,* 316-320; 103
[7] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 172-174; Kōsaka, *Shōchōteki ningen*, 29-37.
[8] Kazuhide Uemura, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku ha nan dattanoka: Kōsaka Masaaki no chōsen [What was the Philosophy of the Nation: Masaaki Kōsaka's Challenge]', *Sadai Hōgaku* Vol. 43 Issue. 1 (2009): 12.
[9] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 248: 'Nevertheless, the mass of other individual details is a superfluous mass, by the faithful accumulation of which the objects worthy of history are

The Ideal and the Real

In relation to the historical materials and documentation that have been passed down from the past to the present, on which Ranke said that the academic discipline of history must await before it can commence, Kōsaka states that regardless of whether recording the names of gods, rulers or their retainers, or whether relating to the history of a single tribe or a whole state, all are concerned with proper nouns.[v] As a consequence, what is passed down is a notion of practical-subjectivity because proper nouns necessarily imply human relationships. The significance of subjectivity for historical knowledge reveals a number of important characteristics in relation to what history itself actually is. For example, history is not a direct intuition of reality or a simple recollection of past events. Rather, it is an academic discipline that 'cognises' the past.[vi] Consequently, as human knowledge it therefore requires the use of concepts, categories and logic. The very fact that history begins from historical materials and documentation ensures that the discipline of history is the 'cognition of the cognised'.[10/vii]

Kant believed that the objects of science were not derived directly from experience, but are rather mediated through the 'academic labour' of experimentation and are therefore secondary in nature.[11] The objects of history have also been previously mediated through concepts and are therefore secondary as opposed to objects that are directly intuited. However, for Kōsaka the categories of history are not derived *a priori* as was the case for Kant, but rather from history itself. Basing history on purely intellectual concepts would negate the particularity of different periods and reduce history to a world governed by immutable laws in the same way that Kant

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overwhelmed and obscured. The essential characterization of the spirit and its age is always contained in the great events'.

[10] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 110; 121-122; 114.

[11] Kōsaka, *Kanto no kaishaku no mondai,* 41.

conceived nature, the consequence of which would be a teleological understanding of history. Instead, Kōsaka claims:

> Historical cognisance forms through its close fusion with historical reality itself. That which does not incorporate the meaning of knowledge is not historical reality. At the very least, that which does not incorporate conceptual meaning is not historical reality.[12/viii]

Hanazawa confirms that this forms the underpinnings for how Kōsaka conceives the historical world in terms of the mediation of the subjective and the substantial.[13] Kōsaka continues that:

> Thought or cognisance is an especially important existence within the historical world. That is to say, concepts are real and a reality that is separated from concepts is not historical reality.[14/ix]

This also reflects the importance of German Idealism upon his thought, as exemplified by the fact that Kōsaka acknowledged the relevance of Hegel's notion of essence in regards to the historicity of historical concepts themselves.[15/x]

Historical Categories and Concepts

There are similarities between Kant's *a priori* discipline of science and Kōsaka's interpretation of history in the sense that both

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[12] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 145-146; 154; Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 10: '*What is rational is actual and what is actual is rational'.*
[13] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 34.
[14] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 387.
[15] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 152; See G.W.F. Hegel, *The Science of Logic*, trans. by George Di Giovanni (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 337: 'The German language has kept "essence" (*Wesen*) in the past participle (*gewesen*) of the verb "to be" (*sein*), for essence is past – but timelessly past – being'.

are imbued with subjectivity or human praxis. However, the discipline of history not only differs in the 'method of its conceptual configuration', its categories and concepts cannot be derived *a priori*, but 'essentially in terms of the manner that its objects are given'. Although mediated through experimentation, the objects of science are given directly from what Kant termed the 'manifold of sense', which did 'not yet include human meaning'.[xi] In contrast, history deals with 'that which already contains traces of humanity'.[xii] Kōsaka believes that humans not only create the historical world, but are themselves created by the historical world in turn. This in itself demonstrates the fact that the underlying principle of an historical age, an object cognised by historical knowledge through historical concepts, cannot be given externally to the age that it represents. Rather, it must form within this period itself through the process of its own historical development. This is true for all historical concepts, such as feudalism, capitalism and the national state. Consequently, although categories are usually understood in terms of their predicative function, for 'historical categories the subject must not be predicated externally'.[16/xiii]

This leads to Kōsaka's adoption of two categories from the discipline of history: that of 'individual totality'[xiv] and that of 'development'[xv] or 'movement'.[xvi] Together, these categories constitute the form of a historical concept that adequately captures the inherent individuality of historical existences, such as that of historical figures, nations, states and individual events. The relationship between the individuality and mobility of a historical concept is understood in terms of the fact that it is only through the historical self-movement of the existence designated by this concept, which can be reinterpreted as the concept's own historical development in terms of historical knowledge, that it attains its individuality. This may be understood as the 'self-

[16] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 120-121; 143; 145-146.

determination' of the historical world in its continual movement from the infinite potentiality of the historical periphery toward the historical centre, by which historical trends crystallise into something eternal and universal, namely the intrinsic principles or ideals of an historical period.[xvii] This is exemplified in the development of cultural customs into laws. The customs of Rome only held relevance for the Romans themselves. The universalism of Roman law, however, continued to hold relevance into much later periods of history.

However, Kōsaka notices a potential contradiction inherent in the notion of individuality, because a concept by definition must include both the meaning of intension and extension. Something that is individual and unique, however, is unable to be extended to other individual existences. Kōsaka finds the solution in the temporality of the historical concept. Through the movement of its self-development, the historical concept organises itself into an individual totality. Through this process it takes on the significance of 'communal trends, becomes mutually representative and emerges as something symbolic'.[xviii] In this way, a historical concept may extend beyond its own time into later periods. That which is truly individual in the historical world is also universal as a consequence of its symbolic relevance. This is an example of the influence of Ranke who said that in history 'everything is universal, and yet has individual, spiritual life'.[17/xix]

[17] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki* sekai, 148-151; 82; Kōsaka's understanding of the relationship between the universal and the individual may also be compared with Hegel's conception of individuality or concrete universalism as the 'unity and synthesis of universal and particular, subject and object, form and content', as well as Dilthey's discussions on the interdependence of a whole and its parts within the context of psychic structures and their objectification within the social world as cultural systems – T.M. Knox. 'Translator's Foreword', in *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, vii-x; Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 42-43; 160; 168; 189-195; See also Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 130-131.

Historical Universalism and Proper Nouns

The universalism of the academic discipline of history differs substantially from the universalism of mathematics and the natural sciences because it is not a 'universal law, but a representative universal, a typological universal, a symbolic universal'.[18/xx] This is a consequence of the focus of history on proper nouns. As to the reasons for why historical materials and documentation focus specifically on the recording of proper nouns, including the legends and folklores of antiquity, Kōsaka suggests that it stems from a desire to ground, dignify and rationalise the present from the historical source of a culture, as in the case of legends relating to the foundation of a nation or to a specific culture's protective gods. This also strongly relates to the magical quality that names were thought to hold in the past, particularly in the case of early history. Consequently, Kōsaka believes that it is only natural that proper nouns have become the focus of historical knowledge, 'especially those that have representative significance' for a culture.[19/xxi]

Although within mathematical knowledge it may be said that the names of past mathematicians are also included in the discipline, this is only true of the history of mathematics. Rather, the 'pure potentiality' of the mathematical world is expressed via codes and symbols.[xxii] The same is also true of the natural sciences, which through the mediation of experimentation and observation is primarily concerned with universal nouns. For example, heat, light and force. However, history does not deal with the natural world, but the human world. It therefore 'presupposes an ethical realm' and is subsequently concerned with the practical-subjectivity that is expressed through proper nouns.[xxiii] In regards to the meaning that proper nouns hold within the historical world Kōsaka writes:

[18] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu,* 101.
[19] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 122-123.

> Because proper nouns have the character of (A) a representative universal, their function resides in their role as (B) models or types, through the mediation of which it is possible to understand that which is called (C) subjective causality or attributional causality.[xxiv]

He goes on to introduce a fourth meaning for proper nouns as well: '(D) showing the present orientation of world history'.[20/xxv] The symbolic or representative universalism of proper nouns therefore depends upon its function as a 'type' through which it can serve as an example for future generations.[xxvi]

Hanazawa explains that the representative universal character of the proper nouns recorded in history means that the person (nation, state, *etc.)* that is designated by this noun stood at the centre of the process of historical formation. This is why they hold representative meaning.[21] For instance, historical knowledge is not interested in the valets of Napoleon, but Napoleon himself. This is because he stood at the 'heart of historical universalism'.[xxvii] Behind those who hold representative meaning there lies 'something universal, something holistic', such as that of a whole nation or an entire historical period. It is because of this that they become the 'representatives at the extremities of world history'.[22/xxviii] However, the representative relationships discussed within the discipline of history are also fundamentally subjective. The historical world is not therefore simply a world of haphazard events, but rather 'in each of the steps taken it holds the meaning of an intricate tangle of problems and their

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[20] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 103-104; 110.
[21] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 149.
[22] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 248: 'It is true that the universal spirit of an age in general leaves its imprint in the character of the distinguished individuals of a period, and even their particularities are the remoter and duller media in which the spirit still plays in fainter colours'.

solutions'.[xxix] This is the location of historical subjectivity, through which Kōsaka argues:

> [T]he problems of human life are resolved, while at the same time the subject itself is newly reorganised … this is not simply a world of universal laws, but rather a world of representative universals that form when that which was no more than a trend or a possibility takes shape in reality.[xxx]

This leads into the second meaning of proper nouns in their role as models or types: 'as long as this incorporates the subject of an historical event, it holds the meaning of individuality, while as long as it stands in the position of a representative relationship, it holds the meaning of a model'.[23/xxxi]

Hanazawa states that through its role as a 'model'[xxxii] or 'type'[xxxiii] a proper noun takes on a 'universal structure of potentiality'.[xxxiv] This reveals the proper noun's inclination toward the particular.[24] The distinction between a model and a type lies in the fact that when a type is realised in the actual world it emerges as a real model or example, whereas when a model is reduced back to its logical potential it takes on the form of a type. Kōsaka gives the example of Athens, which was representative of the Greek city states of antiquity and therefore holds the meaning of a real example or model of the city state in history. Through this model the 'type' of Greek city states is also constructed through the logical reduction of the Athenian model. The model is therefore 'an idealistic individual, while the type is an individualised universal, or alternatively, a universalised individual'.[xxxv] For example, when we refer to capitalism or a city state we are referring to a universal rather than a proper noun. This is also

[23] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 104-106.
[24] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 149.

true for historical concepts such as the Renaissance or the Reformation. However, in terms of their use in relation to the historical world such concepts are tied to real existences and real events and therefore take on the role of proper nouns. As models or types are a mediation of the universal and the individual they actually belong to the particular. This is because it is only the species that can serve as the medium between universality and individuality. Once more, however, Kōsaka stresses the importance of subjective action in the historical world. He uses the analogy of a 'mould', 'impress' or 'design', which when used by a representative actor in the historical world takes on the meaning of a model. Over time, this 'mould' becomes a type that is passed down in the tradition of a culture.[25/xxxvi] This demonstrates the potentiality that remains in the subjectivity of the past, which through tradition is maintained and preserved in the present. Kōsaka therefore describes types as practical 'schemas directed at the future'.[26/xxxvii] This leads into the attributional causality of proper nouns, as well as their importance for revealing the orientation of world history itself.

Attributional causality is described by Hanazawa as 'causality that has been mediated by historical typological knowledge'. However, the objective applicability of this knowledge is dependent on 'its appropriateness for resolving historical problems and the extent of its relevance for historical formation in the historical world'.[27/xxxviii] Kōsaka explains that the purpose of knowledge or cognition is to pursue truth. However, unlike nature which does not commit mistakes itself, within the historical world a distinction is made between truth and fallacy because of 'its relation to the subject'.[xxxix] Historical knowledge is itself an aspect of present historical reality, which is why its objective applicability relates to its capacity to solve historical

[25] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 107; 109.
[26] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 354.
[27] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 150.

problems. Nevertheless, this does not mean that historical cognisance is subsumed within the historical positioning of the present. Rather, 'historical knowledge has the double meaning of freeing the present from the past, while also mediating the present through the subjective potentiality of the past'.[xl] For example, in the manner that Spinoza taught that the cognition of necessity was freedom, by objectifying the past we are able 'recover our own subjectivity'.[xli] However, cognition of the past also confirms the inheritance that has been received by the present from the past. This inheritance or subjective potentiality of the past is mediated in the process of historical creation within the present. This strongly relates to Kōsaka's interpretation of historical time as 'time from the created to the creating'. It is therefore a time within which 'models and types are formed'.[28/xlii] This also hints at the inherently metaphysical nature of types and symbolism because of the meaning of the eternal now that is imbued in historical time.

Historical time is the mediation of the quantitative objective time of the laws of nature and the qualitative subjective time of psychological personal experience. As time of historical praxis or the mediation of the subjective and the substantial it also includes the moment of transcendence into the eternal, which leads to distinctions between generations, periods and trends within the historical world. Because historical time includes the moment of transcendence from purely psychological time, in other words the moment when the subject breaks through the limited frame of the ego, it encounters the necessity of fate that is a consequence of the subject's meeting with its other or the historical Thou in the historical world.[29] This is because the determination of praxis entails the negation of the subject's freedom in its mediation with substance within the place of the eternal now. In this way, through the process of historical formation freedom becomes

[28] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 111-113.
[29] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 118; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 333.

necessity as the present becomes the past. This may be expressed as the externalisation of the internal as the expressions of the subject become an independent object.

However, within historical time the external must also be internalised. As Dilthey argued, 'experience is both expressed, while at the same time expression returns to experience once more through understanding'.[30/xliii] Historical time is therefore the 'mutual switch' between freedom and necessity and vice versa.[xliv] In order to demonstrate this Kōsaka once more uses the analogy of the 'mould':

> A mould is something into which mud or clay is poured and from which numerous clay statues are thereby produced. The traces of the pre-image of the mould are left in its imprint on the clay. The mould is something that was created; it is the footprint of the action of creation. What is more, it is called a mould (*kata*) because as the master form it can be used once more to produce numerous clay statues … A mould is both the remnants of the process of historical creation, while also the source from which a new process of historical creation appears.[xlv]

Within historical time the self is both killed and reborn in the process of historical creation. It is therefore a notion of time that through the mediation of necessity and freedom 'flows toward the eternal now'.[xlvi] It is here that the 'symbolic practicality of the type' emerges and the attributional or subjective causality of the past is discernible.[31/xlvii]

This also leads to the fourth meaning of proper nouns as indicating the orientation of world history. As the historical subject is caught in the historical cycle of problems and solutions, the 'potentiality of the past is once more typologically constructed in the

[30] See Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 214-234.
[31] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 119-122.

present, through the negative mediation of which it becomes world formative determining the direction of world history'. Hanazawa points out that it is here that the metaphysical meaning inherent in Kōsaka's notion of symbolism becomes apparent. This is because of the simultaneity of the past, present and future as 'one period is mediated by another, which in heading in the direction of world history allows us to become constructive'.[32/xlviii] This is possible because the temporal is enclosed within the place of the eternal now.

The Simultaneity of the Historical World

Kōsaka explains that a single historical event does not reveal the necessity of historical trends. Rather, it appears when a number of historical events, each with its own subjective centre, share common characteristics. This is a horizontal application of the logic of discontinuous-continuity. It is here that the phenomenon of simultaneity first appears:[xlix] 'I and Thou form one world, and when they meet within this one world the phenomenon of simultaneity manifests'.[l] Kōsaka gives the example of the Reformation which occurred as a consequence of the combination of two different trends represented by two independent subjects. One was a religious trend represented by Martin Luther and the other an economic trend represented by Friedrich III of Saxony. Although they did not know each other personally, 'the beginnings of a new age were rooted in the simultaneity' of these two specific trends and their respective subjective centres.[li] Here is the 'form of the self-determination of the historical world through the I and Thou'.[lii] However, the necessity of a type is said to be more profound in comparison to that of the historical trend of a single historical period. This is because where for historical trends simultaneity is an occurrence within the same historical age

[32] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 152.

and therefore an example of a horizontal discontinuous-continuity, for types the simultaneity is shared between entirely different historical periods.

This may be conceived as a vertical community of discontinuous-continuity, or as the temporal simultaneity of the past, present and future. This is possible in the moment of historical formation within the place of the eternal now. Here, the past and future are both encountered as an individual historical Thou that stands before the I of the present. As a meeting between I and Thou, each hold independent subjective meaning. Because of the possibility of such simultaneity the types of the past continue to hold relevance in the present as subjective potentiality, through the mediation of which the way to the future opens up. For example, the Renaissance, which sought its basis and traditions in the Classical Age, was nevertheless not simply a replication of the past but the birth of a new era. Here the past was itself overcome within the processes of historical creation.[33] In this way, the logic of discontinuous-continuity is not only spatial, but temporal. The place of the eternal now therefore permits a dialogue between the historical I and the historical Thou. The possibility of such a dialogue with the past also ensures that historical cognisance is able to learn of the past 'as it actually was' (Ranke).

6b: The Historical I and the Historical Thou

The possibility of knowing the past was guaranteed for Kōsaka through the concepts of the eternal now and the dialectic of nothingness or 'discontinuous-continuity'. He explains that through the eternal now we are able to descend within the past, present and future alike. As the four conceptions of time, the causal, the teleological, the practical and the eternal, are all interrelated as the lower levels

[33] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 329-330; 332; 354-355; 359.

constitute the material for those higher up, all aspects of time 'continue' into the eternal.[liii] Although time is often said to 'flow infinitely into the past and future',[liv] the fact that all aspects of time continue into the eternal ensures the possibility for a direct 'return' to the past from the present.[34/lv] However, as Hanazawa explains this is not understood as 'travelling back to the past', but rather as a 'meeting' between the historical I and the historical Thou.[lvi] This is possible because Nishida's dialectic of discontinuous-continuity 'guaranteed the freedom of the historical Thou'.[35/lvii] As time incorporates the meaning of the eternal within it, the past too has an eternal significance. Consequently, the past holds a meaning that is independent of the present. Kōsaka acknowledged the importance of the insight that our historical cognisance occurs in the present. Nevertheless, he did not believe that the past could be wholly consumed within the present as this obliterated the independent meaning of the past.[36]

In reference to the phenomenological principle employed by Dilthey, whose methodological approach had its roots in idealism and was therefore inclined to internality, Kōsaka argues that in all probability Kant's concept of the 'thing-in-itself' should not only be conceived spatially but temporally as well:[lviii]

> If it is possible to overcome the phenomenological principle in the direction of space, that is to say in the direction of the body, should it not also be possible to overcome the phenomenological principle in the same way in the direction of time?[37/lix]

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[34] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 23.
[35] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 40.
[36] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 12; 15; See also Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 93-94; 214-216; 250.
[37] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 25.

If the independent meaning of the past is to be recognised it is necessary to ensure that the past is not simply subsumed within the present. Kōsaka gives the example of moral responsibility to show how this is possible. As Kant taught, when I make a 'moral decision' I act freely.[lx] However, with the passage of time this action becomes an event of the past. Nevertheless, I continue to feel responsibility for my action because I still treat my past self as the free personality whose choice caused the past action. Simply perceiving this act as a moment in a chain of historical necessity undermines any meaning of freedom.

Similarly, if I simply perceive my past self phenomenologically and therefore as a product of my present consciousness, then any sense of true moral responsibility is undermined because the independent meaning of the past is thereby negated. Consequently, it is only through the dialectic of discontinuous-continuity that a history of freedom is possible and a dialogue with the past as an historical Thou can take place. History is not just the mutterings of the present, but a dialogue or a negotiation with the past.[38] Hanazawa explains that:

> A truly free living subject paradoxically opposes [its other] while it is creatively unified [by it]. What is more, while it is unified [by its other], it too unifies [this other] in turn maintaining the independence [of both]. Therefore, in the same way that the past is an independent Thou, the future too is regarded as independent and free.[39/lxi]

Nonetheless, Hanazawa still questions whether a true dialogue between the historical I and Thou is ever possible, suggesting that any dialogue may in fact descend into a monologue of the present.

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[38] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 25-26.
[39] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki,* 40.

Kōsaka believed that it is possible, however, because within historical knowledge one's 'ground' becomes the 'object' itself.[lxii] He explains that tradition and folklore forms the ground or substance for those who live by them. More than that, they form the foundations and reasons for daily life. This constitutes their 'subjectivity'.[lxiii] In this sense, the objective spirit of Hegel is the ground for the present. However, although historical knowledge is closely related to historical reality, this alone is insufficient. This is because those who merely live according to conventions and customs 'live only as a continuity of the past, they have no true present and future' and therefore no true history.[lxiv] Historical cognisance is more than just the collection and interpretation of historical documents. Rather, it is necessary to transcend the incompleteness of historical documentation and intuit the trends and patterns that symbolise an age and link the various pieces together. Likewise, 'the historical cognisance that forms within everyday reality is only a part of what is necessary'.[lxv] Some form of transcendence is also required. This is why it is not possible for a revolutionary to write down the history of the revolution while it is still taking place. Subsequently, it is necessary for the historian 'to voluntarily abandon their own ground',[lxvi] that is to say it is necessary for them to 'take flight from the objective spirit' of the present.[40/lxvii] Hegel thought that philosophy 'always comes on the scene too late', concluding that 'the owl of Minerva spreads its wings only with the falling of dusk'.[41] Instead of the philosopher, however, Kōsaka thought that these words were more appropriate for the historian, stating that 'rather than a historian abandoning their ground, it is perhaps more appropriate to say that their period buries itself as the past, by which they become groundless. This is what the existence of the historian is.

[40] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 155-157; 94.
[41] Hegel, *Philosophy of Right,* 12-13.

This is why it is so difficult to write history about the present in the present'.[42/lxviii]

Nevertheless, for the historian the past is not merely dead and buried. Rather, the past falls away in the 'direction of the eternal'. Ranke said that each period of history is in direct contact with God. Kōsaka interprets this to mean that 'within the historian, each period heads towards its centre and crystallises as something eternal. Through the historian the past is eternally preserved'.[lxix] This is what is meant by one's ground becoming the object. By becoming groundless, the historian is raised up to the aspect of the eternal allowing for a dialogue with the past as a historical Thou:

> The object that appears before the historian contains its own independent ground. This calls out to the historian, urges them along and gets them to record its logos. This is something that is subjective, this is the [historical] Thou.[lxx]

Describing his work as a historian, Ranke says that:

> Gradually, a history of the most important moments of modern times composed itself for me, almost without my assistance; to bring it to evidence and to write it will be my life's calling.[43/lxxi]

This is what is meant by describing the past 'as it actually was'. It is also important to note that Kōsaka believed that in order for history to be a true discipline of historical existence, it must 'begin from where methodology breaks down' and intuition begins.[lxxii] This is because as Nishida taught we do not connect with existence through a

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[42] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 156-157.
[43] English translation of Ranke quoted from Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 125.

methodology, but through intuition. At best, methodology is merely a 'guidepost'.[lxxiii] It is no different for existences that have passed away into the past. The standpoint of intuition entails standing before the historical Thou.[44] In this way, interaction with the historical Thou may be regarded as an example of Nishida's action-intuition, which was understood as a direct experience of the dialectical world and the moment in which the subject and object becomes one.[45]

However, the philosophy of history is not only concerned with the past, but historical reality as a mediation of the past, present and future. Because it is necessary for the historian to become groundless to perceive his historical object, historical cognisance is a moment of negation within historical reality. However, for the past to appear as the historical Thou there must also be an appearance of an historical I:

> Within the historian, a historical period becomes groundless, by which this period is negated and preserved as an aspect of the eternal, while that which should belong to the past is buried. At the same time, however, this allows for a new period that includes new trends, ideals and [a new materialisation] of the eternal to rise up by itself from out of the depths of this groundless abyss.[46/lxxiv]

It is therefore a new period of history that appears as an historical I of the future before the historical Thou of the past.

In this way, the historian may be said to prepare the way for the future. This does not mean that the historian can foretell future events, as there is no repetition in history. Each and every event is unique, individual and one-off. Time is always new in every moment and as

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[44] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 157; 140; 139; 141.
[45] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 166-167; 172.
[46] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 158.

such we too become something new as the I of today develops into the I of tomorrow. Rather, the historian prepares for the future by remaining sincere in their desire to know how the past actually was. Kōsaka explains:

> Through the mediation of the [historical] Thou of the past, the present loses its ground, yet from the depths of this groundlessness we are prompted to seek the [historical] I of a new future. Simultaneously, we are mediated by that which is ideal and sacred within the Thou of the past, and in the direction of the I of the future the present is spurred on, encouraged, advised and foretold. However, historical cognisance alone has no power to order or advise us. It is [only] actual examples that move us. The logos of the past is a logos told by a living Thou. What is more, in the recesses of this historical Thou there is something holy. The Thou of the past, for those who are able to know of it deeply, thereby becomes a 'symbol' for that which is sacred.[lxxv]

The historical Thou of the past is always an 'individuality'[lxxvi] and a 'one-off' occurrence.[lxxvii] However, because it also includes symbolic significance its individual, one-off nature attains a meaning of 'universalism'[lxxviii] and 'repetitiveness'.[47/lxxix] In this way, the future of the historical world opens up within the present in the process of historical creation.[48]

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[47] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 27; 160-161; 163-164.
[48] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku,* 63.

Chapter 6 Japanese Citations

[i] 我々の現在が歴史的なる現在として、その存在及び認識が常に過去より贈られたるもの、即ち伝統及び伝承に媒介せられているが故であった

[ii] 時代の性格

[iii] 社会の世界観

[iv] すべての文化はそれが完全となり、生と癒着せる歴史的周辺の雰囲気より脱し行くにつれて、その原始的なる伸展力を失い、かくしてそれは新なる文化に座を譲る

[v]「すべての歴史は文書を俟って初めて始まる」

[vi] 認識

[vii]「認識されしものの認識」

[viii] 歴史的認識は歴史的現実それ自身の存在と緊密な融合に於て成立する。認識の意味を含まない歴史的現実はない。少なくとも観念的な意味を含まない歴史的現実はない

[ix] 思惟或いは認識が歴史的世界において特に重要なる実在であること、すなわち観念が現実であり、観念から離れた現実は歴史的世界ではなきことを知り得た

[x] かくして既にアリストテレスによって「あるべくありしもの」として、又ヘーゲルによってGewesenとして規定せられた本質的なるもの、概念的なるものの過去性との関連は、今歴史的概念に於て、特に鮮かに現れ来ったのである。歴史的なる出来事は、過去の方向に向って完結し行く事によって、概念的となるのである

[xi] 単にその所謂概念構成の方法に於て異なるのみではなく、寧ろ本質的にはその所与に於て異なるのである。自然哲学者にとっては直接に与えられる処のものは、かりにカントの言葉を借用すれば、「感覚の多様」である。少なくともそれ自身は尚お未だ人間的なる意味を有さない

[xii] それは既に人間的なる痕跡を帯びているのである

[xiii] 歴史的範疇にあっては、それは主語に対して外から述語せられているものと考えられてはならない

[xiv] 個別的全体

[xv] 展開

[xvi] 運動

[xvii] 自己限定

[xviii] 共同の傾向を有し、相互に代表的であり、従って又象徴的であり

[xix] すべては普遍にして且つ個別的な精神的生命である

[xx] 恐らくそれは自然科学に於ける如き法則的普遍ではなくして、代表的普遍、類型的普遍、象徴的普遍と呼ばるべきものであろう

[xxi] 特にその代表的なるものの有する

[xxii] 数学的認識はむしろ記号的に組織され、それによって純粋可能の世界が表現されるのである

[xxiii] 固有名詞が何らか主体的なるものを指さし、既に人倫的世界を示していることは前提されてよいであろう

[xxiv] それは、A、固有名詞が代表的普遍の性格を有つからであり、B、その機能は典型的、類型的なところにあり、C、それを媒介として主体的因果或は帰属的因果ともいうべきものが理解されるからである

[xxv] D、現在の世界的方位をも示す

[xxvi] 類型

[xxvii] 歴史的普遍の動脈点

[xxviii] 自己の背後にある何らか普遍的なもの、全体的なもの、例えば時代を、或は民族を、そしてそれを通じて世界歴史を究極に於て代表しているのである

[xxix] その一歩一歩が問題とその解決の錯綜の意味を有つ

[xxx] そこには歴史的主体があり、それを通じて人間的生の問題が解決されると共に、それは歴史的主体そのものが新たな組織を有つことであり…単に法則的普遍の世界ではなく、固有名詞的なものを通じて単に傾向性、可能性に止まったものが現実の形に形成される代表的普遍の世界なのである

[xxxi] それは歴史的出来事の帰属の主体である限り、個性的の意味を有つと共に、代表的関係に立つ限り、典型的の意味を有つのである

[xxxii] 典型

[xxxiii] 類型

[xxxiv] より普遍的な可能的構造

[xxxv] 典型は理想的個体であり、類型は個別化された普遍、或は逆に普遍化された個体である

[xxxvi] 型

[xxxvii] 未来に向けられた図式

[xxxviii] 帰属的因果性は、歴史的な類型的認識を媒介にした因果といってよかろう。しかしその認識の客観的妥当性は、歴史的現実に対して形成的か、問題解決的かの妥当性によるのである

[xxxix] 有意味的な世界であり、主体への関連を含むからである

[xl] 歴史的認識は、現在を過去から自由にすると共に、過去の主体的可能性を現在に媒介するという二重の意味を有つのである

[xli] 自己の主体性を恢復するのである

[xlii] 典型と類型の成立する時間である

[xliii] ディルタイ流に言うならば、体験は表現されると共に、表現は了解を通じて再び体験に帰るのである

[xliv] 相互転換

[xlvxlv] そこに泥土が流し込まれて、そこから多数の泥土像が造り出された如き型のことを意味するのである。それは一つの原像が粘土の上に圧しつけられて残した痕跡であろう。それは造られたもの、否、造る作用の足あとなのである。しかもそれが型と呼ばれる所以は、それが原型として再び無数の泥土像を造りだす点にある…型は造形作用の痕跡でありながら、しかもそこから新たなる造形作用が現わるべき源泉である

[xlvi] 永遠の今に向かっての流れなのである

[xlvii] ここに類型の象徴的実践性がある

[xlviii] 過去における可能性が再び類型的に構成され、否定的に媒介されながら同時に世界形成的、歴史的方位決定的とならなければならない。こうして時代は時代に媒介されながら、歴史的方位に向かってわれわれも建設的となるのである

[xlix] 傾向は非連続の連続の世界の法則である。我と汝の出会う世界である

[l] 我と汝が一つの世界を形成しつつ一つの世界に於て出会う処に、同時と云う現象が成立するのである

[li] 時代の新なる発端は常に特殊なる同時性、宿命的なる同時性に根ざすのである

[lii] そこに我と汝を通じての、歴史的世界の自己限定の形式がある

[liii] 連なる

[liv] 時は無限に過去に、或いは未来に流れると云うのである

[lv] 帰る

[lvi] ただしそれは過去に「行く」ということではなく、「対面」するという意味をもつのである

[lvii] 汝としての自由な歴史を保証しようとする

[lviii] 物自体

[lix] 現象性の原理をかりに空間への方向、即ち肉体への方向に於て乗り越え得るならば、同じく時間への方向に関して、現象性の原理を乗り越え得べきではなかろうか

[lx] 道徳的決断

[lxi] 真に自由な自己を生きる主体は、矛盾的に対立しながらしかも創造的に統一されてくる。しかも、統一されながらも主体は統一し返していく独自性を維持する。それゆえに、過去の独立な汝と同様に未来にも独立と自由がなければならない

[lxii] それは Grund が Objekt になると云う事である

[lxiii] それが彼の主体であり、彼の我である

[lxiv] 慣習のみに生きる人は、過去の連続の上にのみ生きるのであって、彼には真の現在もなく、未来もなく…単なる慣習は…歴史ではない

[lxv] 現実的生活に於て自ら形成されつつある歴史的認識は、未だ歴史的認識への半にすぎず

[lxvi] 真の歴史家は自らの自己の Grund を放棄すべき運命を有つのである

[lxvii] 所謂客観的精神的なるものを脱出して

[lxviii] 歴史家が自ら自己の Grund を放棄すると云うよりも、時代そのものが自らを過去として葬り、自らを grundlos となし行く姿が、歴史家と云う存在ではあるまいか。そこに現在に於て現在の歴史を書き難い所以もある

[lxix] 言わば永遠の相に向かって落ちるのである。各々の時代は神に直接するとは…彼に於てそれぞれの時代は自らの中心に向かって永遠の結晶を有つ

[lxx] 歴史家に対して現れ来る Objekt は、自らの内に独立性を有する Grund である。それは歴史家に呼びかけ、歴史家を促して、自らのロゴスを書きしむる、主体的なるものであり、汝である

[lxxi] 「私にとっては近世の極めて重大なる時期の歴史は、殆ど私自身手を加える事なくして、徐々に組み立てられてくるのである、その歴史を判然たる姿にもたらし、そして記述する事が私の生涯の仕事となるであろう。」

[lxxii] 真に実在的なるものの学は、方法を絶するものに触れる処から始まる

[lxxiii] 指標

[lxxiv] 歴史家に於て一つの時代が grundlos となることによって、その時代は否定されつつ永遠の相に向かって保存され、過去に属すべきものは葬られて、それ自らが又新なる傾向と理想と永遠を含む処の新なる時代が、その grundlos な深淵から浮かび上がってくるのである

[lxxv] 過去の汝によって現在の Grund は奪われて、深き Grundlosigkeit の底から、新なる未来の我を求むべく駆りたてられると共に、過去の汝は自らに宿す理想的なるもの、神的なるものを介して、未来の我に向かって現在を鞭撻し、奨励し、忠告し、予言するのである。けだし、単なる認識は我々に命令し、忠告する力を有さない。実例が我々を動かすのである。過去のロゴスは生きた汝の語るロゴスである。まして過去の汝の奥は、深く神的なるものにまで達している。過去の汝は深く汝を知り得るものにとっては、神的なるものの象徴となる

[lxxvi] 個別的

[lxxvii] 一回的

[lxxviii] 普遍性

[lxxix] 反復性

Chapter 7: The Historical World and the Conditions of National Subjectivity

7a: The Historical World as a Nothingness-like Universal

Kōsaka perceived the historical world as a nothingness-like universal that manifests through the mediation of both being and nothingness. This may be reinterpreted as the mediation of the substantial and the subjective or the material and the spiritual. As Hegel taught, it is therefore a world where 'substance is subject'.[1/i] Kōsaka agreed with Nishida that the historical world was the most concrete manifestation of human existence.[2] This is because it is not possible to fully construe humankind, an existence whose essence is defined by its historical accomplishments, in the one-sided terms of the materialism of nature or the rationalism of spirit in abstraction. Historical praxis is only possible through the mediation of both the spiritual and the material.[3] However, that which is truly historical is not an individual person taken out of his or her social context, but a species existence that persists over time such as an ethnic people or nation. As a consequence, Kōsaka believed that it is the state as the 'individual' expression of the national subjectivity of an ethnic group that best exemplifies this 'earthly-spirit'[ii] or 'Real-spirit'[iii] (Ranke) within the historical world, going on to identify the 'formation of the state as the greatest event in human history'.[4/iv] Hanazawa explains that 'it is by having a substratum that nothingness (the eternal) is mutually mediated with being (primordial nature/the substratum),

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[1] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 241; Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, 9-10.
[2] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 4.
[3] Compare Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 102: Both concepts [the psychical and the physical] can be used only if we remain conscious that they are merely abstracted from the factually given human being – they designate not full realities but only legitimately formed abstractions'.
[4] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 241-242; 245; Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 208: 'Mind in its freedom is an infinitely negative relation to itself and hence its essential character from its own point of view is its singleness, a singleness which has incorporated these subsistent differences into itself and so is a unit, exclusive of other units. So characterized, the state has individuality'.

thereby allowing the structure of … the eternal now to become tangible or substantive' within the world.[5/v] The focal point of this mediation is the state as both a 'historical body'[vi] consisting of a territory and citizenry, and as the 'historical subject', the rational expression of a nation's collective will.[vii] As a consequence, Kōsaka conceives the state as the concrete realisation of the eternal now or the absolute within history.[6]

That being said, Kōsaka rejected the Hegelian perspective of relating the historical world exclusively to the state. Rather, the state must also be understood in relation to the historical world itself. Although the state may be the 'greatest motive power' within history, it is still a product of the processes of historical creation.[viii] It is therefore something that is both 'born' and 'develops within the world'.[7/ix] Kōsaka, who himself identified the state as the embodiment of the 'ethical substance'[x] or 'substantive freedom' of a people,[xi] believed that Hegel's greatest achievement was to be found in the 'foundation of [the philosophy of] objective spirit'.[8/xii] However, because Hegel situated the 'centre of world spirit only within national spirit and the state, it was not sufficiently mediated by [the] absolute spirit' of philosophy, religion and art.[xiii] In other words, Hegel's philosophy of world history was a 'political history alienated from a rich cultural content', while culture itself remained something fundamentally ahistorical as a part of the 'domain of absolute spirit'.[xiv]

Kōsaka argues that Hegel's idea of world spirit, which for Kōsaka represents the historical world, was not adequately mediated

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[5] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 43-44.
[6] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 298; Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 43; Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 212: 'The nation state is mind in its substantive rationality and immediate actuality and is therefore the absolute power on earth'.
[7] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 250; 246.
[8] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 187; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 64-68; 103; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 274; 248; Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 155: 'The state exists immediately in custom, mediately in individual self-consciousness, knowledge and activity, while self-consciousness in virtue of its sentiment towards the state finds in the state, as its essence and the end and product of its activity, its substantive freedom'.

with culture. As a result, Kōsaka believes that the relationship between world spirit and the state remains unclear in Hegel's deliberations on history. Although Kōsaka praises Hegel for progressing from an 'atomistic view of the human being to a holistic view of humanity', as exemplified by his deliberations on the objective spirit and ethical life of a community, Hegel still maintained an atomistic view of the state itself.[xv] Specifically, the Hegelian state first appears as a universal that only enters world history upon displaying particularity. However, this historical particularism had no intrinsic meaning in relation to the *a priori* essence of the state as a rational construction.[9] Contrastingly, Kōsaka agreed with Ranke that it is not possible to proceed from an abstract universal to the particular in this fashion – 'Real-Sprit cannot be deduced from a higher principle'.[xvi] Instead, the order must be reversed so that one 'climbs up' to the concrete universal from the particular through historical praxis.[xvii] This is because the state as it actually exists in the world is a unique 'individuality that defies deduction from the universal' *a priori*.[xviii] Kōsaka continues that the world is not simply an amalgamation of atomistic parts or a super state to which all other states belong or converge. Rather, it is 'within the world that the state first becomes possible'.[xix] The state is therefore just one example of historical individuality among many such examples in the larger world. Consequently, it is necessarily situated in a network of mutually mediating relationships, itself an important condition for the development of the national subjectivity that is essential for state

[9] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 236-256: 'The final aspect of the state is that it is the immediate actuality of an *individual* and *naturally* determined people. As a single individual the state is exclusive against *other* such individuals' (245); Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 279: 'The state in its actuality is essentially an individual state, and beyond that a particular state. Individuality is to be distinguished from particularity. The former is a moment in the very Idea of the state, while the latter belongs to history. States as such are independent of one another, and therefore their relation to one another can only be an external one'; Kōsaka's argument also may be compared with Dilthey's critique of Hegel's conception of objective spirit – Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 170-174; 277.

formation.[10] While Kōsaka agreed with Hegel that the state is a 'concrete universal' as the tangible manifestation of the subjectivity of a specific people or nation, as a concrete existence it is also situated within the historical world and therefore a product of the processes of historical mediation.[xx] As a result, it is best described as a 'particularistic-universal' that is subject to the forces of negation both from its citizens within and from other nations and states without.[xxi] The models for this conception of the state were Tanabe's logic of the species internally and Nishida's logic of discontinuous-continuity externally.[11]

Christian Uhl raises justified questions about Kōsaka's close juxtaposition of Hegel and Ranke during the first *Chūō Kōron* symposium due to the latter's strong opposition to the *apriority* of the former's philosophical methodology.[12] This is something that Kōsaka himself highlights on numerous occasions in relation to the teleological portrayal of history that is presented by Hegel. Nevertheless, Kōsaka believed that if the philosophy of history was to have contemporary relevance it had to overcome both the one-sided relativism of historicism (Ranke) and the one-sided absolutism of philosophical rationalism (Hegel), since it was these two schools of thought that had broadly shaped philosophical research on history at the time. This was to be achieved via a theory of metaphysical symbolism grounded in Ranke's deliberations on the individual and universal significance of historical existences. However, as demonstrated by the particularistic nature of cultural types and models, Kōsaka believed this was only possible through the mediation of the species as the necessary medium of universality and individuality. That is to say the historical

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[10] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 250-251; 287; 219-223.
[11] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 252-256; Tanabe, 'On the Logic of Co-Prosperity Spheres', 190-194.
[12] Christian Uhl, 'What was the 'Japanese philosophy of history'? An inquiry into the dynamics of the 'world-historical standpoint' of the Kyoto School', in *Re-Politicising the Kyoto School as Philosophy*, 114; Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The First Symposium', 110-111.

substratum of nature. Consequently, Kōsaka conceived the subjective praxis of the individual state, an embodied historical existence, as a symbolic expression of the absolute or the eternal now within the historical world.[13] This is because the state is the focal point of historical praxis and therefore historical creation 'within the present of the eternal now'.[14/xxii] However, as a particularistic-universal it is just one such expression in a world of multiple focal points. In this way, Kōsaka hoped to retain the universal significance attributed to the state by Hegel as the concrete manifestation of the objective spirit of a specific people, while relativizing its absolute significance within the world as a whole in a manner compatible with the historical relativism of Ranke. Kōsaka premised this upon the nothingness-like nature of the historical world itself.

Broadly speaking, the historical world is the overarching context or place of the dialectical mediation between the subjective and the substantial and between different historical subjectivities such as nations, peoples and states. It therefore encloses the concrete universal of the state as a particular within it, including the historical processes through which the state is both 'created'[xxiii] and 'destroyed'.[xxiv] For this reason, Kōsaka describes the historical world as a 'universal of universals'.[15/xxv] However, in order to ensure the autonomy of the individual state, as well as the possibility of a free future grounded in the practical determination of the historical subject in the present, the world 'must appear as nothingness' or as a discontinuous-continuity:[xxvi]

[13] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetstugaku jōsetsu*, 151-164; 168-170.
[14] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 67; 63.
[15] A comparable expression is also used by Dilthey, who, identifying philosophy as the 'highest endeavour to make conscious', describes the field as 'the consciousness of every mode of consciousness and the knowledge of all knowledge'. Both Kōsaka and Dilthey are perhaps, however, playing on Aristotle's description of the hand as a 'tool of tools' – Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 27; Kōsaka, *Shōchō-teki ningen*, 261-272.

> It is a fact that we are unable to completely grasp the world in a definite form. The world that can be captured as such is not the world, only one aspect of it. The world does not know the end of its own self-determination.[16/xxvii]

It is for this reason that the historical world is best understood as a process of dynamic mediation, rather than as something that is in itself substantial and static.[17] The self-negating nature of the historical world also ensures that it is not composed of one, but two conduits of subjective praxis:

> [T]here is no state that is immediately the world. Within the historical world it is demanded that the state is mediated internally with that which is not the state. This is culture … In other words, the structure of the historical world should be portrayed not simply as that of a circle centred upon the state alone, but rather as an ellipse that has two centres, both the state and culture. It is through their mutual mediation that history progresses.[xxviii]

Kōsaka concludes that if the historical world only had a political axis, as argued by Hegel, then we would 'lose sight of its dialectical character', as well as the true meaning of the subjective praxis that results.[xxix]

The historical world is not absolute nothingness itself, however, since it is only able to manifest itself via the 'dark foothold' of the historical substratum of nature.[xxx] Consequently, the historical world determines itself through the mediation of being in the form of various historical trends, periods and cultural regions as the 'simultaneous

[16] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 299-300.
[17] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 191.

existence of that which is free', or, in other words, as a world of multiple subjectivities or expressions of the absolute.[xxxi] As a nothingness-like universal the historical world is therefore 'a world of worlds' (世界の世界/*sekai-no-sekai*) (1937), an idea that was later taken up by Nishida in his own reflections on the political (世界的世界/*sekai-teki-sekai*) (1941). Although Kōsaka initially focused exclusively upon the temporal implications of this notion, specifically the independent significance and symbolic universalism of past historical periods, he explored in greater detail the spatial implications of a 'world of worlds' in his wartime writings:[18]

> However, if the world should be thought of vertically as a … genealogy of historical periods that each represent a symbolic-metaphysical substance, then should the world not also be regarded as horizontally disclosing multiple reflections of the absolute as well?[xxxii]

Ranke believed that each respective period of history was in direct contact with God or the absolute, thereby ensuring the independent significance of different periods of history. For Kōsaka, the same could also be said of the various cultural regions that together constitute the world in the present:

> This is the concretion of Ranke's thought … in the same way that each period of history needed a metaphysical genealogy, each cultural region must have a metaphysical system … the concept of the world is not a concrete universal but a nothingness-like universal, it is not substance but the world as

[18] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 242; 300-301; 316-363; Kitarō Nishida, 'Hoi [Addendum]' *Nishida Kitarō zenshū dai jūni kan* [*The Complete Works of Kitarō Nishida Volume 12*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 417-442; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 6; 56.

> place … it is not a substratum but a mediator. Just as the ideal of humanity cannot be exhausted in one historical period, neither can it be exhausted in one cultural region.[xxxiii]

As a part of the historical world, each cultural region therefore represents a spatial historical Thou for other cultural spheres due to the unique principles, worldviews and ways of life that define their respective centres of historical formation. What is more, each cultural sphere has its own distinct regional history, within which an individual period or era also appears before the peoples of the present as an historical Thou. However, for the historical Thou to materialise there must first be an historical I in order for a dialogue to take place. In other words, a specific nation or state that is capable of representing the cultural sphere in the present age as the principle subject of history in the region. Such nations hold world-historical significance as the 'symbolic centres' of the historical world.[xxxiv] This is because they are positioned where the temporal and spatial structures of a cultural sphere intersect, in other words at the centre of historical formation. In Hegelian terminology, these 'world-historical peoples' therefore represent the concrete embodiment of the eternal now in historical reality.[19/xxxv] This is only realised, however, through the mediation of historical subjectivity (the eternal now) with the historical substratum of nature (primordial nature).

7b: The Historical Substratum

Historical Nature and Primordial Nature

Nature represents both the material for historical praxis and the place of historical creation.[20] It is in this sense that nature may be

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[19] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 163; 166; 175-191; Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 217-218.
[20] Compare Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 141; 168-169: 'Nature is not merely the arena of history; the physical processes and the necessities inherent in nature, and the

described as the substratum of the historical world. Kant observed that 'humans are able to perceive nature because it is humans that constructed nature'.[21/xxxvi] This is because nature must correspond to the *a priori* categories of the understanding 'as the original ground of her necessary conformability to law'.[22] In the case of historical reason, however, Kōsaka believed that the situation is reversed, since it is within nature that reason is prepared and through nature that reason is born:

> Spirit is also something that is born [into the world]. Moreover, it is conceived through nature. It is via its itinerancy within nature that abstract reason, which is empty [of content], first matures into historical reason, in other words spirit. Spirit is reason mediated with nature.[23/xxxvii]

This is one reason why Kōsaka agreed with Hegel that individual morality in abstraction is not yet the ethical life of the community.

Kant's categorical imperative demonstrated that morality had absolute authority. However, this was only as a demand of reason; it had no actual 'power in reality'.[xxxviii] Consequently, Kōsaka believed that 'absolute authority must be realised within the ethical world'.[xxxix] In other words, individual morality must develop into communal ethics.[24] This may be reinterpreted as the tangible 'realisation of the eternal now' within the historical world through the mediation of

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effects that issue from them, form the substratum for all relationships … in the historical world. And the physical world also provides the material for the entire realm in which spirit has expressed its purposes, its values – its essence' (141).

[21] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 224; Compare Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 105: '[T]he relationship of phenomena to that by means of which they are constructed exists only as far as the conceptual cognition of nature reaches'.

[22] Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 94.

[23] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 224.

[24] This relates to Hegel's key distinction between ought and is: 'What is universally valid is also universally effective; what *ought* to be, in fact also *is*, and what ought to be without [actually] being, has no truth' – Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, 151.

nature (being) in praxis.[25/xl] As the concrete manifestation of the ethical substance or objective spirit of a people, that is to say the physical embodiment of the eternal now in history, the state therefore requires a material body:

> As long as it is a moral substance, the state must be deeply rooted in nature. In all likelihood, it is only that which has a material body that can become the place of moral freedom. In this way, the state too has its own material body.[26/xli]

This is because within practical determination, the ego (individual or collective) must be able to break through its limited frame and step out into the real world. In other words, morality must be realised through concrete action in the world. Something that is only possible through the medium of a body that is both a part of the world and capable of acting upon it. Through the processes of historical praxis, however, the historical substratum of nature itself becomes endowed with subjectivity and thereby susceptible to the forces of historical mediation. Hanazawa explains that unlike Schelling, for whom nature was an 'absolute'[xlii] and consequently something external to the historical world, 'Kōsaka assumed nature as it relates to humanity'.[xliii] That is nature as it exists within history – 'because it is the substratum of history, it itself must be a thing of the historical world'.[27/xliv] Since cognition of nature is also an event of the historical world, Kant's observations on the subjective conditions of human perception constitute one plane of historical reality. However, just as it is not possible to cognise the natural world without the input of human subjectivity, human subjectivity is itself impossible without the

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[25] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 66-67.
[26] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 298.
[27] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 44; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 167.

mediation of nature both in terms of the body and the wider environment. This is why Kōsaka believed that true historical cognition was only possible through action-intuition.

At first, Kōsaka's portrayal of the substratum seems problematic because 'that which is suitable to be called the historical substratum likely precedes all things that are historical, while not being permitted to be historical itself'.[xlv] On the other hand, 'in order for nature to give birth to history, nature must already be historical' in some sense.[xlvi] The solution to this apparent contradiction lies in the fact that the 'substratum is not a concept that indicates a conclusion, but is rather a concept that reveals the location of a hidden problem'.[xlvii] Kōsaka continues that it is therefore 'not an answer, but a question'.[xlviii] In other words, the substratum of history is not merely an issue of abstract theoretical speculation, but a problem of concrete historical praxis. As a consequence, the different ways in which nature is interpreted within the historical world are in turn dependent upon the varying perspectives of the historical subject itself. This is apparent from Kōsaka's varying conceptions of 'primordial nature', the fundamental form of the historical substratum.

For instance, primordial nature represents that from which the historical world emerges. It may therefore be conceived as the 'prehistory of the historical world'[xlix] or as something representative of the 'eternal past'.[l] This is how it is able to fulfil the condition of preceding the historical. However, the 'natural world is [also] the location of life and death within the historical world'.[li] In this sense, nature is not simply a 'nature of necessary laws' determining prehistory,[lii] but is also a 'nature that incorporates the creativity of nothingness'.[liii] Consequently, primordial nature overlaps with the eternal future as well. This is possible because nature is enveloped within the eternal now or eternal present as the material through

which it is actualised in the historical world via praxis – 'the eternal now only becomes something historical through that which is not itself within itself'.[28/liv] From the perspective of historical subjectivity this evolves into the need for the state to be mediated internally with that which is not the state, namely culture. It is only in relation to historical praxis in the present, however, that the position of nature within the historical world is determined in this fashion. Hanazawa explains that 'primordial nature is not simply a substratum, since it is only through the mediation of subjective practice that it first becomes [historical] substance'.[29/lv] As Kōsaka himself stresses, 'grasses or trees do not qualify as historical nature unless they are tied to a free subject at the centre' of historical praxis.[30/lvi] Hanazawa recognises that Kōsaka's understanding of the historical substratum contradicts Aristotle's original conception of substance as the foundations that precede that which follows. However, it is for this very reason that the historical substratum 'is something that is both [able to] persist at the base of history, while not being fixed to the base of history. It is not merely a static nature, but rather a dialectical nature'.[31/lvii]

It is important to remember, however, that historical nature is itself imbued with subjectivity. There is nothing that is purely substantial or purely subjective within the historical world. As a consequence:

> [T]he development of primordial nature into environmental nature and historical nature through the mediation of subjective praxis is, conversely, the historical movement of subjective praxis via the mediation of primordial nature.[lviii]

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[28] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 168-169; 224-225; 228; 230; 174.
[29] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 44.
[30] Miki and Kōsaka, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku: taidan', 17.
[31] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 44; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 237.

Therefore, nature is not simply the material or location of subjective praxis. Rather, it is the necessary medium through which historical subjectivity itself first acquires a content and the mode of its expression is shaped. This is best exemplified by the fact that primordial nature also represents an 'impulse' or 'compulsion' from the world.[lix] Freedom is only possible through its negation. In other words, freedom is only actualised at the moment when the subject becomes one with its object in praxis. Here, both the substance and the subject are dialectically unified within a process of mutual determination and negation that changes both essentially. In the words of Nishida, the ego becomes one with its object, thereby allowing the ego to work upon the object in an act of creative transformation, while the object in turn guides and shapes this process in accordance with its own potentiality.[32] In turn, the objectified action of the subject becomes a past event of the historical world as expression. This is how the objective spirit of a people arises over time. In other words, this is a process of from the created to the creating. In the same way:

> The historical character of historical nature is based on negation within the historical world. The historical world can only permit its own foundations through the negation of these foundations. It is here that the historicity of historical nature forms.[lx]

Nevertheless, the compulsions of primordial nature alone are 'undetermined'.[lxi] It is 'only within the place of the eternal now that these dark impulses acquire a direction, inclination or curvature'.[lxii] Consequently, it is only as the negation or material of subjective praxis or freedom that nature itself becomes historical and thereby subjective in turn. Primordial nature is therefore identified with the 'vortex of

[32] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 163-182.

impulses'[lxiii] that constitute the historical periphery – that which provides the material for the formative processes of the historical centre – within which it is said that the 'primitive scenery of human spirit lurks'.[33/lxiv]

Environmental Nature and the Issue of Race

Kōsaka states that 'at the base of history must be the depths of nature'.[34/lxv] However, it is not the dark foothold of primordial nature that is directly encountered in the historical world, but nature as the broad environment of human praxis. Primordial nature is said to develop into environmental-nature by becoming an object of human action and therefore human cognition:

> When freedom is born it simultaneously objectifies its own ground, which becomes its environment. Primordial nature becomes environmental-nature … Within free praxis [our] foundations are objectified. This may be thought of as practical self-awareness. In this way, the development of freedom within history is carried out through nature.[lxvi]

The idea that the ground of the ego becomes objectified within praxis is a key aspect of Kōsaka's historical epistemology. It is therefore within action-intuition that phenomenal nature 'rises up from the base of primordial nature'.[lxvii] Kōsaka continues that this is not simply nature as it existed before the appearance of humankind, such as 'the nature of light and gravity within Schelling's philosophy'.[lxviii] Rather, it is 'nature as it relates to humanity, which broadly defined can only be environmental-nature'.[lxix] However, action-intuition is a dialectical process of mutual mediation – the 'internal becomes the external and

[33] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 238; 172; 229; 323; 239.
[34] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 172.

the external becomes the internal'.[lxx] As a consequence, environmental-nature as an object of historical cognition necessarily splits into the external and internal environments of climates and peoples. As historical nature this is conceived in terms of the territory and ethnic population of the state. This is why nature is regarded as 'one of the life sources of the state'.[35/lxxi] Nevertheless, this also leads to one of the most problematic dimensions of the Kyoto School's political philosophy; the seemingly 'logical manner' in which they deliberated about 'the importance of race in a genetic rather than cultural sense'.[36] This is because the external environment is symbolised by 'soil', while the internal environment is symbolised by 'blood'.[lxxii]

There are aspects of Kōsaka's philosophy that would appear to justify the concerns that have been raised by Goto-Jones and others in relation to the Kyoto School's wartime writings. For example, Kōsaka argued that 'blood constitutes our internal environment',[lxxiii] continuing that blood's propensity for 'closure is encountered in blood relations (血族/*ketsuzoku*), tribes and even within the cultural community of the nation (民族)'.[37/lxxiv] Kyoto School scholarship in the West often emphasises the fact that the Japanese expression *minzoku* (民族) must be comprehended in terms of the German expression *Volk* and its usage during the 1930s and 40s.[38] Consequently, many translators have rendered the term as 'race'. However, Williams believes that the use of such biological terminology misrepresents the political philosophy of the Kyoto School because it mistakenly associates their speculations with 'the horrors of the Third Reich'.[39] Although the phrase *minzoku* may have originated from the German expression *Volk*, the Kyoto School's usage of the term had far more in common with the

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[35] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 154-155; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 189; 182-183; 223.
[36] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 114.
[37] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 182; 191-192.
[38] Harootunian, 'Returning to Japan: part two', 275-282.
[39] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 99-101; 159-160.

Hegelian idea of 'world-historical peoples' than the Nazi's proposition for a master race.[40] As a consequence, Williams argues that the phrases 'nation' or 'people' better convey the meaning of *minzoku* in English, a sentiment that is shared by Kazuhide Uemura and Hanazawa.[41]

This is supported by the fact that Kōsaka openly rejected the 'deterministic racial view' of Arthur De Gobineau and his arguments on the natural superiority of the white races:[lxxv]

> [B]elief in the absolutism of blood within the historical world is nothing other than the determinism or materialism of blood. Although it looks as if it respects the species and the subjective within world history, it falls into racial determinism thereby leading to the materialisation of the subject and hence its negation. It goes without saying that the mistaken viewpoint that it is only the white races which are culturally productive should also be rejected. This is because the claim that the black or white colour of the skin determines the blackness or whiteness of the soul, and hence the superiority and inferiority [of different races], is little more than dogma.[lxxvi]

Referring to the careful analysis that was undertaken on the diversity of the human races by Kant, for whom such distinctions were always relative, Kōsaka continues that 'white people and black people are not separate human beings, but together [constitute] humankind'.[42/lxxvii]

That being said, Kōsaka did not believe that the concept of blood could be completely dismissed out of hand:

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[40] Hayashi, 'Kindai Nihon no (Minzoku Seishin)', 1-25.
[41] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War,* 99-101; Uemura, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku ha nan dattanoka', 9.
[42] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 12-16; Immanuel Kant, 'Of the Different Human Races', trans. by Jon Mark Mikkelsen, *The Idea of Race*, eds. Robert Bernasconi and Tommy L. Lott (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2000), 8-22.

> What we acknowledge is not merely a natural, necessary conception of blood, but blood as a part of the historical body, the traditions of which have a past, while with the passing of history it is recreated and developed in the present along with the growth of the nation. It is blood that has a future.[lxxviii]

The concept of blood is significant for Kōsaka because it is an expression of the historical substratum of the ethnic nation when viewed from the perspective of the historical nature. This is why he suggested that the perceived 'excellence'[lxxix] or 'purity'[lxxx] of blood could be symbolic of the 'health' of a state or culture.[lxxxi] Nevertheless, while this is no doubt a problematic proposition in modern political discourse, it must be recognised that blood for Kōsaka was not an abstract conception of the natural sciences like race, which in reality was itself a politically charged concept of modernity, but was rather an aspect of historical nature and therefore something inherently subjective.[43] This is why blood could be conceived as having a past and future. It is this idea that also informs his understanding of the Hegelian mediation of substance and subject.[44]

Like Hegel, Kōsaka insisted that subjectivity or freedom had to be materialised in the real world for it to be meaningful. In other words, human beings have no choice but to interact with nature because it is nature that constitutes the environment within which the historical world necessarily unfolds. What is more, human beings are also animals and therefore a part of the natural world.[45] Consequently, nature has to be conceived not only externally via concepts such as the land and climate, but internally as well. The specific, continuous

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[43] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 19; 83-87; 7.
[44] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai,* 241.
[45] Compare Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 101: 'We ourselves belong to nature, and nature is at work in us, unconsciously, in dark drives'.

character of this internal environment was best captured in the concept of blood as it was inherited temporally across generations. In contrast, the continuous character of the external environment or soil was conceived as spatial. Problems arise, however, because the subject of history cannot be comprehended in the terms of the abstract individual, since the products of historical creation such as tradition and culture are all products of social groupings. These groups are in turn determined along ethnic lines, for which blood-ties hold notable symbolic significance. That being said, culture is not simply the consequence of nature alone, though its mediation as the material means of historical praxis is essential. Kōsaka concludes that the proper subject of history is therefore not simply a substantive, essentialist or materialist conception of race as argued by Gobineau, but the 'cultural community' of an ethnic people or nation as a mediation of both the subjective and the substantial.[lxxxii] In turn, the ethnic nation serves as the dynamic substratum upon which the eternal now is able to materialise in reality via the processes of historical creation. This is why Kōsaka believed that the concept of the nation was indispensable for formulating a metaphysical understanding of the historical world.[46]

Williams notes that after Hitler, 'we are all universalists'.[47] As a consequence, any suggestion that race or blood is important for determining what it is to be human is flatly rejected as a dangerous political ideology. During the first half of the twentieth century, however, notions of ethnic nationalism conceived in racial terms were hugely influential on Western political discourse. Such theories could not be ignored by Kōsaka because they were a reflection of the historical circumstances of Europe at the time, especially as many of

[46] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 63; 4.
[47] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 167.

these ideas had also been imported to Japan.[48] Nonetheless, the Kyoto School thinkers treated 'arguments for the importance of blood purity with well-judged scepticism at a time when black soldiers were apparently not allowed to give blood transfusions to white solders in the US armed forces'.[49] This is exemplified by Kōsaka's insistence during a debate held with Miki, who played the role of devil's advocate, that the notion of ethnic nationalism only held significance as a concept of history and not 'naturalism'.[50/lxxxiii] After all, the modern conception of race was little more than a political belief camouflaged in the language of the natural sciences.[51] Kevin Doak appears to have misunderstood Kōsaka's intentions here as he believes the Japanese thinker therefore sought a total 'rejection' of the natural sciences in favour of the 'constructed nature of the ethnic nation'.[52] For Kōsaka, however, the fact that even the scientifically construed concept of race had political implications was of great significance because the political always requires a subjective centre, one reason why it is only after a people or nation has formed a state that it truly becomes an actor upon the world-historical stage.[53] As a consequence, abstract notions of race or blood cannot alone determine the course of history, since the ethnic nation as a focal point of subjectivity must be a mediation of both the political and the cultural, and therefore something historical in essence. This transcends the simple materialism of a racist worldview. While blood may have symbolic significance as an expression of the natural substratum of a people, this is only relevant in the context of the historical body of the cultural nation or the political state. Kōsaka's conception of blood was therefore historical or cultural, not genetic as implied by Goto-Jones. While this may not exonerate all of Kōsaka's

[48] Miki and Kosaka, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku: taidan', 2-21.
[49] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 31.
[50] Miki and Kōsaka, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku: taidan', 2-21.
[51] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 7.
[52] Doak, 'Romanticism, conservatism and the Kyoto School of philosophy', 152.
[53] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The First Symposium', 170.

ideas from a modern political perspective, as Williams concludes, the Kyoto School thinkers largely rejected racial determinism at a time when blood was still regarded as an absolute by many in Germany and America.[54]

Environmental Nature – Internal and External Environments

Kōsaka believed that 'the environment of a living nature within history is formed through its relationship with that which is free at its centre, something that is in all likelihood always historical'.[lxxxiv] He continues:

> History works upon nature, while it is both raised and eroded by nature in turn. This is how history develops. Furthermore, [within this process] the two aspects of environmental-nature, in other words the harmony and disharmony of the external and internal environments, are mediated [with each other]. Climate and blood relations (血族/*ketsuzoku*) mutually determine, negate and mediate one another. The motif of history is developed through this ensemble.[lxxxv]

It is because environmental-nature fractures into the external and internal environments that it generates the necessary conditions for the emergence of historical subjectivity. Consequently, it may be said that environmental-nature forms the basis of the dialectical structure of the historical world itself. The formal aspects of environmental nature are described in terms of a 'species-unity',[lxxxvi] a 'dynamic-unity'[lxxxvii] and the 'phenomenon of contact'.[lxxxviii] The content of

[54] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 162.

environmental-nature, in contrast, is characterised by the ideas of a 'dependent-unity'[lxxxix] and 'attributional-unity'.[55/xc]

An environment is something that is inherently 'limited'[xci] or 'closed'.[xcii] In terms of the external environment of the soil this is conceived as a 'regional-unity'.[xciii] However, the closed nature of particular region is only ever relative, never absolute. For example, a specific region is connected with other lands through various roads, tracks and paths. This demonstrates that a region is neither an 'unlimited universal'[xciv] nor a 'complete individual',[xcv] but a continuous 'particular that oscillates' between the two.[xcvi] It therefore comprises a 'species-unity'[xcvii] that has the 'characteristics of a medium'.[xcviii] The same may also be said of the internal environment, which at its most fundamental is expressed in terms of the blood that 'flows through and joins together blood relatives'.[xcix] Kōsaka explains that 'just like climate, blood has a relatively closed nature that is regional'.[56/c] Nevertheless, an ethnic nation is never wholly determined by external factors such as blood-ties, language or cultural traditions. This is because a people or nation does not form 'a complete universal or a supreme individual', but a continuous 'particular that floats between the two'.[ci] The limits of distinct species or ethnic groups are therefore 'undetermined'[cii] and mutually 'inter-penetrating' or continuous.[ciii] Consequently, there is no such thing as a pure race in the biological sense.[57] However, the internal and external environments are not necessarily the same species. Rather, they become the 'negative moments of the historical world'[civ] by 'breaking the unity of one another'.[cv] This is exemplified by the historical migration of peoples across the Earth – 'there is no tribe (種族/*shuzoku*) … that is only rooted to one place'.[cvi] This shows 'the dynamism of blood in

[55] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 189-191; 194; 198.
[56] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 190-191.
[57] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 20-29.

comparison to soil' or the mobility of humankind within the historical world.[cvii] At the same time, it is through this movement that a specific region itself 'becomes tied to other regions'.[cviii] In this sense, a region or climate may also be said to 'move' via the migration of peoples, such as through the trade of regional goods.[cix] Environmental-nature therefore forms a dynamic-unity.[58]

This dynamism is only possible through the phenomenon of contact. This is because there is no land or nation that exists in complete isolation within the historical world. This interconnectedness in turn ensures that different regions 'move', 'oppose' and 'collide with one another',[cx] leading to the development of borders and 'boundaries'[cxi] through which the soil attempts to 'maintain its own relative-closedness'.[cxii] Nevertheless, due to the specific, continuous character of an environment, a particular boundary may develop into a focal 'point of unification' through the mediation of the larger world in which it is situated.[cxiii] For example, within a border town 'different lands come into contact and are mediated, while different bloods are mixed. A boundary is thereby transformed into the centre of a larger region'.[cxiv] Consequently, towns are not 'regional'[cxv] but 'worldly' in their orientation.[cxvi] This is one of the main reasons why it is urban areas that often become the centres of cultural creativity within a society. The phenomenon of contact ensures that location also plays a significant part in determining the relative importance of specific peoples and nations within history. For example, ancient Greece was able to prosper despite its relatively small size because it was conveniently located at the point of contact between the civilisations of the Occident and the Orient.[59]

While the above characteristics detail the formal conditions of the dynamism of the historical world, the contents of the subjectivity of

[58] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 192-194.
[59] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 194-197.

environmental-nature as historical nature are expressed through the notions of a dependent-unity and an attributional-unity. Specifically, a dependent-unity refers to the mutual interdependence of the blood and soil within the historical world. For example, it is the land that gives birth to the 'institutions of a society'.[cxvii] The convention of marriage was only possible once agriculture established itself in a fixed location over time. This is one reason why gratitude was expressed to the Greek god Demeter, the deity of agriculture, for the foundation of the city-state.[60] On the other hand, by 'controlling the productivity of nature and determining its direction',[cxviii] peoples and nations create a 'humanised nature' in turn in order to support their social systems.[cxix] Kōsaka explains that 'culture arises when the vitality that gave birth to humankind is conversely cultivated and assisted by human hands', as the phrase culture itself already implies.[61/cxx] However, this interdependence paradoxically leads to the mutual independence or estrangement of the blood and soil within the historical world or the attributional qualities of the internal and external environments respectively.

The autonomy of the internal environment is first realised when 'blood confers life upon the most lifeless materials of the soil, in other words minerals and ores'.[cxxi] This also applies to the development of tools, vessels and machines:

> Tools are the embodiment (肉体化) or vitalisation (生命化) of the lifeless. In this way, via [tools] the life of the lifeless is produced

[60] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 131: 'The real beginning and original foundation of the state has been rightly ascribed to the introduction of agriculture along with marriage, because the principle of agriculture brings with it the formation of the land and consequentially exclusively private property … of the agrarian festivals, images, and sanctuaries of the ancients … it was because the ancients themselves had become conscious of the divine origin of agriculture and other institutions associated with it that they held them in such religious veneration'.
[61] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 199-201.

> as a second nature through the endowment of a [life-force] separate from that of simple blood.[cxxii]

This life-force refers to the vitality of historical subjectivity.[62] The material civilisation of modernity was achieved through the 'surrender of the arable and pastoral civilisations' of the past, which were largely dependent upon the natural cycles of the external environment.[63/cxxiii] With the development of the modern sciences, however, humanity was able to liberate itself from these external constraints through its increased command over the laws of nature and its productive powers.[64] It is important to note, however, that such historical developments always incorporate the moment of their own self-negation. This is because the means necessary to gain 'independence from nature' must always be sought 'within nature' itself[cxxiv] – 'humans constantly conquer nature, while simultaneously being conquered in return by the very means through which nature had been subjugated'.[65/cxxv] For example, through the creation of modern machines, 'nature and even humanity itself became something mechanised' in turn.[cxxvi] This threatened true subjectivity as individual human beings were thereby reduced to little more than the cogs of modern capitalist society, reflecting a notable Marxian influence on Kōsaka's speculations.[66] Nevertheless, it is this very paradox that

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[62] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 41: 'A person has as his substantive end the right of putting his will into any and every thing and thereby making it his, because it has no such end in itself and derives its destiny and soul from his will'.
[63] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 202-203.
[64] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetugaku to seiji-tetsugaku*, 27-35.
[65] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 203.
[66] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku*, 29, 33; See also Wataru Hiromatsu, *<Kindai no chōkoku> ron – shōwa shisō-shi no isshikaku* [*On 'Overcoming Modernity' – One Viewpoint on the History of the Shōwa Period*] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1989), 36-57; Setsuzō Kōsaka, *Shōwa no shukume wo mitsumeta me*, 63-76; Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 16-24 (Kenn Nakata Steffensen argues that the key concept of practical-subjectivity, which he believes was first used by the Kyoto School thinker Kiyoshi Miki in his book *The Philosophy of History* (1932), was also influenced by Marxian works such as the *Theses on Feuerbach* – Steffensen, 'The political philosophy of Miki Kiyoshi', 152-153 & 166).

embodies the dynamism of historical subjectivity as a recurring cycle of problems and solutions, via which the way to a new future is created.

The autonomy of the external environment is best exemplified through the development of a legal system within society. In a manner comparable to Hegel's discussions on property, Kōsaka believed that subjectivity only materialises through the mediation of the land or the soil.[67] At the same time, however, human beings do not live in isolation but in communities. As a consequence, a person makes a living through the 'communal use' of the land:[cxxvii]

> Accordingly, at the background of a person's relationship to a specific piece of land are the restraints enforced by the social group to which this person belongs, as well as the relationship that this group itself has with other social groups [in the larger world]. A person's relationship with the land may be said to be … indirect, that is to say negatively mediated via the relationships that a person has with other people.[cxxviii]

It is this negative mediation that forms the foundations of property rights within a community. Such legal restraints no doubt reflect the subjective power of blood over the land as nature is absorbed into the mechanisms of human society. At the same time, however, the land itself becomes a legal entity within society that is itself subjective and therefore restrictive of human activity. Even within early cultures, burial sites were often places that members of a community were banned from entering freely. Such conventions are an early example of the restrictive powers that the law of a society can yield through the mediation of the land. It is perhaps the feudal system of medieval Europe, however, which fully demonstrates the extent of the subjective

[67] See Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 40-57: '[F]rom the standpoint of freedom, property is the first embodiment of freedom and so is in itself a substantive end' (42).

power of the soil over blood within the historical world. This is because the lowly serfs who worked the fields may be described as having actually belonged to the land itself, as reflected by the fact that both were sold together as part of the same property. In this way, the internal and external environments may be said to form a contradictory-unity within which they are at once both dependent upon one another, while at the same time mutually subjective and autonomous.[68] It is this dialectical interplay that forms the foundations of the dialectical movement of historical subjectivity itself.

All things within the historical world are a mediation of both the substantial and the subjective. Nature is historical nature, while the state as the principle subject of history requires an historical body composed of a people as its internal-environment and a territory as its external-environment. Consequently, it is not the historical substratum of nature and historical subjectivity that directly constitute the two axes at the centre of the historical world, but rather the two subjective expressions of their mutual mediation; that is to say, the state and culture. One of the reasons that historical subjectivity splits into these two conflicting centres is because the historical substratum of environmental-nature forms a species-unity. Consequently, it is inherently self-contradictory and unstable, persistently fluctuating between the extremities of the individual and the universal.[69] The state, as the 'principle of the individualisation of the world', and culture, which is fundamentally universal or 'worldly' in its orientation, may therefore be described as the concrete manifestations of this self-conflicting tendency of the species within the historical world.[70/cxxix]

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[68] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 206-210.
[69] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 98-100.
[70] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 126; 27; 80; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 213.

This is hinted at by Kōsaka when he states that environmental-nature 'deeply overlaps with the state and culture'.[71/cxxx]

[71] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 210.

Chapter 7 Japanese Citations

[i] へーゲルの教えた如く、Substanz は Subjekt である世界である。基体は主体である世界である

[ii] irdisch-geistig

[iii] das Real-Geistige

[iv] 国家の成立は、人間歴史に於ける最大の出来事であったのである

[v] 基体をもつことによって無 （永遠）は有（原始自然・基体）に 相互媒介され…永遠の今の構造も実体的となることができる

[vi] 歴史的身体

[vii] 歴史的主体

[viii] 最大の動力

[ix] 世界に於て生まれ、世界に於て展開する

[x] 人倫的実体

[xi] 国家を substanzielle Freiheit として、国民の個々の自由の根柢

[xii] へーゲルの最大の功績は客観精神の樹立にあるであろう

[xiii] 世界精神の中心を単に民族精神、国家に置き、それに対する絶対精神の意義を十分に媒介せしめざりしことに

[xiv] 彼の世界歴史は、一方単に政治史的となって豊なる文化的内容を疎外し、他方文化は、絶対精神の領域にその非歴史性を嘆く結果を将来した

[xv] アトム的な人間観より、全体的な人間観に進んでいるところに、へーゲルの偉大な功績は存する

[xvi] この実在的・精神的なるもの das Real-Geistige は、いかなるより高き原理からしても演繹され得ない

[xvii] 特殊から…普遍に登り行くことは出来よう

[xviii] 普遍から演繹し得ざる個体である

[xix] 世界に於て国家が始めて可能である

[xx] 具体的普遍

[xxi] 特殊的普遍

[xxii] 永遠の今の現在に於て

[xxiii] 成立

[xxiv] 消滅

[xxv] 普遍の普遍

[xxvi] 世界は無として現われねばならぬ

[xxvii] 事実、我々は世界を一定の形相に於て、完結的に捕えることは不可能であろう。捕え得た世界は世界の一面であって、世界ではない。世界は自らの限定の終りを知らぬのである

[xxviii] いかなる国家も直ちに世界ではない。歴史的世界に於ては国家は国家ならぬものと内面的に媒介されることを要求するのである。しかしてそれは文化であるであろう…言わば歴史的世界の構造は単に国家を一つの中心とする円としてではなく、むしろ国家と文化の二つの中心を持つ楕円として描かれるべきである

[xxix] 弁証法的性格も見失わる

[xxx] 暗き足場

[xxxi] 自由なるものの同時存在

[xxxii] しかしもし世界が縦にかかる象徴的形而上的実体である諸時代の…系譜として考えらるべきであるならば、世界は横にも分散的に絶対者の映像を複数的に発現せしむるものと考うべきではないであろうか

[xxxiii] それがランケ的思惟の徹底である…諸時代の形而上的系譜を有たなければならなかったように、諸文化の形而上的体系を有たねばならぬのである…具体的普遍としてではなく却って無的普遍、実体としてではなく場所としての世界…基体としてではなく媒介者としての世界の概念である。人類の理念は一つの時代には盛り尽せぬように一つの文化圏にも盛り尽せぬ

[xxxiv] 象徴の中心

[xxxv] 世界史的民族

[xxxvi] 自然を人間が認識し得るのは、人間が自然を構成したからである

[xxxvii] 精神も亦誕生する、しかも自然を通じて誕生する。自然に於ける遍歴が、空虚なる抽象的理性を、初めて歴史的理性にまで、即ち精神にまで成熟させるのである。精神とは自然を媒介とせる理性である

[xxxviii] 現実の力

[xxxix] 人倫的世界に於ては、絶対の権威が現実でなければならない

[xl] 永遠の今が現実化

[xli] 道徳的実体である限り、国家は深く自然に根ざすのでなければならない。恐らく肉体を有つもののみ、道徳的自由の場となり得る。そのように国家も自己の肉体を有つであろう

[xlii] 自然は絶対者であり

[xliii] 高坂は人間との関連における自然…を想定するのである

[xliv] 歴史の基体であるが故に、それ自らが歴史的世界のものでなければならない

[xlv] 歴史的基体と呼ばれるに相応しいところのものは、あらゆる歴史的なるものに先だつものとして、それ自らは歴史的であることは許されないであろう

[xlvi] 自然が歴史を産み得るためには自然が既に歴史的でなければならない

[xlvii] 基体とは結論を示す概念ではなくして、むしろ課題の潜む箇所を示す概念である

[xlviii] それは答ではなくして問である

[xlix] 歴史的世界の前歴史である

[l] 永遠の過去

[li] 自然的世界は歴史的世界の生死の場であるのである

[lii] 法則的必然の自然

[liii] 更に創造的なる無を含む自然であるであろう

[liv] 永遠の今は、自らの内なる自らならぬものによってのみ、歴史的となるのである

[lv] 原始自然はただ基体であるのでなく、主体的実践に媒介されて始めて基体たり得るであろう

[lvi] そういうものと繋って中心に立つ自由な主体がなければ、草や木が歴史的自然にならない

[lvii] それははあくまでも歴史の底にありながら、歴史の底に固着しない。それは不動の自然ではなくして、むしろ弁証法的自然である

[lviii] 原始自然の、主体的実践を媒介としての、環境的自然及び歴史的自然への展開は、逆に主体的実践の、原始自然を媒介としての、歴史的運動であること

[lix] 世界よりの衝動

[lx] 歴史的自然の歴史的性格は、歴史的世界に於ける否定に基く。歴史的世界は自己の根柢を否定することによって、自己の根柢を許容するのである。そこに歴史的自然の歴史性は成立する

[lxi] 無規定

[lxii] 暗き衝動も永遠の今の場に於てある限り、何等かの方向を有ち、傾斜を有ち、曲率を担う

[lxiii] 衝動の渦まく

[lxiv] 人間精神の原始風景が潜んでいる

[lxv] 歴史の底には深き自然がなければならない

[lxvi] 自由は誕生すると共に、自らの地盤を対境となし、環境となす。原始自然は環境的自然となる…自由なる実践に於て、その根底は対境となる。それは実践的自覚とも考え得るであろう。かくて歴史に於ける自由の展開は自然的環境を通じて営まれる

[lxvii] 原始自然の底から昇り来る

[lxviii] たとえばシェリングに於ける如き重力と光としての自然

[lxix] 人間との関連に於ける自然、広義に於ける環境的自然でのみあり得よう

[lxx] 内なるものが外、外なるものが内なること

[lxxi] 国家的生命の源泉の一つは自然である

[lxxii] 象徴的に語るならば、一つは土であり、一つは血である

[lxxiii] 我々の血は、我々にとって内的なる環境を構成する

[lxxiv] 血のもつ封鎖性は血族、種族、さては文化的共同体としての民族に於てすら、出会わないであろうか

[lxxv] 決定論的な人種観

[lxxvi] しかし歴史的世界に於ける血のかかる絶対性の信仰は、畢竟、血の決定論、血の唯物論以外の何ものでもないであろう。それは世界歴史に於ける種的、主体的なるものを重んずる如くに見えて、実は人種的決定論 Rassendeterminismus に陥るものであり、却って主体の物質化、否定を招くに到るのである。まして白色人種のみが文化創造的であるとする如き謬見が否定さるべきは言うまでもない。それは皮膚の色の黒白によって、魂にまで白黒、ひいて高下の別あることを主張せんとする独断にすぎないからである

[lxxvii] 白人も黒人も人間が別なのではない、共に人間なのである

[lxxviii] 我々に於て認められる血は、単に自然的必然的な血ではなく、伝統的に過去を有ち、歴史を経過したと共に、現在民族の成長と共に、形成され、発展し、未来を有つ如き、歴史的身体としての血であるのである

[lxxix] 優秀性

[lxxx] 純粋性

[lxxxi] 健全性

[lxxxii] 文化的共同体

[lxxxiii] 自然主義

[lxxxiv] 自由なるもの—それは常に歴史的であるであろう—との関連に於てのみ、それを中心として、生ける自然の環境が成立する

[lxxxv] 歴史は自然に働きかけ、しかして或は自然に育まれ、或は自然に損われる。かくして歴史は展開する。しかしてその場合、環境的自然そのものに於ける二つの面、即ち外的環境と内的環境との調和と不調和とが媒介をなすであろう。風土と血族とは、互いに互いを限定し、否定し、媒介する。歴史は自己の主題を、その合奏を通じて展開させるのである

[lxxxvi] 種的統一

[lxxxvii] 動的統一

[lxxxviii] 接触の現象

[lxxxix] 依存的統一

[xc] 帰属的統一

[xci] 有限なる環境

[xcii] 閉鎖性を有する環境

[xciii] 地域的統一

[xciv] 無限なる普遍

[xcv] 完結せる個別

[xcvi] 普遍と個別との間を振動する特殊

[xcvii] 種的統一

[xcviii] 中間ある性格を保つ種

[xcix] 種々なる血族を連ねて流れる血

[c] 血も亦風土と等しく地域的なる相対的閉鎖性を有つ

[cici] 民族は完全な普遍でもなく、窮極の個別でもなく、言わばその間に浮動する特殊

[cii] 不定

[ciii] 互いに浸透する

[civ] 歴史的世界の否定継起

[cv] 互いに互いの統一を破り

[cvi] すべて種族が…ただ一つの土にのみ根ざすのではない

[cvii] 血は土に対して動的であり

[cviii] 地域は地域に結ばれ

[cix] 亦運動する

[cx] 互いに運動し、対立し、衝突し

[cxi] 境界線

[cxii] 自己の相対的閉鎖性を維持せんとする

[cxiii] 結合点

[cxiv] 都市に於て地域は接触し、媒介され、血と血は交り、境界線は却って大なる地域の中心となる

[cxv] 非郷土的

[cxvi] 世界的

[cxvii] 社会の制度

[cxviii] 自然の生命力を支配し、その方向を決定する

[cxix] 人間化された自然界をつくる

[cxx] 文化とは Kultur と云う言葉の示すごとく、人間を産む土地の生命力が、逆に人間によって培養され、助長されるところから生ずるのである

[cxxi] 血の土からの内容的なる独立は、土に於ける最も非生命的なるもの、即ち鉱物が血によって逆に生命を与えられるところに成立するのである

[cxxii] 道具的なるものとは、非生命的なるものの肉体化、生命化であり、しかしそれを通じて非生命的生命が、第二の自然として、単なる血の有し得ざる別個の生命を帯びて産出され来るのである

[cxxiii] 植物的文明及び動物的文明の屈服

[cxxiv] 自然から独立せんがためには、自然の内に自然を克服すべき手段を見出さねばならない

[cxxv] 絶えず人間は自然を克服すると共に、自然を克服する手段によって逆に克服されることを意味する

[cxxvi] 自然は機械化され、人間すらもが機械されるのである

[cxxvii] 共同的使用

[cxxviii] 従って一人の人の一定の土地に対する関係は、彼の属する集団との関係によって制約され、一つの集団の彼の土地に対する関係は、他の集団に対するその集団の関係を背景とする。人間の土地に対する関係は…人間の人間に対する関係によって間接的に、従って否定的に媒介されているというべきであろう

[cxxix] 国家は世界個別化の原理である

[cxxx] 環境的自然は深く国家及び文化に連るのである

Chapter 8: Historical Subjectivity

8a: The Conditions of Subjectivity in the Historical World

The historical world is a mediation of both being and nothingness or the substantial and the subjective. However, this mediation is only possible within historical praxis. This is because it is only through action-intuition that the subject can become one with its object in its practical determination as the ego breaks out of its narrow frame and enters into the world. As both the subject and the object are recreated anew via this process of mutual determination, the historical world may in turn be interpreted as all of the location, material and product of historical subjectivity. The idea of subjectivity was originally conceived by Kōsaka in terms of the concrete realisation of the unique principles or ideals that determine a specific age or period within history. The historical subjects that embody these principles in turn occupy the centre-points of historical reality, that is to say the primary locations of historical and cultural formation within the world. As a result, the historical periphery as the location of primordial nature gravitates toward these centres providing the materials and impulses for continued historical creation in the present.

With the outbreak of Pacific War, Kōsaka's speculations shifted away from this 'static'[i] analysis of the historical world to the more practical concern of actively realising the moral 'ought' in historical reality.[1/ii] As a consequence, he reinterpreted subjectivity in terms of the dynamic cycle of problems and solutions, which he describes as the form of historical reason. Specifically, a problem arises when the principles that have determined praxis in a society or culture are exposed as outdated due to the constantly shifting circumstances of the historical world.[2] These are resolved by the historical subject via the mediation of the topological knowledge at its disposal, through which it

[1] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 13-14.
[2] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 3; 97-101; 186; Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 126; 186.

draws upon the subjective potentiality of past cultural models and types as practical schemas for historical creation in the present. In turn, the historical world is propelled towards a new future defined by values that better reflect the historical environment. In either case, historical subjectivity and its guiding principles can only be actualised within the world through the concrete actions of an embodied historical subject.

For this to be possible, Kōsaka believed that there had to be a 'species-subjectivity within the historical world' that could serve as the foundation upon which historical subjectivity proper materialises.[3/iii] This is because as a nothingness-like universal the historical world is inherently self-negating and therefore lacking of a fixed or definite centre of historical creation. This is why it can only manifest in the form of a dynamic world of worlds, both temporally as distinct historical periods and spatially as different cultural regions. As a consequence, Kōsaka could not accept Miki's suggestion that the world as a whole may represent historical individuality or historical subjectivity itself, despite the formative powers it no doubt exerts upon human existence as the location or place of historical praxis. If the world were an historical individuality it would become something fixed and substantial. This would negate human subjectivity and practical freedom in favour of a materialist conception of historical progression that was continuous or teleological, as exemplified by the economic materialism of Marx.[4] It is only as a nothingness-like universal that the world as a whole is able to fulfil its role as the universal of universals. That is to say, as the overarching place of the dialectical movement of history as a discontinuous-continuity of multiple

[3] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 3-4.
[4] Miki and Kōsaka, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku: taidan', 13-14; Uemura, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku ha nan dattanoka', 3-4; Michio Takeyama, *et al.*, 'Zadankai: Daitōa sensō to Nihon no chishikijintachi nitsuite (ni) – Kawai Eijirō/Nishida Kitarō [Symposium: The Greater East Asian War and Japanese Intellectuals (2) – Eijirō Kawai and Kitarō Nishida]', *Kokoro* Vol. 19 No. 4 (1966): 39-40.

interacting subjectivities. However, while both the internal and external environments of historical nature may be said to form a species-unity that is inherently subjective, it is only the ethnic nation as the concrete embodiment of the internal-environment that meets the requirements of a species-subjectivity in history. This is due to the inherent internality of peoples and nations as a result of the communal solidarity that is first fostered through natural blood-ties.

An ethnic group is never wholly determined by external factors alone, be it the natural materialism of the blood and soil or the shared cultural inheritance of a language and art tradition. Consequently, an ethnic nation must be able to determine itself as a coherent unity from within. This is the source of subjectivity within the historical world. The external factors that contribute to the national identity of an ethnic group are therefore merely an expression of its materiality and potentiality within the historical world. It is only by evolving into a 'self-determining' entity, that is to say a communal group of shared goals with both the material means and subjective will to realise them, that a people or nation truly becomes unified as an individual actor in history, thereby acquiring political authority.[5/iv] This reflects the significant influence of Kant upon Kōsaka's speculations. This is because Kant's moral personality is also determined internally through the dictates of the rational moral law as opposed to the external factors of natural causality and the material desires that result. The moral personality is therefore something self-determining or autonomous, making it an object of respect and admiration for other rational beings.[6] This is part of the reason why Kōsaka referred to the state, the true subject of history, in the terms of the moral personality: 'For the state, territory is not something that can simply be referred to as

[5] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 29-30; Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 248: 'In the life of a *people* the substantial aim is to be a state and to maintain itself as a state. A people without state-formation (a *nation* as such) has, strictly speaking, no history'.
[6] Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*.

property. Rather, the land constitutes a part of the personality of the state … "an infringement of territory … is [therefore] a crime against the personality"'.[7/v]

Nevertheless, although peoples and nations represent the species-subjectivities of the historical world, they do not yet constitute historical subjectivity itself. One reason for this is because they are still a species-existence, which is inherently particularistic and therefore fundamentally unstable. Consequently, in the same way that the species fluctuates between the individual and the universal, the ethnic nation oscillates between the poles of the natural substratum and historical subjectivity. Kōsaka therefore distinguished between the naturally determined tribe, the politically determined state, and the ethnic nation located between them. On the one hand, the ethnic nation overlaps with the 'natural substratum'[vi] of tribes, which endows a people with an 'impulse for solidarity'.[vii] This relates to the natural blood ties of the internal environment. At the same time, however, the nation is 'formative' like the state, as exemplified by the cultural creativity of different ethnic groups.[viii] In this way, nations also display the 'political and ethical character' of historical subjectivity.[ix] Because of this 'species-like-indeterminacy', the ethnic nation is something fluid, mobile and continuous that constantly fluctuates between its natural roots and its subjective potential.[8/x] Consequently, a nation or people inevitably seeks 'self-determination as a state' in order to overcome the irrationalism of its indefinite specific character.[9/xi] It is only by organising itself into a discontinuous individual entity that an ethnic nation is first able to secure the internal coherency that is necessary to become an effective actor upon the world-historical stage.

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[7] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 211-212.
[8] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 5-6; 11-12.
[9] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 6; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 278-279.

It should be kept in mind that as a part of the historical world peoples and nations are also subject to the negating forces of absolute mediation. Kōsaka therefore describes nations as being in a process of 'continual formation'.[xii] As a result, they are not simply conceived as the focal points of historical formation,[xiii] but also as the 'products' of this very process as well.[10/xiv] In other words, the nation is at once both the subject and object of historical praxis. This is the true significance of the formative process of 'from the created to the creating' within the historical world. In his explanation of Nishida's conception of action-intuition, Kōsaka writes: 'As a process where the subject determines its environment and the environment determines the subject, form creates form itself'.[11/xv] Correspondingly: 'Nations form the world while simultaneously being formed by the world in turn. The nation is both the subject of world history and its product'.[xvi] The nation therefore has both a past that is linked to the necessity of its underlying natural substratum, which as historical nature is the already created, and a future that is linked to the freedom of its subjective potential, in other words the creating. In turn, these two contradictory dimensions are mediated within historical praxis, the formative process that unites the created and the creating within practical determination, the moment where subject and object become one. Consequently, the nation is continuously remade anew along with the historical world upon which it works. As a species-existence, peoples and nations therefore manifest in various forms along the spectrum of this mediation. Kosaka therefore identified three general types of ethnic peoples within the historical world: the 'natural nation',[xvii] which was primarily determined by the natural factors of the land and blood, the 'cultural nation',[xviii] determined by language, culture and religion, and the 'political nation', which is or has the potential to become a state.[xix]

[10] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 5.
[11] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 176.

Although all these manifestations of an ethnic nation are subjective, it is only through the structure of the state that a people is able to attain true self-mastery or self-determination, via which historical subjectivity itself first becomes explicit within the world. Consequently, it is only the political nation that can actually become a world-historical people at the centre of historical creation.[12] This is why Kōsaka insists, alluding to Kant's description of the interrelationship of concepts and intuition, that 'political philosophy without historical philosophy is blind, while historical philosophy without political philosophy is powerless'.[13/xx]

A species-subjectivity is able to organise itself into a unified political entity through the negating forces of mediation at work both from within an ethnic group as the objectified spirit of its individual members, and from without, as the nation is also part of a world comprised of numerous peoples in mutual competition. In turn, these represent the respective sources of what Hegel referred to as the internal and external sovereignty of the state.[14] In relation to the internal cultivation of subjectivity, Kōsaka draws heavily upon Tanabe's logic of the species and the mediation of the individual and the universal it facilitates. This is a process that relies on the development of culture via a people's engagement with its external environment. The external cultivation of subjectivity, in contrast, is based on Nishida's dialectic of discontinuous-continuity or the interactions that take place between different peoples and nations as competing focal points of subjectivity within the world. In turn, this facilitates the development of the unified political consciousness of a people.

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[12] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 5; 31-32.
[13] Kōsaka, 'Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku', 93; Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 44; A similar statement is also made by Kōsaka concerning the relationship between politics and culture: 'Politics without culture is powerless, while culture without politics is blind' (for the Japanese see endnote xx) – Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetesugaku*, 93.
[14] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 255; Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 179-80; 208.

8b: The Internal Development of Historical Subjectivity

In *The Philosophy of the Nation*, Kōsaka argues that the eternal now has to be realised in the world for it to be a meaningful concept of history.[xxi] This is said to take place within the historical time of 'intricate problems and solutions'[xxii] or 'from the created to the creating'.[xxiii] In other words, 'time in alignment with things'[xxiv] or the 'time of objective spirit':[xxv]

> Historical time is something that is always in alignment with the things in reality that have been created [through this process], while at the same time proceeding to create [something new].[xxvi]

This is why Kōsaka refers to ethnic nations and societies as the 'reservoirs of historical time'.[xxvii] Consequently, the eternal now, which is realised within the objective spirit of a community, is in turn identified with the 'authority of the state'.[xxviii] This is because for Kōsaka the historical world is an ethical world of human praxis and it is the state that is the most concrete expression of the ethical life of a people.[15] Nevertheless, the realisation of the eternal now in historical reality cannot only be comprehended in the formalistic terms of time alone as the practical mediation of the necessity of the past and the freedom of the future. This is because such a conception of the eternal now ignores the necessity of the species-subjectivity within the historical world, which is said to represent the ethical content of the eternal now in reality.[16]

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[15] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 62-64.
[16] Hegel also describes the nation as an implicit embodiment of ethical substance – Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 218.

As a result, the eternal now does 'not simply end as a formal mediator', nor the ethnic nation as the reservoir of historical time.[xxix] Kōsaka explains:

> As the source of the ethical substance [of a community], [the eternal now] mediates the freedom of the individual and the necessity of the species. In this way, as the concrete authority of the state, it symbolically forms in reality. In turn, it is because the state is a mediation of the necessity of the species (called the species-substratum) and the freedom of the individual that it is depicted as substance *qua* subject.[17/xxx]

This reflects the significant influence of Tanabe's logic of the species upon Kōsaka's political speculations, something that he also explored in his earlier work *The Historical World.* For example, on political sovereignty Kōsaka states that at the base of both the ethnic nation and the political state is an 'earthly spirit'.[xxxi] In other words, something that is both 'material and spiritual'[xxxii] or 'natural and intellectual'.[xxxiii] Furthermore, as the state represents the substantial freedom of a society, that is to say the basis of the respective freedom of its individual members, 'then through the insertion of the negative mediation of the life of the species [the state] should connect with individual freedom'.[xxxiv] This does not mean that the state is merely an extension of the individual, however, only that the state and the individual are mediated with one another through the species.[18]

Kōsaka continues that while the state and the individual are both 'moral existences', they must be clearly distinguished.[xxxv] For instance, whereas the life of the individual may on occasion be sacrificed in the name of the state as a righteous cause, the most

[17] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 65-66.
[18] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 273-274.

important duty for the state is to preserve its own existence above all else.[19] This relates to the fact that the state is the closest thing in the historical world to nature as the unity of both the internal and external environments. Indeed, there is rarely an organism that shares the 'blind obsession' of the state and its willingness to sacrifice everything in order to survive.[xxxvi] Here lies the importance of Machiavellism in political thought. Nevertheless, Kosaka did not believe that the state simply 'ignores universal ethics in favour of the morality of the strong'.[xxxvii] It also had an ethical basis, no matter how slight in actuality. In order to understand why, the state must too be distinguished from an ethnic nation lacking political autonomy. In particular, Kōsaka pays attention to the notable sensitivity of the state to the changes that take place in its environment in comparison to an ethnic nation without comparable political sovereignty. This is because the state is a 'vast individual entity that is both systematic and hierarchal'.[xxxviii] An ethnic people or nation lacking substantial political organisation, in contrast, is not yet truly subjective within the historical world. While the 'life of the species' is necessary, it must be 'negatively raised to the level of the state, which is something subjective, self-determining and individual'.[20/xxxix]

Using Kantian terminology, Kōsaka argues that it is through the development of the rational systems and hierarchies of the political state that 'a nation may be said to first discover the apperception of its ethnic sensibility, intellect and volition'.[xl] As the natural substratum of human existence, the species is normally regarded as little more than 'instinctual' necessity.[xli] However, nature within the historical world is historical nature. As a result, the species is not simply blind natural

[19] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 51; 71; 209-211: 'But the state is not a contract at all … nor is its fundamental essence the unconditional protection and guarantee of life … On the contrary, it is that higher entity which even lays claim to this very life … and demands its sacrifice' (71); 'Sacrifice on behalf of the individuality of the state is the substantial tie between the state and all its members and so a universal duty' (210).
[20] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 274-276; 278.

necessity, but something that embodies both the materiality and potentiality of historical subjectivity. Consequently, Kōsaka believed that a species existence, just like the individual, is inherently intellectual and volitional. For example, a language tradition only emerges within an ethnic group:

> Language is often considered one of the most important elements of the state. However, it must be acknowledged that language already exists within the ethnic nation. If there is no such thing as a species-intellect, how is it possible to explain the phenomenon of language? Language is not based on the contract of the individual. Rather, we are all born or thrown into a [pre-existing] language tradition … This clearly relates to a natural instinct for imitation. Nevertheless, as demonstrated by the fact that the Bible has been translated into all national languages, it is something that also includes worldly rationalism and therefore cannot be understood by natural instinct alone.[xlii]

This also hints at the importance that ethnic culture plays for the development of the political autonomy of a people, due to its identification as a necessary element of the state. This is why the 'state as law' may be described as the 'self-realisation of the ethnic nation'.[21/xliii]

However, culture alone is insufficient to distinguish the state from an ethnic people. This is because both may be considered along a quantitative scale of cultural development. In this sense, the state is merely an extension of society. However, 'no matter how bad a particular state is, it is better that it exists than there being no state at all'.[xliv] Although the concept of a species-intellect in terms of its

[21] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 280-281.

cultural creativity is useful, cultural content alone leads to 'worldly' or universal abstraction and therefore the negation of the particularism of the species. This undermines the unity of a people. In order for this not to happen, the species actively attempts to unify itself in to an individuality that is properly self-determining. This requires the dialectical moment of its individual members. Kōsaka explains that no individual is able to gain direct independence from the species: 'individual entities as [part of the] life of the species are born from and die within an ethnic nation, nothing else'.[xlv] In this sense, the ethnic nation is the 'necessary substratum of the individual'.[22/xlvi] This is significant because the species attempts to enforce its authority over its individual members via the 'irrational pressures' it brings to bear.[xlvii] From the perspective of the species, individuals represent nothing more than the singular parts of its own structure that should submit and act according to its 'Will of Life';[xlviii] irrationalism that also manifests within the state as it too is founded upon the substratum of the species.[23]

However, individuals are able to stand in opposition to the species by becoming a 'subject of culture'[xlix] as a 'rational existence'[l] – individuals gain independence by 'finding themselves within the world against the backdrop of a worldly (universal) culture'.[li] This threatens the specificity of the nation, however, which in turn aims to maintain its concrete particularism by 'sublating culture, the world and the individual' through the mediation of its own specific nature.[lii] It is through this process that the state itself is formed:

> Because the individual negates the species by having the world [or universal] as his or her content and background [as culture], the species conversely negates the individual in turn, through

[22] Kōsaka, *Rekishiteki-sekai*, 283; 289.
[23] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 91-92.

> which it becomes necessary for the species to sublate its own specificity and form an individual state. In this way, the state demands specificity and individuality, the ethnic nation and the individual, even the world itself. While this strongly relates to the universalism of culture, all these factors must be mutually mediated. In this way, while the systems inherent within an ethnic group are merely typological [particular], the systems of the state become something self-determining and individual. The state therefore jumps from [universal cultural] types to individuality via the mediation of a culture that encourages abstract dispersion into the world.[24/liii]

Kōsaka undertakes a phenomenological analysis of this process in *The Philosophy of the Nation* using the example of religion.

In early societies, religion was primarily concerned with the prosperity of the tribe over individual salvation. As a consequence, individual members of a group could not choose their own faith. Rather, the individual was born into a religious tradition like that of an animal totem. Nevertheless, even within tribal religions there is 'a moment of individuality that is capable of breaking through the completeness of the tribal group'.[liv] This Kōsaka identifies with the distinction that was often made between public (white) magic and private (black) magic. Whereas public magic focused on the religious festivals of the tribe as a group and therefore on the prosperity of the species as a whole, private magic related to individual matters such as 'love, hate and illnesses'.[lv] For example, private magic is used for cursing another member of the same tribe, something that would require a power separate from the guardian gods of this tribe as this was an act that threatened the species-unity of the group. This highlights the fact that many of the

[24] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 289-290; 284.

pains and worries of the individual could not be resolved through the collectivism of tribal religion alone, thereby planting the seeds for the development of religious beliefs that transcend simple tribal solidarity and attempt to connect the individual directly with the universal. It is no coincidence, therefore, that Christianity emerged as a religion for the 'sick and sinful'.[lvi] Certainly, religions that threatened the solidarity of the tribe in this way were often the target of persecution, as in the case of Orphism in ancient Greece. Nonetheless, the Orphic mysteries were still able to spread across the country because they met the spiritual needs of the individual as an individual rather than a mere part of the life of the species.[25]

Most importantly, however, many of these persecuted faiths would eventually come to be recognised as the national religions of a people. Once powerful tribes started to expand and absorb other peoples and groups, they began to form ethnic nations that are based more on a shared cultural identity (subjective) as opposed to natural blood-ties (material). In order for these newly formed nations to become truly self-determining, however, the mediation of the universalism of culture, such as a religion that transcends insular tribal concerns, was essential. Christianity in the Roman Empire and Buddhism in Japan were able to become national religions as a result of their 'worldly', trans-tribal orientation.[lvii] This is because they reinforced the authority of the state as a political entity that unites a diverse group of peoples.[26] Kōsaka believes that the same may also be said for the development of law, art and science. Culture is something that is both a part of the ethnic nation while also worldly in its orientation, allowing a people to simultaneously overcome its insular specificity and unify as a group

[25] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 74-78.
[26] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 168 & 284: 'In the nature of the case, the state discharges a duty by affording every assistance and protection to the church … since religion is an integrating factor in the state, implementing a sense of unity in the depths of men's minds, the state should even require all its citizens to belong to a church'.

capable of effective action in the world. This process in turn requires an historical substratum that both persists over time and is pregnant with subjective potentiality, reasserting the continued importance of the species:

> It is only by mediating itself in the form of a cultural nation that the natural nation is able to become a political nation. An ethnic people must be mediated through culture. This is the key to the problem of the ethnic nation. The world is not simply determined by the conflicts that arise between different groups. It is mediated against the backdrop of culture.[27/lviii]

The mediation of a rich cultural tradition is essential for awakening a people to the world while simultaneously establishing the internal authority of the state. Nevertheless, it is only through the encounters that a nation has with other peoples in this world that it is truly able to realise its full subjective potential. This in turn leads into Kōsaka's discussions on the importance of war within the historical world.

8c: The External Development of Historical Subjectivity

As the embodiment of the mediation that takes place within historical praxis, there is something 'natural and intelligible' located at the base of states and peoples.[lix] Consequently, the state is said to comprise of both 'a body and a soul'.[28/lx] Kant too distinguished between the intelligible and phenomenal realms of human existence, which were determined by the moral laws of reason and the natural desires of the body respectively.[29] In a similar fashion, Kōsaka deems that the state is just as capable of committing crimes as accomplishing the good:

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[27] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 78-81.
[28] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 273-274.
[29] Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*.

> That which is referred to as primordial nature in opposition to the eternal now is the source of the material that opposes spirit. To the extent that the state is recognised as having an ethical character, this dark principle at its base should too be acknowledged.[lxi]

Internally, this is exemplified by the irrational powers that are brought to bear upon a population by an oppressive state, which through the mediation of its species-substratum attempts to enforce the will of the nation over the freedom of its individual citizens. Externally, however, this is demonstrated by the phenomenon of war, which for Kōsaka constituted an 'essential' part of the state as an historical existence.[30/lxii] Once again, a comparison can be drawn with the Kantian conception of 'radical evil':

> In the same way that sin accompanies human freedom, for the sovereignty of the state the possibility of war is something that will never be lost, regardless of what the future may hold.[31/lxiii]

This is because war is a necessary condition for the historical formation of the state. Consequently, war is not simply 'instinctual, violent and militant',[lxiv] but inherently 'practical, ethical and intelligible'.[lxv] As a consequence, it serves as the 'place for the self-awakening [of a people] to national subjectivity'.[32/lxvi]

War is often compared to a disease that unexpectedly disrupts the healthy state of peace between different nations, or to a natural

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[30] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 274; 256.
[31] Masakatsu Fujita, 'Commentary: Page 116', in *Shu no ronri: Tanabe Hajime tetsugaku sen* I, 462; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 256.
[32] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 257.

disaster that suddenly occurs like an earthquake.[33] Furthermore, it is frequently denounced as something inherently 'barbaric',[lxvii] 'feral'[lxviii] and 'inhumane'.[lxix] For Kōsaka, however, the phenomenon of war is not simply an event of nature. If it were, Kant's call for perpetual peace in the name of reason would be utterly meaningless, since it is impossible to order something like an earthquake to desist.[34] Rather, the act of war is unmistakeably human and therefore something unique to the historical world:

> The very fact that [war] should be consigned to the past surely means that it is not something haphazard. In the same way that crime is conversely essential for law, or the way that an illness is both independent from the [various] parts of an organism while also residing in its very essence as the possibility of extrication, is it not the case that war has necessary meaning for the existence and formation of the state itself?[35/lxx]

In this sense, conflicts between animals, private feuds and the acts of hunting carried out by primitive peoples are not acts of war. It is only when a struggle is endowed with the potential for state formation, or when the absolute authority of one nation comes up against that of another, that the resulting conflict may be referred to as an act of war within the historical world.[36] In turn, this occurs because of the phenomenon of contact and the resulting friction that arises between

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[33] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 257; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 168-169.
[34] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 151; 168-169.
[35] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 257-258; Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 70: 'The injury [the penalty] which falls on the criminal …is *eo ipso* his implicit will, an embodiment of his freedom, his right … The reason for this is that his action is the action of a rational being and this implies it is something universal and that by doing it the criminal has laid down a law which he has explicitly recognized in his action and under which in consequence he should be brought as under his right'.
[36] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 151-152.

the different peoples and nations that together populate the historical world.

In order to understand the significance of war for state formation, one must first be aware of the influence of Hegel's dialectic of self-consciousness upon the Kyoto School, which Suares argues was only partly conceded by the members themselves.[37] Of particular importance was the famous 'Master & Slave' dialogue from Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*. In his examination of the three *Chūō Kōron* symposia, Tsutomu Horio writes that subjectivity requires a complete 'self-consciousness of the world'. While this is something that transcends the interrelations of particular nations and peoples due to its grounding in a worldly rather than national standpoint, a reference to the 'standpoint of world history' that features prominently during the discussions, it allowed for an objective engagement with the 'inter-subjectivity' of the 'I and Thou' relationships that exist between different nations and peoples and between Japan and the historical world.[38] As Ranke declared, 'upon the Earth there is not one nation that exists in complete isolation from other peoples and nations'.[39/lxxi] For Kōsaka, it is the 'inter-subjectivity' of the 'I and Thou' exchange expounded in Hegel's philosophy that captures the metaphysical implications of this proclamation.[lxxii]

Of particular importance was the notion of recognition or acknowledgement that is received by self-consciousness from its equal: 'Self-consciousness exists in and for itself when, and by the fact that it exists for another; that is, it exists only in being acknowledged'.[40] The idea of the interdependence of individuals that results from the recognition/understanding they give to and receive from one another is a theme that runs throughout the philosophy of the Kyoto School. On

[37] Suares, *The Kyoto School's Takeover of Hegel*.
[38] Horio, 'The *Chūōkōron* Discussions, Their Background and Meaning', 296.
[39] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 258.
[40] Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, 111.

Nishida's conception of expressions, Kōsaka explained that the idea of a 'discontinuous-continuity'[lxxiii] referred to the existence of a 'Thou that is not I'.[lxxiv] That is to say an individual entirely independent from ourselves, but on whom we are nevertheless dependent for the recognition and understanding they provide for social expressions.[41] For Kōsaka, however, beyond the interplay of particular individuals in a limited social context, Nishida's conception of a 'discontinuous-continuity' is also applicable to the interaction that takes place between different peoples and states. It is here that the fundamental significance of war is to be discerned.

Expanding upon Ranke's understanding of peoples and nations, Kōsaka explains:

> All peoples upon the Earth, as long as they are not left behind by world history, are never able to maintain total independence; in other words, they are never entirely self-sufficient or self-complete, meaning they always exist in relationships with others.[lxxv]

He continues that the world could never be composed of just a single people and that consequently 'peoples are not universal but particular, thereby maintaining the character of a species-existence'.[lxxvi] However, a particularistic people or nation has yet to attain the subjectivity necessary to become an 'individual entity' or state.[lxxvii] This is because 'even if different species are discriminatory, they are not as yet truly confrontational'.[lxxviii] The species is in essence 'unstable, fluctuating and fluid',[lxxix] ensuring that 'one penetrates into the other' preventing true opposition.[lxxx] As a result, the species does not embody the discontinuity of truly independent individuals and states. For this, a

[41] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku,* 24-26.

self-awakening to subjectivity is required: 'only when faced by another people, only once a confrontational relationship between I and Thou has developed, will the autonomy of the state first hold any meaning'.[lxxxi] It is for this reason that war is 'necessary for the formation of the state', at least historically speaking.[42/lxxxii]

Kōsaka believes that it is only once a people develops into a state that subjectivity and autonomy first appear within the historical world. In this way, war is the 'movement' necessary to raise a people to the level of statehood, again raising comparisons with Hegel and his discussions on the life and death struggle that results from the meeting of a consciousness and its other:[lxxxiii]

> At the very least, within war different peoples acknowledge each other's subjectivity, via which one's own subjectivity is established and the state is formed and self-awareness [of national subjectivity] attained.[lxxxiv]

If it is permissible to think in this manner, then Kōsaka believes that the 'world is composed of different peoples as species, and it is through war that independence via statehood is acquired'.[lxxxv] As a result, 'rather than saying it is war that is derived from states, it is more appropriate to say that states originate from war'.[43/lxxxvi] In the *Philosophy of the Nation,* Kōsaka goes further:

> If human history is said to commence with the emergence of states, then because this was possible only through the mediation of war, it could equally be said that human history had essentially began with war.[lxxxvii]

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[42] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 258-259; 256.
[43] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 259.

Kōsaka plays on Heraclitus's famous declaration that 'war is the father of creation'[lxxxviii] by identifying war as the 'father of history'.[44/lxxxix] Furthermore, this applies not only to one particular state or people, but to all states and all peoples in the world. In this respect, through the 'self-determination' that is required for subjectivity,[xc] in other words the realisation of being 'one among many' as part of a larger world,[xci] 'the complete isolation of a single people or state is breached and the interior of the world at large is brought forth'.[xcii] In this manner, 'fundamentally superstitious peoples or tribes develop the rationality that is required of them for statehood'.[xciii] For Kōsaka, it is a historical truth that the world is comprised of a manifold of differing peoples. It is therefore only reasonable to assume that the creation of the state at least anticipates the potential 'mediation of war'.[45/xciv]

In his essay on *Perpetual Peace*, Kant asserts that 'reason, as the highest legislative moral power, absolutely condemns war'. That being said, there are aspects of this essay that may have influenced Kōsaka's conception of war and national subjectivity considering his familiarity with the text. For example, although Kant believed in a teleological purpose inherent in nature that would ultimately realise an everlasting cessation of conflict, he admits that the natural state of humankind was not in fact peace but war:

> A state of peace among men living together is not the same as the state of nature, which is rather a state of war. For even if it does not involve active hostilities, it involves a constant threat of their breaking out.

Furthermore, Kant acknowledged the role that war had played historically in the formation of the state:

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[44] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 150.
[45] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 152; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 252; 264; 260.

> Even if a people were not compelled by internal dissent to submit to the coercion of public laws, war would produce the same effect from outside. For in accordance with the natural arrangement described above, each people would find itself confronted by another neighbouring people pressing in upon it, thus forcing it to form itself internally into a *state* in order to encounter the other as an armed power.

Kant recognised that the possibility of war remains an essential part of human nature. Moreover, he acknowledged that it is war that facilitates the initial formation of the state historically, a political entity that he nevertheless identifies as indispensable for the realisation of world peace.[46] Noting Hegel's belief that war always maintains the possibility of peace, Kōsaka argues that the 'formation of the state already contained the self-negation of war'[xcv] and that 'although the purpose of war is the state, the purpose of the state is not war'.[47/xcvi] Because of his faith in the design of nature, Kant believed that nature would ultimately facilitate the attainment of peace regardless of whether it was desired by humankind or not. This is because the providence of nature would come to the aid of the 'rational human will' by making use of 'precisely those self-seeking inclinations' of humanity that have historically led to conflict. In turn, the states of the world would come to be organised in a manner that ensured the respective forces of different peoples are arranged 'in such a way that their self-seeking energies are opposed to one another, each thereby neutralising or eliminating the destructive forces of the rest'.[48] Although Kōsaka rejected such teleological interpretations of history,

[46] Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, 104; 98; 112.
[47] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 257; 267; Hegel, *Philosophy of the Right*, 215.
[48] Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, 112.

he too acknowledged that the state had formed in order to overcome the 'crisis of war'.[49/xcvii]

[49] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 266.

Chapter 8 Japanese Citations

[i] 静的

[ii] 当為的

[iii] 種的主体性

[iv] 自己限定的

[v] 国家にとっては領土は決して単にその財産と云う如きものではない。土地はむしろ国家の人格の一部を構成する…『…領土の毀損は…人格に対する犯罪であって…』

[vi] 自然的基体

[vii] 団結的衝動

[viii] 国家形成的

[ix] 政治的倫理的性格を示す

[x] 種的不確定性

[xi] 国家としての自己限定性を要求する

[xii] 民族は現に出来つつあるのである

[xiii] 世界史の主体

[xiv] 所産

[xv] 主体が環境を、そして環境が主体を限定することとして、形が形自身を形成して行くことなのである

[xvi] 民族は世界を形成すると共に、世界から形成される。民族は世界史の主体であると共に、世界史の所産である

[xvii] 自然民族

[xviii] 文化民族

[xix] 国家民族

[xx] 歴史哲学なき政治哲学は盲目であり、政治哲学なき歴史哲学は無力である／政治なき文化は無力であり、文化なき政治は盲目である

[xxi] 歴史的現実に於ける永遠の今の問題である

[xxii] 問題とその解決の錯綜

[xxiii] 作られたものから作るものへの時間

[xxiv] 物に即した時間

[xxv] 客観的精神の時間

[xxvi] 歴史的時間は現実には常にこのように作られたものに即しつつ作り行くものである

[xxvii] 歴史的時間の貯蔵庫

[xxviii] 国家的権威

[xxix] 形式的媒介者に終わるのではない

[xxx] それは人倫的実体の源泉としてこの自由と種の必然を媒介し、かくて具体的に権威として象徴的・現実的に成立するのである。種の必然―それは種の基体性の謂である、―とこの自由を媒介するが故に、国家は基体即主体と言われるのである

[xxxi] irdisch-geistig

[xxxii] 物質的・精神的なるもの

[xxxiii] 自然的・叡知的なるもの

[xxxiv] その間に種的なる民族的生命の否定的媒介を挿入せしむることによって、個人的自由に通ずるものが存すべきであろう

[xxxv] 道徳的存在

[xxxvi] 盲目的執着

[xxxvii] 単に一般の倫理を無視する強者の道徳をとく

[xxxviii] それは国家が組織を有し、体制を有する巨大なる個体であるのに基く

[xxxix] 種的生命がなければならない。しかし単なる生命が主体性へ、自己限定性へ、しかして個性へと、否定的に高められることによってのみ、国家となるのである

[xl] 国家に到って民族の有する感性、知性、意志は、言わば始めて統覚を発見したのである

[xli] 種的本能

[xlii] 言葉はしばしば国家の最も重要な要素と考えられる。しかし言語はもとより既に民族に於て認められる。もし種的叡知が許容され難きものであるならば、言語の現象の如きはいかにして説明され得るであろうか。言語は個人の契約でもなく、むしろ我々はその中に生み出され、投入れられるのであり…明らかに模倣的なる本能に連りつつ、しかもバイブルがすべての国語に翻訳され得ると云う実例の示す如く、世界的なる合理性を含む以上、決して本能に尽きざる

[xliii] 民族の自覚が法としての国家となる

[xliv] いかなる悪しき国家も、無きよりは有るが勝る

[xlv] 単なる個人には、直接民族より独立し得る根拠はない。種的生命としての個体は、民族より生まれ、民族の内に死するのみである

[xlvi] 個体の必然的基体である

[xlvii] 非合理的な圧力

[xlviii] 種の生命意志

[xlix] 文化の主体

[l] 理性的存在

[li] 個人が自らを世界に於て見出し、世界性を有する文化を背景とすることによってである

[lii] 文化、世界、個人を止揚して

[liii] 個人は世界性を内容とし、背景として有つことによって種を否定するが故に、逆に種は個を否定することによって自己の種性を個性としての国家にまで止揚すべき必然を課せられ、かくて国家は種性と個性、民族と個人、しかも世界性を求めて普遍化され行く文化内容に関連しても、相互媒介として成立し来るが故である。かくて民族的体制は単に類型的であるに反し、国家的体制は自己限定的であり、個性的であり、しかも類型より個性への飛躍は、世界性へ抽象的に散逸せんとする文化の否定的媒介に基くのである

[liv] 未開人の集団の中にも、既にその完結性を破るような個人的契機の萌芽が存する

[lvlv] 愛欲、憎悪、疾病等

[lvi] キリスト教が、病めるもの、罪ある者の宗教であった

[lvii] 世界性

[lviii] 自然的民族は文化的民族の形態に於て自己を媒介してのみ、国家的民族たり得るのである。民族は文化によって媒介されなければならない。ここに民族問題の鍵がある。世界には単なる民族の闘争はない。それは常に文化的背景に媒介されているのである

[lix] 自然的・叡知的なるもの

[lx] 肉と霊を有する

[lxi] 永遠の今に対して原始自然と呼んだものは、かかる精神とそれに対する物質の根源をなすべきはずのものであったのである。国家にも倫理的なる性格が認められる限り、国家の底にも闇の原理を認め得べきである

[lxii] 本質的

[lxiii] 罪悪が自由に伴う如く、国家の主権性にとってその可能性は—歴史の将来に於ける現実性は別として—失われることはないであろう

[lxiv] 本能的、暴力的、武力的

[lxv] 実践的、倫理的、叡知的

[lxvi] 国家の主体性の自覚の場として

[lxvii] 野蛮的

[lxviii] 動物的

[lxix] 非人間的

[lxx] 犯罪が法に対して却って本質的であるように、しかして病気も有機体の部分の全体よりの独立、遊離の可能性として、有機体そのものの本質の内に蔵せられているように、戦争も国家そのものの成立と存立にとって必然的なる意味を有しているのではなかろうか

[lxxi] 「地上には他の民族と無関係ですまされるような民族は一つもない。」

[lxxii] 我と汝

[lxxiii] 非連続の連続

[lxxiv] 我ならぬ汝

[lxxv] いかなる民族も地上に於ては、世界歴史に取残されざる限り、決して孤立を保ち得るのではなく、即ち自己完結であるのではなく、必ず他との接触に於てあるのである

[lxxvi] 民族は普遍ではなくして特殊であり、種的な性格を保有するであろう

[lxxvii] 個体的

[lxxviii] 種的なるものは互いに差別的ではあっても、対立的ではあり得ない

[lxxix] 不定性、動揺性、流動性

[lxxx] 一は他に浸透して

[lxxxi] ただ他の民族に対し、汝に対する我の関係を有するに到って、始めて自主的なる国家の意味を有つ

[lxxxii] 戦争は…国家の成立にとって必然的であった

[lxxxiii] 運動

[lxxxiv] 少なくとも戦争に於て民族は互に互の主体性を認め、自らの主体性を確立し、かくて国家形態及び国家意識の自覚に到るのである

[lxxxv] 世界に於て種的なる民族は、戦争によって自らを国家形態にまで独立させるのである

[lxxxvi] 国家から戦争が始まると云うよりも、戦争から国家が始まるのである

[lxxxvii] 人間歴史は国家の出現と共に始まると言われるならば、国家の出現は戦争を媒介するが故に、人間歴史は本来的には戦争と共に始まるとさえ言い得るであろう

[lxxxviii] 争いは万物の父である

[lxxxix] 戦争は歴史の父である

[xc] 自己限定的

[xci] 決してただ一つのみあるのではない

[xcii] 一民族、一国家の封鎖完了性を破って、より大なる世界の内面を露出せしめ

[xciii] 単に呪術的なる民族を合理的なる国家へと進展せしむる

[xciv] 戦争の媒介・戦争に媒介される

[xcv] 国家の成立が既に戦争の自己否定の第一の結実である

[xcvi] 国家のための戦争であって戦争のための国家ではない

[xcvii] 戦争の危機の克服

Part Four – Confucianism and the Philosophy of History

In this final section I undertake a comparative study of Kōsaka's political thought with the major works of Confucianism and associated ideas and traditions. This brings together the two principle themes of the dissertation: the Confucian influence upon the political thought of the Kyoto School and Kōsaka's philosophy of history as one of its main exponents. Because Kōsaka rarely cites directly from Confucian sources, the comparisons I make are speculative in nature. Nonetheless, the many similarities suggest that Confucianism does indeed represent an important East Asian forerunner for many of the ideas Kōsaka articulates in his philosophy of history. After reassessing Williams's thesis of Confucian Revolution, I proceed to highlight the congruence between this portrayal of East Asian political behaviour and Kōsaka's conception of historical progression. Then I conduct a comparative analysis of Kosaka's conception of the historical world with the Confucian canon. I conclude by indicating the compatibility of certain aspects of Kant's philosophy with Confucianism, at least in terms of how they were both adopted by Kōsaka.

Chapter 9: Confucian Reading of Kōsaka's Philosophy of History

9a: Reassessing the Thesis of Confucian Revolution

Williams describes Confucian thinkers as 'truth-seekers'. This is because he believes the history of the Confucian world may be characterised by the numerous attempts that have been made across the ages to accurately comprehend the Way of Heaven in order to ensure that social praxis is in alignment with the present circumstances of the community. In political terms, the legitimacy of a regime is therefore based on its ability to accurately apprehend the trends and patterns of social reality in the present so that the measures introduced are indeed a true reflection of the requirements of the people.[1] The Mandate of Heaven, which bestows moral legitimacy upon a government and its methods, is never given on a permanent basis.[2] The legitimacy of a particular regime is only valid for as long as it is able to demonstrate its grasp of political reality, after which it will be replaced by the Way of its successor. This is confirmed by the mass conversion of the citizenry to the virtue (徳/*toku*) or political orientation of the successor regime once it has secured the Mandate, thereby consigning the Way of the previous dynasty to the past as a new age with new values is established. Williams reinterprets this in terms of a dynastic conception of political truth.[3]

This depiction of Confucianism is problematic because Confucian thinkers have traditionally been more concerned with establishing 'how to make one's way in life' as opposed to discovering the underlying truths of reality, social or otherwise.[4] For example, there is no close lexical equivalent for the English words true or truth in ancient Chinese. As a result, 'the sense of "true to fact" does not have the importance invested in it [for Confucianism] that it does within the

[1] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 45.
[2] Hsu, 'Applying Confucian Ethics to International Relations', 150.
[3] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 45; 50.
[4] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 5; Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 69-71.

Western narrative'.[5] That being said, it must be kept in mind that Williams developed the thesis of Confucian Revolution as a modern reinterpretation of East Asian patterns of political behaviour in contradistinction with the 'Kantian liberal-cosmopolitan orthodoxy' of American global hegemony. Whereas this modern political order is characterised by the purported moral universalism of contemporary liberalism, a supposed political truth that is 'held to apply at all times and in every culture', the so-called political truths of Confucian cultures, that is to say the social values and ideals expressed through and reinforced by the political institutions of an incumbent regime, are only thought to be valid for as long as they are deemed practically effective.[6] It is from this comparative standpoint that Williams describes the political history of Confucian East Asia in the terms of a 'series of 'truths''.[7]

Nevertheless, Williams's depiction of Confucianism is misleading since this is not how Confucian thinkers would traditionally portray their philosophical project. To paraphrase Parkes, what need is there to introduce the concept of 'truth' when Confucianism already has the concept of the 'Way'?[8] Williams, however, is not primarily concerned with providing an accurate presentation of the Confucian canon per se, but with establishing a robust interpretative thesis that can make sense of the behavioural patterns that result from the Confucian values deeply embedded within the social consciousness of the Sinitic cultures of East Asia in a modern political context. While his approach may be guilty of distorting traditional Confucian philosophy through his use of Western political concepts, there are a number of advantages to the methodology he adopts. For example, his thesis helps us to appreciate what exactly is Confucian about Tōjō's Japan despite the

[5] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 33.
[6] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance,* xxvi; 23; 25; 87; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 60.
[7] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 50.
[8] Graham Parkes, Personal Correspondence, 4th Nov. 2015.

fact that his regime diverged significantly from the Confucian ideal of benevolent government.[9] Furthermore, Williams's thesis also sheds light on the implications that these behavioural patterns have for mainstream political discourse in the West, which continues to be dominated by the purported universal truth of a liberal conception of human rights, individual freedoms and democracy. From a contemporary Confucian perspective, such political 'truths' are not equivalent to the universal ideals that are expounded by Kant in his essay on perpetual peace, the document that Williams identifies as providing the philosophical foundations for the moral universalism of modern liberalism.[10] Rather, the political beliefs of a people are entirely contingent on the social, cultural and historical contexts of the community in the present moment. As circumstances change, so does a society's definition of political truth, or, in Confucian terms, its Way.

Although by no means an orthodox portrayal of the Confucian tradition, the insights provided by Williams's thesis of Confucian Revolution alerts us to the full extent of the Confucian influence upon Kōsaka's political speculations. This is because, just like Williams, Kōsaka himself used Western concepts and techniques to express Confucian-inspired ideas in the language of contemporary political

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[9] Williams also discusses the thesis of Confucian Revolution in the context of contemporary China, Korea and Vietnam. For example, he believes this process of regime change allows us to better understand the manner in which Mao was able to secure the Mandate to rule in China. Of course, Mao's strong anti-Confucianism raises important questions about this portrayal. On the other hand, drawing on the work of John Fairbank, Ames too suggests that the social and political order established under Mao was 'fully consistent with the [Chinese cultural] tradition, from "the Chinese readiness to accept supreme personality" to the phenomenon of a population continuing to struggle for proximity to the center'. Ames continues, 'It is by the virtue of the supreme personality's embodiment of his world, as in the case of Mao Tse-tung, that he is able to lay claim to impartiality – his actions are not self-interested but always appropriate (*yi*), accommodating the interests of all. Just as the traditional conception of Heaven, encompassing within itself the world order, the "Son of Heaven" with similar compass is devoid of a divisive egoism. As long as the center is strong enough to draw the deference and tribute of its surrounding spheres of influence, it retains authoritativeness – that is, not only do these spheres willingly acknowledge this order, but actively participate in reinforcing it'. Ames goes on to compare this to the Confucian 'pole star', around which the other stars 'pay tribute' – Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 39-40; Ames, 'Introduction – Centripetal Harmony and Authority', 64-66; See also *Analects* 2.1 & 15.5.

[10] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 'Footnote 4', 28. See also Rhydwen, 'Review Essay: A Confucian Understanding of the Kyoto School's Wartime Philosophy', 72-73.

philosophy. For example, Kōsaka also discussed the contingency of any notion of political truth within the historical world as exemplified by Hanazawa's analysis on the practical utility of cultural types and models as schemas for historical praxis in the present.[11] Certainly, Parkes's warning on the dangers of projecting Western ideas back onto the East Asian intellectual tradition must be heeded. Nevertheless, the Kyoto School was a group of philosophers that actively attempted to unify the intellectual traditions of East and West within their speculations, more often than not by expressing East Asian ideas via the medium of Western philosophical concepts. It is therefore no coincidence that Williams should have developed his thesis as an interpretative framework for his 'reading' of the three *Chūō Kōron* symposia. This is one of the main reasons for the notable similarities in the language that he and Kōsaka adopt.[12] Consequently, if Williams's thesis is to be criticised for his use of non-Confucian terminology, it is difficult to see how Kōsaka's own political philosophy would be able to withstand similar scrutiny. After all, he too rarely employed Confucian notions in a traditional sense. Scholars such as Arisaka, Lange and Sakai would argue that it cannot. I believe, however, that despite Kōsaka's explicit use of Western themes and concepts, it was primarily a Confucian worldview that shaped his political speculations.

9b: The Philosophy of History and the Confucian Tradition of Regime Change

Kōsaka describes his philosophy of history as a 'discipline of orientation'[i] or 'directionality'.[ii] This may be interpreted as a re-conceptualisation of the intellectual traditions associated with the tradition of Confucian Revolution through the methods and techniques of contemporary Western philosophy. The practical utility of these

[11] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 156.
[12] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 100.

ideas was reflected by the impressive command of historical reality that had been demonstrated by the Western colonial powers in the modern era.[13] Nevertheless, the fundamental purpose of Kōsaka's political project was essentially the same as that of his Confucian predecessors; namely, establishing whether or not the current political order was compatible with the present political environment. If not, there was a moral obligation for change. This is because the moral authority of a political regime in the Confucian world is ultimately dependent upon its practical effectiveness. It is for this reason that the four *Chūō Kōron* participants insisted that the ethics of a people could not be understood separately from the historical circumstances of the nation, which they considered to be the most concrete expression of humanity as a social existence.[14]

The influence of Confucian Revolution is most clearly discernible in Kōsaka's conception of historical progression as a process of 'discontinuous-continuity' based on a dynamic cycle of historical problems and solutions:

> History is an intricate tangle of problems and their solutions. Moreover, this mediates something that is practical, creative and rational. This is especially apparent within the phenomenon of a historical crisis. Crisis here refers to our confrontation with a deep-seated problem that forces us to question whether our historical existence should be accepted or rejected in its current form. Wars, rebellions and revolutions are all connected with this notion of crisis. Here, an inevitable problem arises which demands a solution. The establishment of the feudal system, the Protestant movement and modern capitalism are all examples of the efforts that have been made to find such solutions …

[13] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 2; 102; 107-124.
[14] Kōsaka, *et al.,* 'The Second Symposium', 183-185.

> Different states do not simply fight haphazardly. Rather, it is because of problems and solutions, something that is itself a method that will give birth to new problems [in the future]. In this way, a problem is resolved, a crisis is overcome … and a new age is formed.[iii]

An historical crisis arises because the previous system of social organisation deviates too far from the Way of Heaven or the present circumstances within which a community is situated. As Kōsaka explains, 'historical problems are always met within a specific historical position … they are the problems of a specific period and people'.[15/iv] This is inevitable because Heaven and Earth, what Kōsaka refers to as the historical world, is in a constant state of flux and transition. As a result, the solutions of today will eventually become the problems of tomorrow. In certain cases, the complete overhaul of the political system will therefore be necessary before a satisfactory resolution can be reached.

This is why Kōsaka relates his understanding of historical crisis specifically with the social turmoil of rebellions, revolutions, and war:

> The state is not simply a natural existence, but a historical existence. At times, events that cannot be foreseen will take place in the future. In order to still make legal decisions in the face of such circumstances, it is demanded that the authority [of the state] itself have the potential to serve as the source for new laws. Once a situation is reached where this continuous development is no longer possible, a revolution finally takes place.[16/v]

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[15] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetugaku jōsetsu*, 126-128.
[16] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 286.

Wang Yang-Ming said that 'The sage does not value foreknowledge. When blessings and calamities come, even a sage cannot avoid them' (*IPL* 3:281). This is why it was so important for the Confucian gentleman, a person that Watsuji describes as primarily responsible for leading the people, to do 'what is appropriate in the circumstances' (*Analects* 7.3).[17] In the words of Xunzi (8.370): 'He shifts and moves with the times. He bends and straightens with the age'. For Williams, Kōsaka has basically reiterated through the medium of modern Western philosophy a Confucian-inspired tradition of regime change that has dictated political behaviour in East Asia for over a millennium.

Kōsaka's depiction of historical progression as a 'discontinuous-continuity', what Williams refers to as a 'series of 'truths" and which Kōsaka himself discusses in the context of his own practically informed conception of historical truth, may in turn be conceived as an attempt to unify the respective standpoints of East and West.[18] Kōsaka was highly critical of the traditional methods of studying history in China, which he believed lacked a sufficient development of ideas and themes across historical periods as was exemplified by Western approaches – 'An era ends, and so does the story. Rulers come and go, and there the discussion ends'. As a result, he describes Chinese historians as displaying 'a kind of discontinuity' in their portrayals. However, this also implied a deep respect for the independent significance of the past in the Confucian tradition, since events are explained according to the unique principles that are thought to define an age. This is comparable with the methodology that Kōsaka developed within his own philosophy of history.[19] For example, he insisted that historical concepts could not be given externally to the period that they represent. Furthermore, he rejected a simple appropriation of the continuous logic

[17] Watsuji, 'Nihon no shindō'.
[18] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 123-131.
[19] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The First Symposium', 126-127.

of historical progression typical of Western philosophical conceptions of history because of their tendency toward teleology. While some notion of continuity was needed in order to comprehend the reasoning behind the historical praxis of an age, this was not to be conceived as a 'simple continuous development'.[vi] Rather, it had to include the discontinuity of the 'jumps'[vii] displayed by the 'new solutions *qua* creation'[viii] that are reached within distinct 'historical positions at different times'.[20/ix] In other words, the progression of history from one age to another occurs because the solutions of an earlier period become problematic once circumstances change, thereby forcing a people to make periodic leaps toward a new age defined by new ideals.

Despite his criticisms of Confucianism, Kōsaka thought that the tradition's appreciation for historical circumstances would have to be incorporated into his philosophy of history if the independence of the past was to be fully respected. For example, he believed that it was impossible to pass moral judgment on past events like ethnic migration or the Crusades.[21] Likewise, Confucius asserted that you 'don't discuss what is finished and done with; you don't remonstrate over what happens as a matter of course; you don't level blame against what is long gone' (*Analects* 3.21). Of course, Kōsaka's understanding of history was no doubt influenced by his study of Western thinkers, most notably Ranke and his belief that each period of history was in direct contact with God or the absolute. Nonetheless, if the thesis of Confucian Revolution is indeed an accurate portrayal of political behaviour in East Asia, then it is perhaps the Confucian tradition that best explains Kōsaka's affinity for Ranke's methods due to the dynastic conception of political truth it facilitates. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that an East Asian precedent for Kōsaka's discussions of the possibility of a dialogue with the historical Thou of

[20] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 128.
[21] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki Sekai*, 161.

the past, and therefore understanding history 'as it actually was', may also be found within the Confucian canon:

> And not content with making friends with the best Gentleman in the Empire, he goes back in time and communes with the ancients. When one reads the poems and writings of the ancients, can it be right not to know something about them as men? Hence, one tries to understand the age in which they lived. This can be described as "looking for friends in history" (*Mencius* 5B:8).

In this way, it is possible to discern a Confucian-inspired interpretation of historical progression at the very heart of Kōsaka's philosophy. In turn, this brings into focus the likelihood of a Confucian influence on other aspects of his thought as well. For instance, Confucianism arguably shaped his appropriation of the Hegelian concept of ethical substance or objective spirit and his subsequent assertion that its very 'source' was susceptible to movement within the historical world. It is therefore worthwhile examining the many similarities between his ideas and the core beliefs of Confucianism

9c: Confucian Influences on the Fundamental Structure of the Historical World

The Great Ultimate and the Complementary Principles of Yin and Yang

The historical world, as a nothingness-like universal, is only able to manifest itself through the mediation of being and nothingness or the substantial and the subjective. This is comparable to the dialectical-unity that is formed by the Great Ultimate and its dependence upon the complementary principles of Yin and Yang as described by Tanabe in his analysis of Confucian metaphysics.

Specifically, the historical world or the nothingness-like universal may be said to represent the Great Ultimate from the perspective of historical phenomena, at least in terms of the dialectical structure of the world itself. Tanabe states that the Great Ultimate is 'described in general universal terms'[x] as the 'ultimate cause of creation'.[xi] The historical world is too depicted by Kōsaka as the 'universal of universals', which as the self-determination of absolute nothingness in turn facilitates the creative processes of historical reality.[xii]

That being said, it is not possible to 'arrive at the changes and diversity [of reality] from the principle of an unchanging, immobile one'.[xiii] What is required, therefore, are two opposing universal principles, 'via the unification of which the changes and diversity of reality are explainable'.[xiv] Tanabe continues:

> Although it is necessary to consider these two principles as being in absolute conflict, it is not possible to substantiate the generation of the changes and diversity [of the real world] through simple opposition alone. Rather, they must be able to unify as well. It is impossible for two principles that are in absolute opposition, and therefore without the mediation of a common universal, to unify … This only becomes possible when both are regarded as the differentiation of a common universal … Monism or dualism [in abstraction] cannot account for diversity and change. The ultimate principle that explains change and diversity [within the world] is therefore the one that includes the differentiation of two, and the two that are mediated by the one.[xv]

Although the dialectical-unity of the Great Ultimate lacks the confrontational relationships that define the interactions that take

place between discontinuous historical individualities like political states, the mutual dependence of a 'trinity comprising of [both] the one and the two' reflects the general structure and interrelationship of the historical world, historical substratum and historical subjectivity.[22/xvi] This is because the historical world serves as the common universal via which the mediation of the material and the spiritual is possible.[23] All historical phenomena occur within the world as the ultimate place of history, while no one phenomenon is purely substantial or subjective in and of itself.

Significantly, the Great Ultimate was also conceived in terms of emptiness, the void and nothingness.[24] This is what allows it to manifest in the form of a dialectical unity of movement, change and diversity. As a consequence of this, however, what embodies the universal in the Confucian tradition can never be fully expressed by any one particular thing in reality. This is certainly true of the totality of Heaven and Earth itself, as evidenced by the fact that they generate a perpetual cycle of change via which the world as a whole is continuously remade anew in each passing moment. As Kōsaka explains, 'even in the case of the Confucian Heaven … the base of action was considered to be nothingness'.[25/xvii] This also applies to the Confucian Way as well, as we learn from Xunzi:

> Thus if one speaks of it in terms of usefulness, then the Way will consist completely in seeking what is profitable … If one speaks of it in terms of laws, then the Way will consist completely in making arrangements. If one speaks of it in terms of power, then the Way will consist completely in finding the expedient … If one

[22] Compare *Daodejing* 42: 'The Dao generates Oneness. Oneness generates Twoness. Twoness generates Threeness. Threeness generates the ten thousand things'.
[23] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nituite', 291-297.
[24] Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy: Debt and Distance', 141.
[25] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 199.

> speaks of it in terms of the Heavenly, then they Way will consist in following along with things. These various approaches are all merely one corner of the Way. As for the Way itself, its substance is constant, yet it covers all changes. No corner is sufficient to fully exhibit it (*Xunzi* 21.110).

This idea was also taken up by Wang Yang-Ming who stated that the 'Way … cannot be pinned down to any particular' (*IPL* 1:66). It is also important to note that the concept of the Way 'has as much to do with the subject as object, as much to do with the quality of understanding as the conditions of the world understood'.[26] Consequently, it is similar to Kōsaka's conception of the historical world as a nothingness-like universal, which due to its self-negating nature is unable to manifest in a definite form.

The same may also be said of the phenomena that express the eternal now within historical reality. For example, no one cultural principle is able to fully embody the absolute in and of itself, regardless of the symbolic significance that it may hold for a specific people or cultural region. Once it attains some form of completion it has already fallen away from the present and become an event of the past. As a consequence, the nothingness-like universal is a world of multiple expressions, that is to say a world of worlds both temporally and spatially. Likewise, the Confucian Way is something that changes in accordance with the specific time, circumstances and perspectives of the peoples concerned. This is why Kōsaka believed it was the discontinuous antinomies of Kant, as opposed to the continuous dialectic of Hegel, that were better suited to expressing the practical implications of absolute nothingness and the self-negation of being it invokes.

[26] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 46.

The role of primordial nature as the 'dark foothold' of the historical world is comparable to that of Yin as the dark material that facilitates the movement of the Great Ultimate. The pure form of Yin takes the shape of the land or the maternal (母). It therefore represents the 'attributes of the land'.[xviii] This is in contrast with the 'vital air' (陽気) of the pure form of Yang, which takes the shape of Heaven or the paternal (父). Tanabe explains:

> In this way, the opposition of … Yin and Yang is nothing other than the opposition of *qi* energies and the material, [that is to say] the opposition of the principle of invocation and progression and the principle of receptiveness and closedness … Yin is the ground of movement and generation [within the world], it is the material that is worked upon by the dynamic power [of Yang].[xix]

However, Yin is not simply the 'attributeless' material of ancient Greek philosophy.[xx] Rather, it is a 'principle that has its own attributes as the land, the maternal; the soft and the low'.[xxi] It is for similar reasons that Kōsaka conceives primordial nature as something impulsive within the historical world. Nevertheless, both Yin and primordial nature are required as the vessel that 'receives the powers of its opposite that works upon it'.[xxii] In other words, Yin is the necessary material that invokes and receives the generative powers of Yang, shaping it in turn. In the words of Tanabe:

> Movement only becomes movement through its necessary opposition with the static. This means that movement always forms upon the ground of the static, while the static exists as the mediation of movement. To say that the Great Ultimate separates into Yin and Yang is to say nothing more than it

> becomes movement through the mediation of that which is static.[27/xxiii]

The language used by Kōsaka in his description of the historical world as a mediation of primordial nature and the eternal now would seem to substantiate the validity of this comparison. For example, he specifically describes nature in the feminine terms of the 'mother',[xxiv] 'wife'[xxv] and 'younger sister of history'.[xxvi] In other words, that which gave birth to the historical world, that which serves as the material and recipient of historical praxis, and that which is a product of historical formation. Furthermore, drawing on the philosophy of Schelling, primordial nature is discussed in terms of the darkness via which the light of historical subjectivity, that which symbolises the absolute ideals of human spirit or the eternal now, shines through: 'Darkness and lightness are the living identity of spirit'.[28/xxvii]

While the historical substratum of nature may be said to embody the principle of Yin in the historical world as the material and receptacle of historical creation, it is historical subjectivity that represents the principle of Yang, that which initiates and propels these creative processes. Tanabe describes Yang as the 'motive power that generates all the myriad things'.[29/xxviii] Subjectivity may too be described as the vital spark (気/*qi*) that is necessary for the generation of historical phenomena. Without subjectivity there would be no historical world, only a natural order determined by the universal laws of material nature. Kōsaka argued that primordial nature, that which is representative of the prehistorical foundations of the historical world, is continually reborn along with the world itself via the processes of

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[27] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 291-297.
[28] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 187; 180-181.
[29] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 294.

historical creation and formation initiated by the praxis of historical subjectivity:

> Even if time flows infinitely within the world that preceded history, it is nothing other than an instant. Simple nature is nothing more than an infinite moment. In this way, the historical world is continually generated from primordial nature in each passing moment. The base of the historical world is directly connected to primordial nature. Moreover, the entire process [in which] primordial nature [develops] into the historical world is but an instant. This is an event of the eternal now.[30/xxix]

The objective time of nature, as exemplified by the philosophy of Kant, takes the form of succession. Although it is able to determine the 'causality' of natural phenomena, there is no historical present in such a world[xxx] – 'it is merely the arbitrarily fragmented *t* that is used in the algebraic equations of the natural sciences. In other words, it is time as measured by a clock'.[xxxi] True time, at least from the perspective of social existence, is the historical transition of from the created to the creating.[31] That is to say, it is the living time of the historical subject as the focal point of the creative powers of the world (Yang). Through the mediation of this subjectivity, nature is in turn transformed into historical nature or the material of this creation (Yin). In the same way that the Great Ultimate may be described as 'Yang not yet emitted', the historical world is too something that is fundamentally subjective as the ultimate expression of all human accomplishments.[32/xxxii]

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[30] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 225-226.
[31] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 113-118.
[32] Tanabe, 'Jukyō-teki sonzairon nitsuite', 295.

One of the most important dimensions of the Yin/Yang cosmology of Confucianism is the fact that there is nothing in Heaven and Earth that is in itself inherently Yin or Yang. Certainly, there are aspects of existence that are more likely to exhibit one side or other of this dyad. Earth is generally Yin and Heaven is generally Yang. Nevertheless, the Yin or Yang characteristics that are expressed by a specific thing are entirely dependent upon the types of relationships it has with the world at a particular time. This is explained by Ames and Rosemont using an example taken from traditional Chinese medicine:

> The Chinese *materia medica* describes the chest as *yin* … with respect to the back, which is *yang* … But in relation to the abdomen, the chest is *yang*. But these relations, too, can be changed, depending on anatomical conditions … That is to say, nothing is altogether *yin* or *yang* in and of itself, but only in relation to one or more other "things," temporally contextualized.[33]

This is similar to the composition of the historical world in Kōsaka's philosophy, since there is no one historical phenomenon that is purely substantial (Yin) or purely subjective (Yang). This includes the historical world itself, which as a 'nothingness-like being' necessarily mediates both of these elements.[xxxiii] Again, there are certain dimensions of the historical world that are more likely to exhibit the characteristics of one or the other. Nature, for example, is generally conceived in terms of the historical substratum. Nonetheless, nature is historical nature and therefore something imbued with subjectivity. Equally, the subject of history requires a material body. This is why Kōsaka believed that the state, as the unity of the blood and the soil,

[33] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 25.

was the closest thing within the historical world to nature itself. He goes on to describe the state as a 'historically [determined] natural object'[xxxiv] and as an 'historical organism'.[xxxv] This is one of the main reasons why the state is able to exert its power over social existence.

The relativity of both Yin and Yang or the substantial and subjective in Kōsaka's philosophy is most apparent in his deliberations on environmental-nature. Generally speaking, nature as being is something that is substantial (Yin) within the historical world, in other words the material for and receptacle of historical praxis. However, it is also nature that gives birth to these creative powers as the 'mother' of history.[34/xxxvi] It is therefore a dynamical nature that necessarily divides into the internal and external environments, just like the totality of the Great Ultimate or the historical world itself, in order to facilitate the very movement that works upon it. As environmental nature, the historical substratum may therefore be said to exhibit the characteristics of both the substantial (Yin) in terms of the external environment of the soil or climate and the subjective (Yang) in terms of the internal environment of blood or humanity. These distinctions, however, are only relative. Depending on the context, it may in fact be the external environment that is the more subjective (Yang), while the internal environment is more substantial (Yin). This equally applies to the two centres of historical subjectivity, the state and culture, which just like environmental nature may be said to form a contradictory-unity that is comprised of two mutually dependent, though autonomous elements. It is for this reason that Kōsaka often gave contradictory descriptions of the various phenomena that appear within of the historical world.

[34] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki Sekai*, 303; 212; 168; 189.

A Confucian Interpretation of the Eternal Now

The mediation of the substantial (Yin) and the subjective (Yang) occurs within the eternal now as the place of human praxis. As a consequence, the subjects of history were thought by Kōsaka to represent the 'focal points of the world's awareness', or in the words of Wang Yang-Ming, the focal points of the unity of Heaven and Earth.[35] This is deemed possible because human praxis was conceived in the form of action-intuition, a process where subject and object are unified within a creative act of mutual transformation. Action-intuition is therefore comparable with Ames's description of the Confucian perspective of 'embodying our experience' or 'the process of assimilating and transforming the world as it is experienced'.[36] This is because in Confucianism there is no strict dichotomy between the subject and object or the internal and external. As a consequence, the heart-mind and the body are simply regarded as distinct aspects of the same person as seen from different perspectives, just as the individual is merely one aspect of the great unity that is Heaven and Earth. This is reinforced by the inherent emptiness of the self, which in turn opens out into the world through the mediation of the body. Significantly, Kōsaka believed that the premises for Nishida's conception of action-intuition could be traced back to his deliberations on the unity of the subject and object facilitated by pure experience, which Dalissier suggests greatly resembles the unity of consciousness and the cosmos within the Confucian tradition.[37]

Kōsaka believed that Nishida conceived pure experience as a metaphysical 'route to true existence',[xxxvii] which was not to be found beyond the phenomena of experience but within direct experience itself.

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[35] Keiji Nishitani, *Nishida Kitarō*, trans. Yamamoto Seisaku and James W. Heisig (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 36; See *IPL* 3:274.
[36] Ames, *Confucian Role Ethics,* 21.
[37] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō,* 64; Dalissier, 'Nishida Kitarō and Chinese Philosophy'.

This is possible since 'within pure experience the knower and the known, the subject and object are unified', a standpoint that is broadly compatible with the epistemological and ontological traditions of Chinese thought.[xxxviii] However, the unity that is represented by pure experience was not simply intellectual, but something that was also emotional and volitional. For example, Kōsaka states that it is doubtful whether we can properly know something that is alive simply as an object of the intellect: 'when we intellectually analyse a colourful, fragrant and beautiful flower, we break it down into a lifeless material'.[xxxix] When we know it as the blooming flower that we intuit in a lived experience, however, we do so through the mediation of our emotions and the will. In other words, 'only a living thing can know another living thing'.[xl] The same may also be said in relation to our awareness of the great life of the cosmos or Nature itself. Kōsaka continues that 'pure experience is a metaphysical organ that touches upon the truth of the cosmos. This truth is simultaneously something emotional and volitional. Through numerous transitions and the deepening of this idea logically, pure experience eventually developed into the concept of action-intuition'.[38/xli]

One of the most important aspects of Nishida's understanding of intuition was the inherent emptiness of the subject. Kōsaka explains that 'unless the subject completely negates itself, it will not be possible for the object to appear [within consciousness] as it actually is'.[39/xlii] There are a number of precedents for this understanding of intuition in the Confucian tradition. For example, Xunzi argues:

> How does the heart know the Way? I say: it is through emptiness … Humans are born with awareness. With awareness, they have focus. To focus is to be holding something. Yet there is something

[38] Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō sensei no shōgai to shisō*, 62-64.
[39] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 172.

> called being "empty". Not to let what one is already holding harm what one is about to receive is called being "empty" (*Xunzi* 21.165).

Likewise, Wang Yang-Ming uses the Buddhist analogy of a mirror:

> The mind of the sage is like a clear mirror. Since it is all clarity, it responds to all stimuli as they come and reflects everything. There is no such case as a previous image still remaining in the present reflection or a yet-to-be-reflected image already existing there … we know that a sage does a thing when the time comes (*IPL* 1:21).

It is for this reason that the sage rulers of the past were able to discern the Way of Heaven or the Pattern of Nature via a thorough 'investigation of things' (格物/*gewu*) within the heart-mind. Consequently, Wang Yang-Ming argued that the heart-mind and the Principle of Nature were in fact identical: 'Our nature is the substance of the mind and Heaven is the source of our nature'; 'The original substance of the mind is one's nature, and one's nature is Principle' (*IPL* 1:6, 1:82). Kōsaka discusses the same idea in terms of the ego 'becoming groundless' by breaking through its frame and 'being reborn out of something that is not the ego'.[40/xliii] It is this process that in turn allows the historical subject to perceive the current trends and patterns of the historical world. As Kōsaka states, 'problems call out to us which we comprehend and aim to solve'.[41/xliv]

The true significance of action-intuition, however, lies in the fact that it is a two-way process. As a consequence, the object, too, is

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[40] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 172.
[41] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku jōsetsu*, 126; See also Nishida, 'Appendix: A Translation of Nishida's "General Summary"', 205-206.

negated via its unity with the subject, thereby provoking the self into action as it proceeds to work upon this object as the medium of its expression. Indeed, intuition itself is already action because human sensibility necessitates the mediation of a body that is capable of interacting with the world of which it is a part through the movement of the eyes and hands. Kōsaka emphasised the fact that intuition is therefore something active and not passive, as had been 'correctly' argued by Nishida since *An Inquiry into the Good.*[42/xlv] Likewise, in the Confucian tradition to know the Way is to act upon it, as is implied by the ancient sage rulers who proceeded to extend their self-cultivation outwards to All-Under-Heaven. This leads to Wang Yang-Ming's development of his famous theory on the unity of knowledge and action:

> Knowledge in its genuine and earnest aspect is action, and action in its intelligent and discriminating aspect is knowledge. At bottom the task of knowledge and action cannot be separated … knowledge is what constitutes action and … unless it is acted on it cannot be called knowledge (*IPL* 2:133).

Arguably, this mind-set is one of the main reasons why Kōsaka was so attracted to the practical orientation of Kantian metaphysics.[43] For Kant, metaphysical ideas were only thought to acquire a positive significance as the regulative principles of praxis. Freedom is not something that can be known through passive observation or theoretical speculation, it is something that has to be actively realised. As a consequence, he believed that reason must not only focus on the speculative question of what people can know, as had been the case for

[42] Kōsaka, *Nishida tetsugaku to Tanabe tetsugaku*, 173-175.
[43] Stephen Palmquist, 'How Chinese was Kant?', *The Philosopher,* Volume LXXXIV No. 1 (1996), http://staffweb.hkbu.edu.hk/ppp/srp/arts/HCWK.html/; Wawrytko, 'Confucius and Kant: The Ethics of Respect', 239.

much of the history of Western metaphysics, but must also be directed toward the practical question of how people should act.[44] Here, Kant's philosophy may be said to overlap with the principle guiding question of the East Asian tradition: 'What is the Way?'. Parkes explains that in East Asian philosophies "knowing' is as much a practical as a theoretical matter'.[45] For Kant also, the metaphysical ideas of pure reason must too be put into practice if they are to hold objective significance for the moral subject.[46]

This interpretation is reinforced by the likelihood of a Confucian influence on the concept of *shutaisei*, the Japanese term used by the Kyoto School philosophers to express human praxis within the historical world. Kenn Nakata Steffensen believes that the Japanese term for subjectivity (主体性/*shutaisei*) was first used by Miki in his book *The Philosophy of History*.[47] Although it is difficult to confirm the validity of this claim, at the time Jun Tosaka identified Miki as the leading theorist of the second generation of the Kyoto School because of this work.[48] In turn, *The Historical World* may be seen as Kōsaka's response to the debate on history and subjectivity that was spearheaded by Miki in the early 1930s from the perspective of Nishida's dialectic of discontinuous-continuity.[49] Kōsaka disagreed with the progressive or continuous interpretation of history that was forwarded by Miki based on his engagement with Hegel and Marx. Nevertheless, Kōsaka's conception of practical-subjectivity is generally consistent with Miki's earlier usage of the term. This is significant because of the clear distinction that Miki draws between the contemplative subjectivity (主観性/*shukansei*) that was typical of

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[44] Kōsaka, *Kanto*, 66-67.
[45] Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 70-71.
[46] Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, 4.
[47] Steffensen, 'The political philosophy of Miki Kiyoshi', 166-167.
[48] Kenn Nakata Steffensen, 'Translation of Tosaka Jun's "The Philosophy of the Kyoto School"', *Comparative and Continental Philosophy* Vol 8 No. 1 (2016): 61-73.
[49] Miki, 'Rekishi tetsugaku'.

Western philosophy and what Steffensen renders as the active subjectivity (主体性/*shutaisei*) of historical praxis.

Although translated as the same word in English, in Japanese these contrasting interpretations are distinguished by the use of different Chinese characters. Steffensen explains that the character of *kan* (観) 'connotes meditation and observation', reflecting the contemplative stance of the Western subject who views the world as a disinterested third party. In contrast, the practical or active subjectivity of historical praxis uses the character of *tai* (体) meaning 'body'. This was thought to capture a perspective that overcame the Western dichotomy of subject and object by focusing on the praxis of the embodied historical subject. In *The Philosophical Foundations of Cooperative Communitarianism* (1939), Miki argues that the practical standpoint he adopts 'is connected to and develops the tradition of Oriental thought', which perceived 'matter and mind as one' and the subject and object as 'united'. Considering Miki's concern for establishing harmonious relations between the peoples of East Asia, it is reasonable to assume that Confucianism was an important influence on his political deliberations and therefore his conception of subjectivity.[50]

Because the subject and object are unified within action-intuition, the associated concept of the eternal now may in turn be interpreted as representing both the historically determined circumstances of the present moment as the place or context of historical praxis, and the ideals that develop through the subject's engagement with the world and are embedded within the objectified expressions that result.[51/xlvi] In this sense, the eternal now may be

[50] Steffensen, 'The political philosophy of Miki Kiyoshi', 166-167; Kiyoshi Miki, 'The Philosophical foundations of Cooperative Communitarianism', trans. by Steffensen, in 'The political philosophy of Miki Kiyoshi', 250; 266-267.
[51] Kōsaka, 'Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku', 46.

compared to the form of the Confucian Way or the Pattern of Heaven. Confucius described his Way as 'bound together with one continuous strand'. This suggests that he believed his teachings were based upon a constant principle, despite the apparent discrepancies in the advice he gave to different people and the conflicting actions he took at different times. Specifically, this was the Way of benevolence (仁), which consists in 'doing one's utmost and putting oneself in the other's place' (*Analects* 4.15). However, the 'continuous strand' of the Confucian Way also connects all of the past, present and future together. On numerous occasions Confucius expressed his admiration for the cultural achievements of the past, while suggesting that his own methods were in fact nothing new.[52]

To follow the Way of benevolence was therefore to realise the ideals of the past in the present, as reflected by Mencius's (3B:9) 'wish to safeguard the way of the former sages'. Although changing circumstances necessarily require different responses, this did not alter the fact that the underlying principle or 'strand' remained the same across the ages. On the ancient sage-rulers, Wang Yang-Ming explains that 'while their governments were different, the principle is the same with them all' (*IPL* 1:11). It is for this reason that Xunzi thought it was possible to learn about the ancient sage kings of the Xia and Shang dynasties through the later teachings of the Zhou, a notion that is also implied by Confucius – 'If you wish to observe a thousand years' time, then reckon upon today's events' (*Xunzi* 5.120).[53]

Kōsaka expresses similar ideas when he suggests that the eternal now is embodied within all the principles and ideals that have shaped past ages, since history may be interpreted as the continual

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[52] See *Analects* 4.14, 7.1, 9.5, 19.22; Compare *Daodejing* 14: 'Grasp the Dao of today – in order to manage what is present today, in order to know the beginning in antiquity. This is called: "thread of the Dao"' – *Daodejing (Laozi): A Complete Translation and Commentary*, trans. by Hans-Georg Moeller (Chicago & La Salle: Open Court Publishing Company, 2007).
[53] See *Analects* 3.1.

development and repetition of the eternal now as the overarching place of historical praxis. This portrayal is strengthened by further comparisons with the philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming. This is because he specifically reinterprets the Confucian tradition in terms of the simultaneity of the past, present and future within benevolent praxis. This was thought possible because the Principle of Nature, that which guides such praxis, resides in all things at all times:

> The Way has neither spatial restriction nor physical form, and it cannot be pinned down to any particular … Heaven is the Way. If we realize this, where is the Way not to be found? .... If one knows how to search for the Way inside the mind … then there is no place nor time where the Way is not to be found. It pervades the past and present and is without beginning or end (*IPL* 1:66).
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> To innate knowledge there is neither the past nor the future. It only knows the incipient activating force of the present moment, and once this succeeds everything else will succeed (*IPL* 3:281).[54]

Kōsaka employs similar ideas in his discussion on the possibility of a dialogue with the historical Thou of the past and the subjective or attributional causality of past cultural models and types. This in turn invites comparisons with the Confucian rites as the 'models' of acceptable conduct (*Xunzi* 1.160, 2.190), as well as the cultural ideal of the Confucian sage that 'shines across generations and across

[54] See also the *Doctrine of the Mean:* '[T]o be born into the present and yet return to the ways of past – it is things like these that bring disaster down on oneself' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 477.

geographical boundaries as a light that … serves humankind as a source of cultural nourishment and inspiration' in the present.[55]

The actual definition of a sage for a specific people is wholly dependent upon the requirements of the age. Wang Yang-Ming compared the heart-mind of the sage to a mirror which accurately reflects current circumstances, thereby allowing him to respond appropriately to the needs of the present in an effortless manner. In this sense, the cultural 'type' of the sage is comparable to Kōsaka's analogy of the mould. While leaving an imprint of the past upon the clay, it serves as the means for a new process of creation in the present. The rites also exemplify the importance of cultural models within Confucianism. This is apparent from Parkes's explanation of ritual propriety:

> Confucius's insistence that the ritual be performed properly, in the traditional way rather than simply as one likes it, evinces and encourages humility in the face of the wisdom of the ancestors. He does, however, acknowledge that changing circumstances may necessitate changes in procedure: he's prepared to go along with the practice of substituting a simpler cap of silk for an elaborate linen cap in order to spare expense.[56]

This concession by Confucius shows that although he viewed the rites as the model of appropriate behaviour and harmonious relations, he did not believe ritual propriety should curtail justifiable cultural innovations in the present.[57] Rather, incremental changes as initiated by the Confucian gentleman, or in political terms the holder of the Mandate of Heaven, were deemed necessary to ensure that the customs

[55] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 62-64.
[56] Parkes, 'Awe and Humility', 72.
[57] See *Analects* 9.3.

and conventions of a people continued to be relevant. The significance of ritual propriety was therefore to be found in what Kōsaka defined as attributional causality. As Eric Hutton notes, the rites 'are not inviolable rules'.[58] Rather, they are the cultural signposts that both guide proper conduct and channel the creative energies of a people in the present. Kōsaka states:

> True tradition is not simply the past determining the present, but the present simultaneously determining the past … in the direction of the future … Traditions that have power are traditions that are creative … and continue to develop.[59/xlvii]

Likewise, the Master said: 'Reviewing the old as a means of realizing the new – such a person can be considered a teacher' (*Analects* 2.11).

9d: The Historical Movement of the Ethical Substance of a People

Humanity as a Social and Historical Existence

Although Confucian scholars primarily discussed their theories on praxis in relation to the Confucian sage or gentleman as the paradigms of benevolent conduct, the inherent unity of all things ensured that the collective praxis of society as a whole was conceived in a similar fashion. For Kōsaka, this was expressed through the notion of 'from the created to the creating'. This idea in turn informed his perception of humankind as an inherently social or historical existence, which he relates with the Hegelian notion of objective spirit. This is again a proposition that resonates strongly with Confucian teachings. For example, Xunzi (9.330) argued that 'human life cannot be without community'. Watsuji speculates that the first book of the *Analects*, believed to be one of the oldest sections of the work, was compiled by

[58] Hutton, 'Introduction', xxvii.
[59] Kōsaka, 'Rekishi tetsugaku to seiji tetsugaku', 54.

early members of the school to instruct new students on the core teachings of Confucius and his immediate successors. Significantly, this section quickly introduces the importance of sincere and trustworthy social relations, and the fact that the true realisation of the Way is not restricted to family matters alone but is also concerned with the affairs of the state:

> For the Confucian school, the realisation of the Way … should be based on the sincerity of one's innermost feelings. Nevertheless, even though this is the case, it does not mean that the Way of morality should be viewed simply as a subjective problem of moral consciousness. The breadth of morality (人倫) is found in the governance of the country, in the realisation of the ethical (人倫) structures of the state.[60/xlviii]

This hints at the strong affinity that exists between the teachings of Confucianism and Hegel's deliberations on objective spirit and ethical substance, the concrete manifestation of which was interpreted as the state. This is especially true in relation to Hegel's criticism of the arbitrariness of subjective morality in abstraction.[61] If moral principles are to hold objective significance for a people, they need to be actualised as concrete ideals within the customs and mores of a society. In Confucianism, a similar notion is embodied in the significance that is attributed to the rites as the cultural means for realising harmony and benevolence within the community.[62] This is one reason why Kōsaka describes the state as the realisation of the eternal now in reality, since it is the most concrete expression of the creative processes of the ethnic nation.

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[60] See *Analects* 1.4 & 1.5; Watsuji, 'Kōshi', 311-315.
[61] Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 89-103.
[62] See *Analects* 1.12 & 12.1

It should be noted that there are also aspects of the Confucian tradition that encourage or reinforce the emphasis Kōsaka places on the ethnic nation as a shared cultural community. The most important is Mencius's (4A:27) conception of benevolence, the basic tenets of which were grounded in 'serving one's parents'. Upon hearing that a Mohist had argued that there 'should be no gradations in love', Mencius (3A:5) responded that the Mohist in question could not possibly believe 'that a man loves his brother's son no more than his neighbour's newborn babe'. Lau explains that for Confucians it is simply unnatural to love all people indiscriminately in the same way that one loves his or her immediate family:

> One should love one's parents more than other members of the family, other members of the family more than members of the same village and so on until one reaches humanity at large.[63]

While the benevolent man was no doubt expected to 'extend his love from those he loves to those he does not', it is regarded as inevitable that this would be gradated based on one's relative proximity to the people concerned (*Mencius* 7B:1).[64] It is therefore only natural to feel more love for one's family members than one's neighbours, just as it is only natural to feel more connection with members of the same cultural community than persons from other ethnic groups. This is reinforced by the fact that the principle distinctions that were drawn between the Chinese peoples and the so-called barbarian tribes were cultural differences such as language.[65] Any sense of superiority was therefore based on the perceived excellence of Chinese cultural achievements – 'I have heard of the Chinese converting barbarians to their ways, but not

[63] D.C. Lau, 'Introduction', in *Mencius*, xxxi.
[64] See *Analects* 12.22.
[65] See *Xunzi* 1.15; *Mencius* 3A:4.

of their being converted to barbarian ways' (*Mencius* 3A:4).[66] Nevertheless, if someone from a different ethnic group demonstrated sufficient virtue, in other words tangible political ability, they too were eligible to receive the Mandate of Heaven. For instance, Mencius states that the legendary sage kings Shun and Wen were both from barbarian tribes.[67]

The social orientation of Confucianism in turn encouraged a deep respect for the past and recognition of the historicity of cultural traditions.[68] Ames and Rosemont explain that the rites are 'life forms transmitted from generation to generation as repositories of meaning'. People are born into a tradition of language and predetermined conventions on social behaviour. While incremental revisions take place with the passage of time, it is the historical customs of a society that facilitate harmonious interactions by determining the communal standards of appropriate conduct.[69] The rites, therefore, served as the 'social grammar that provides each member with a defined place and status within the family, community, and polity'.[70] Xunzi in particular pays special attention to the formative power of cultural traditions in the present:

> The children of the Han, Yue, Yi and Mo peoples all cry with the same sound at birth, but when grown they have different customs, because teaching makes them thus (*Xunzi* 1.15).
>
> Names have no predetermined appropriateness. One forms agreement in order to name things. Once the agreement is set and has become custom, then they are called appropriate, and

[66] See *Analects* 3.5, 9.14.
[67] See *Mencius* 4B:1.
[68] See *Analects* 3.14, 9.5.
[69] See *Analects* 9.3.
[70] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 51.

> what differs from the agreed usage is called inappropriate (*Xunzi* 22.120).

Many of the key assumptions of Kōsaka's political speculations were therefore ideas and values that have long been cherished in the Confucian world. In turn, Confucianism may be said to have impacted his understanding of the close relationship between morality and the historically determined structures of the political community.

Generally, Confucian thinkers do not clearly distinguish between notions of individual morality and the social customs, rules and laws that determine appropriate behaviour within the wider community.[71] On the key virtue of benevolence or *ren* (仁), which they translate as 'authoritative conduct', Ames and Rosemont explain:

> "Authoritative" entails the "authority" that a person comes to represent in the community by becoming *ren*, embodying in oneself the values and customs of one's tradition through the observance of ritual propriety (*li*).[72]

This may explain why the Kyoto School philosophers were so receptive to Hegel's deliberations on the objective spirit of peoples, nations and states.[73] Because the customs of a society are historically determined, however, they are in turn susceptible to the destructive forces of history as the socio-political environment of a community shifts with the constant transformations of Heaven and Earth. This is an idea that is embedded into the negating forces of the nothingness-like universal

[71] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 87.
[72] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 49.
[73] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 107 & 260: 'In an ethical community, it is easy to say what the man must do, what are the duties he has to fulfil in order to be virtuous: he simply has to follow the well-known and explicit rules of his own situation. Rectitude is the general character which may be demanded of him by law or custom'; 'Just as nature has its laws, and as animals, trees, and the sun fulfil their law, so custom (*Sitte*) is the law appropriate to free mind'.

that is the historical world. As Xunzi (5.120) concedes, 'culture persists for a long time and then expires; regulations persist for a long time and then cease'. The social implications of these changes are in turn explored in Confucian theories on the importance of rectifying names.

The Rectification of Names

The notion of correct naming was first proposed by Confucius in response to a question on what his priority would be if he was given the responsibility for administering a state – 'Without question it would be to insure that names are used properly'. When pressed on the issue, he explained:

> When names are not used properly, language will not be used effectively; when language is not used effectively, matters will not be taken care of … the observance of ritual propriety … [will] not flourish … the application of laws and punishments will not be on the mark; when the application of laws and punishments is not on the mark, the people will not know what to do with themselves. Thus, when the exemplary person puts a name to something, it can certainly be spoken, and when spoken it can certainly be acted upon. There is nothing careless in the attitude of the exemplary person towards what is said (*Analects* 13.3).

This idea was greatly expanded in the philosophy of Xunzi.[74] In particular, he believed that the correct use of names based on the conventions of the enlightened rulers of the early Zhou dynasty had facilitated communication and harmonious relations across the Empire, despite differences in regional customs. This is because the later kings had established a single standard from which to clearly differentiate

[74] See *Xunzi* 22.

and classify the 'myriad things' of existence, ensuring that everyone was able to know what was meant by a specific designation and how to act in turn (*Xunzi* 22.1). This had strong practical implications for Xunzi (22.235) because 'names and terms are the emissaries of … thoughts and intentions'. It is for this reason that it was so important for the Confucian gentleman to 'make good on one's word' (*Analects* 1.4-1.8, 1.13).[75]

This relates to the inherent unity of all things and the fact that the heart-mind and 'the Principle of Nature are undifferentiated' (*IPL* 1:20). Wang Yang-Ming explains:

> The substance of mind is nature, and nature is identical with principle. Consequently, as there is the mind of filial piety toward parents, there is the principle of filial piety. If there is no mind of filial piety, there will be no principle (*IPL* 2:133).[76]

The sage, someone who is in perfect alignment with the Way of Heaven, is therefore able to present ideas that not only 'define the human experience, but which … have cosmic implications' since his or her actions are an outward expression of the Will of Heaven itself. As a consequence, to 'name a world properly', that is to say in accordance with the Principle of Nature or the Way of Heaven, is to command 'a proper world into being'.[77] In the political context, it is the holder of the Mandate of Heaven who realises this in practice at a national level.

The Confucian tradition of the rectification of names represents an important forerunner for many of the ideas that are expressed in Kōsaka's philosophy of history. This is because the full implications of this tradition culminate in the viewpoint of Wang Yang-Ming:

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[75] See also *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 429.
[76] See also *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 411.
[77] Ames and Rosemont, 'Introduction', 62-63.

> All principles are contained … [within the heart-mind] and all events proceed from it. There is no principle outside the mind; there is no event outside the mind.[78]

As Confucius himself states, it 'is the person who is able to broaden the Way, not the Way that broadens the person' (*Analects* 15.29). Likewise, the historical world is only able to manifest itself through the mediation of the subjective and the substantial via the praxis of the historical subject as the focal point of the world's self-determination. As a result, that 'which does not incorporate the meaning of knowledge is not historical reality'. This is an important example of the inherent unity of the ideal and the real within Kōsaka's philosophy.[79] He was therefore primarily concerned with the world as it relates to human existence. This is most discernible in his portrayal of the natural world as historical nature, which is ultimately conceived in relation to the territories and peoples that together constitute the 'historical body' of the state. This would seem to downplay the fact that nature is a force beyond human control within his philosophy, a problem that was also taken up by Miki during the debate he held with Kōsaka on ethnic nationalism in 1942.[80] Consequently, Kōsaka's depiction of nature seems to be at odds with the great esteem in which the natural world is held within the Confucian tradition.

That being said, historical nature is basically nature as it relates to human society. In this sense, Kosaka's ideas are not incompatible with the portrayal of nature that is presented by Xunzi.[81] While recognising the natural dispositions of human beings, the various

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[78] *Instructions on Practical Living* 1:32.
[79] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 86: 'The *name* is thus the *thing*, as the thing is available and carries weight in the *realm of representation* [or the 'ideational realm' – trans. by William Wallace (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 85]'.
[80] Miki and Kōsaka, 'Minzoku no tetsugaku: taidan'.
[81] See *Xunzi* 17.

wonders of the natural world, and the calamities and disasters that nature can unleash upon humankind, Xunzi believed that the primary concern for the Confucian gentleman was not the natural but social realm. The goal of the individual, for example, was to refine and make the most of his or her natural dispositions within society through rigorous self-cultivation. In reference to supernatural interpretations of natural phenomena, he states that to 'marvel' at the wonders of nature is 'permissible, but to fear them is wrong' (*Xunzi* 17.135). Furthermore, he emphasises the fact that if the state is badly governed then 'although floods and drought have not yet come, you will still go hungry' (*Xunzi* 17.15):

> With respect to Heaven, focus only on those manifest phenomena to which you can align yourself. With respect to the Earth, focus only on those manifest places which are suitable for growing. With respect to the four seasons, focus only on that manifest order by which work is arranged (*Xunzi* 17.75).
>
> Of things that come to pass, it is human ill omens that are to be feared. When poor plowing harms the planting, when the cutting loses control over the weeds, when the government is unstable and loses control over the people, such that … buying rice is expensive and the people face famine, and there are corpses lying in the roads – these are called human ill omens (*Xunzi* 17.150).

Xunzi certainly held the deep respect for nature that is typical of the Confucian tradition, as demonstrated by his concern for excessive deforestation, unrestricted fishing and excessive farming within the

community.[82] Nevertheless, he may also be said to have focused on what Kōsaka defined as historical nature in the context of the historical world.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Confucian tradition of correct naming for Kōsaka's philosophy of history in terms of its practical application, however, is 'the need for regular exercises in the rectification of names'. Williams explains:

> Because the names we give to pieces of reality may gradually come to describe our imaginings about reality rather than what is actually there, meticulous effort must be routinely exerted to ensure the soundness of any form of truth that unites words and things.[83]

The conventions on names employed by an incumbent regime may no longer accurately reflect the political and social environment as a consequence of the changing nature of Heaven and Earth. In such cases, the virtue (徳/*toku*) or political orientation of the current leadership is called into question because names are an outward expression of intentions. Any discrepancies, therefore, point toward a fundamental misunderstanding of current circumstances, if not outright dishonesty on the part of the ruling elite. As this signified a decline in the moral vigour that is embodied in a regime's political effectiveness, it may be necessary to change the name of the dynasty itself through Confucian Revolution.[84] The virtue of the successor regime is in turn consummated by the rectification of names, thereby realigning terms and designations with the new political orientation of an age:

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[82] See *Xunzi* 9.345.
[83] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxx.
[84] See *Mencius* 2B:13.

> If there arose a true king, he would surely follow the old names in some cases and create new names in other cases. Thus, one must examine the reason for having names, the proper means for distinguishing like and unlike, and the essential points in having names (*Xunzi* 22.50).

In turn, political history came to be conceived in terms of the cyclical rise and fall of dynasties based on the conference and withdrawal of the Mandate of Heaven. Something Kōsaka describes as an example of the 'discontinuity' of the Confucian approach to history.

It is during the interregnum of a Confucian Revolution that the source of the ethical substance or objective spirit of a people discussed by Hegel may be said to be at its most susceptible to the movements of the historical world. This is because the accepted standards of social conduct within a community are essentially determined by the virtue (徳/*toku*) of the current holder of the Mandate of Heaven and the regime he establishes. This is enforced through the rectification of the old designations of the previous dynasty with terms and expressions that are thought to better represent the new political orientation of the community.[85] To amend the designations that are used by a society, however, is to fundamentally change the meaning of the objects to which they refer and therefore the corresponding understanding of the population. In other words, the very nature of social reality is transformed, leading to corresponding shifts in social praxis. Here lies

[85] See also The *Doctrine of the Mean*: 'Nobody but the Son of Heaven determines the rites, or establishes standards, or verifies the written script'; '[W]hen the ruler moves, the world takes this to be the Way of the world. When he acts, the world takes this to be the world's laws. When he speaks, the age takes this to set the world's standards' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 477; 479.

the true significance of converting to the virtue of the new recipient of the Mandate of Heaven. It is to embrace a new world.[86]

However, the virtue (徳/*toku*) of this regime will too eventually expire once it is unable to adapt to changes in the political environment. As Kōsaka suggests, the inevitable result will be revolution. This is something that in turn signifies the withdrawal of the Mandate of Heaven from the incumbent regime. Consequently, the various designations, measures and institutions that had been introduced all lose their legitimacy. As a result, the very foundations of the ethical substance of the nation crumble away. In turn, the people must attempt to establish a new 'Way' for going forward. Order is only restored when one of the contenders for the Mandate of Heaven successfully demonstrates the practical utility of his methods, thereby reflecting his firm grasp of socio-political reality. That is to say, the Way of Heaven. Once again, this is followed by a programme of reform that rectifies the names and designations of a society in accordance with the virtue of the new regime, thereby securing a new source of morality for the ethical substance of the people. This will remain in place for the duration that the regime continues to demonstrate its practical effectiveness or its ability to facilitate social harmony within the community:

> Humans do not exist within the stability of the natural world, but within the convulsions and transitions of the historical world. Humans are historical, social existences … The substance of human existence is that referred to as objective spirit. This is a period, a nation, a state. This is the so-called ethical substance. Furthermore, as long as this substance is historical it moves. Humans do not only change themselves, their actual substance

[86] From a Confucian perspective, the Meiji Restoration represents one of the most dramatic examples of the rectification of names in Japanese history.

changes as well. Within an historical crisis, it is not impossible for the present position one takes for granted to change to a completely different position in the next moment. Moreover, [this occurs] from the very root of one's ethical substance. This is the truth of historical reality. Consequently, in order for humans to be able to overcome historical reality, it is necessary to always be able to discern one's position or situation.[87/xlix]

9e: A Confucian Interpretation of Kōsaka's Appropriation of Kantian Philosophy[88]

In addition to the practical orientation of Kantian metaphysics, there are two further aspects of Kant's philosophy that are likely to have appealed to Kōsaka as a Confucian-inspired thinker. To begin with, there are the perceived limitations of theoretical speculation. For Kant, human knowledge was inherently restricted since it was dependent upon the sensible intuition of experience. It was therefore limited by the capabilities of the physical body as the means of human sensibility. Nevertheless, because reason seeks absolute completeness in its inquiries, it necessarily invokes intelligible ideas that defy all empirical verification. This leads to the antinomies of pure reason, 'self-consistent' metaphysical propositions on the fundamental nature of the cosmos that are both supported and refuted with equal validity by the logical argumentations of reason. This resulted in dogmatic assertions when one side or other of an antinomy was perceived to

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[87] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 103.

[88] For various comparisons of Kant's philosophy with Confucianism see Ching, 'Chinese Ethics and Kant'; George F. McClean, 'Kant and Confucius: Aesthetic Awareness and Harmony', *Philosophy and Modernization in China: Chinese Philosophical Studies XIII*, ed. Liu Fangtong *et al.* (Washington: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1997), 155-166; Karyn L. Lai, 'Confucian Moral Thinking', *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (1995): 261; Karyn L. Lai, 'Understanding Confucian Ethics: Reflections on Moral Development', *Australian Journal of Professional and Applied Ethics*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2007): 21-27; Palmquist, 'How Chinese was Kant?'; Pohoață, 'Confucius and Kant or the Ethics of Duty'; Wawrytko, 'Confucius and Kant: The Ethics of Respect'.

constitute the underlying truth of reality.[89] The potential dangers of such convictions are evident from Kant's strong condemnation of the 'one-sided maxims' that are used to justify physical force.[90]

In a similar fashion, Confucianism rejects theoretical deliberations that encourage 'one-sidedness' or 'fixation' in the principles that guide social praxis (*Xunzi* 3.200, 21):

> As for the problems of how fullness and emptiness mutually replace each other, or the distinctions between the hard and the white [soft], the similar and the dissimilar, these are things that a keen ear cannot listen to, things that a sharp eye cannot look into, things that a skilled arguer cannot speak of. Even if one should have the wisdom of a sage, one could not comprehensively point out answers for them. To be ignorant of these things does no harm to becoming a gentleman. To know them is no impediment to becoming a petty person (*Xunzi* 8.140).

A similar mind-set is at work when Kōsaka adopts Kant's antinomies, which he described as a logic of 'not this, not that',[1] to explain the practical implications of nothingness and his related criticisms of the absolute assertions of the political ideologies of liberalism and Marxism:

> I think that the deeply rooted [source] of the world-historical crisis of the present (1959) is to be found in searching for the absolute within reality. It is to be found in viewing actual nations, states, classes or individuals as something absolute … If the absolutism of Marxism or liberalism was abolished, how much closer would we be to resolving [the world's] many

[89] Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 239; 231.
[90] Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, 105.

> problems? If the absolute sovereignty of the state was relativized, how much closer would we be to the Way of world peace … As far as one goes, reality is relative … this claim is itself an acknowledgement of the fact that it is only absolute nothingness that is absolute.[91/li]

Although the experience of the war may have strengthened his convictions, similar sentiments are expressed by Kōsaka within his wartime writings. For example, although he describes the state as a symbol of the eternal now from the perspective of its citizens, the state is also a part of the historical world and therefore necessarily mediated through its interactions with other peoples, nations and states, as well as the world itself. This is why state sovereignty is only ever symbolic of the absolute and not the absolute itself. The state is therefore always conceived by Kōsaka as a particularistic-universal within the historical world, in other words something that is subject to the inevitable cycle of historical rise and fall.

The second aspect is found in the possibility of drawing an analogy between the form of the Confucian Way, which continually adapts to present circumstances, and the Kantian moral law. This is because the categorical imperative is strictly speaking only the form of a universal law, not a specific moral content. Consequently, Kōsaka's appropriation of Kant's moral philosophy via Hegel's deliberations on 'ethical life' was perhaps closer to the spirit of the Confucian notion of appropriateness (義/*yi*) than the strict ethical rules of *The Metaphysics of Morals*.[92] This is supported by his rejection of Kant's transcendental ethics as being fundamentally ahistorical.[93] Hegel argued that the empty form of the categorical imperative was 'indifferent to content',

[91] Kōsaka, *Tetsugaku ha nan no tameni*, 137; 163.
[92] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 66-67; Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals,* Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
[93] Kōsaka, *et al*, 'The Second Symposium', 184.

therefore any 'one content [was] just as acceptable to it as its opposite'.[94] This has led to accusations that the moral law simply vindicates the dominant moral paradigm of a period.[95] However, in a manner consistent with the 'serial truths' that are facilitated by Confucian Revolutions, Kōsaka believed that 'there is an extremely important relationship between peoples and states as they move through history, on the one hand, and ethics and morality on the other'.[96] Certainly, the moral ideals of a particular people are the product of its specific culture and history. In turn, these ideals are susceptible to the changes that take place in the historical world. Nevertheless, true morality is mediated through a thorough grasp of the current historical circumstances within which a nation is situated and the successful utilisation of the cultural tools that are at its disposal.

In both the philosophies of Confucianism and the Kyoto School appropriate behaviour requires deep introspection, which, because the self is regarded as empty, opens out into the wider world. True moral action is therefore the result of the unity and co-dependency of the subject and object. Kant may be said to have focused exclusively on the subjective determination of moral praxis, since he believed that he had secured the universalism of the moral law through the transcendentalism of pure reason. In actuality, however, the dicta of the categorical imperative are necessarily determined by the dominant moral paradigm of an age or what Hegel referred to as the objective spirit of a people. This is because the moral law as a rational form is without its own content, something that can only be determined by the overarching context or 'place' within which a person is situated. On the other hand, the subjectivity of the individual emphasised by Kant was

[94] Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 257.
[95] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 90.
[96] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 50; Kōsaka, *et al.,* 'The Second Symposium', 184.

essential because we are all focal points of the world's awareness or the unity of Heaven and Earth. Morality is only realised through our determination to act in and work upon the world in response to the urges and impulses it invokes within us. The significance of both Kantianism and Confucianism for Kōsaka is therefore found in the form of moral action and the fact that the individual is the necessary medium through which the ideals of a people are actualised in reality. In this sense, the categorical imperative is comparable to Wang Yang-Ming's description of the innate knowledge of the heart-mind as a compass or measure that guides rather than dictates moral behaviour.[97] Interestingly, both Kant and Wang Yang-Ming argued that the moral law or the innate knowledge of the heart-mind precede the moral distinctions that are made in a society between good and evil.[98/lii] Although this portrayal goes against Kant's belief in the 'eternal truths' of reason and the possibility of a rational science of morality, Kōsaka concurred with Wang Yang-Ming that the 'details and circumstances' of historical reality 'cannot be predetermined' (*IPL* 2:139).[99]

[97] See *IPL* 2:139; See also the *Great Learning*: 'This comes about through the noble man following the Way of "measuring and squaring"' – *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 165.
[98] Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, 55; Kōsaka, *Kantō*, 234; See *IPL* 1: 101; 3:315.
[99] Moeller, *Moral Fool*, 79.

Chapter 9 Japanese Citations

[i] 方向づけの学問

[ii] 方位づける

[iii] 歴史は常に、問題とその解決の錯綜である。そしてそれを実践的・創造的・理性的なるものが媒介しているのである。そのことは歴史に於ける危機の現象に於て、特に明瞭であるであろう。危機とは、そこに於て我々の歴史的存在そのものが、肯定さるべきか否定さるべきかの、深い問題に、我々が面していることを意味するのである。戦争、内乱、革命、それはすべてかかる危機につながるであろう。そこにはのっぴきならぬ問題が現れているのである。そこにそれは解決を要求している。封建制度が樹立されたこと、プロテスタントの運動、近代資本主義の成立、それは皆、かかる解決の努力…を示すのである。国と国とは徒らに戦うのではない。それは問題解決のための、そしてそれ自らがまた新たなる問題を産むところの、手段である。かくて問題が解決され、危機が乗り越えられることによって…新たなる時代が成立する

[iv] 我々が歴史的問題に出会うのは、必ず特定の歴史的位置に於てである…必ず特定の時代と民族の問題なのである

[v] 国家は単に自然的存在ではなく、歴史的存在として、時として予期し得ざる事態を招来し来るが故に、かかる事態に対してもなお法的なる決定をなし得んがためには、権力そのものが新なる法の根源たり得べき可能性が要求され、―そこにもはや連続的なる進展が不可能となるに到れば、遂に革命となる

[vi] 単に連続的な展開ではなくして

[vii] 飛躍

[viii] 新たなる解決即創造

[ix] 時々の歴史的位置に於ける

[x] 一般法則的に説明する

[xi] 発生の窮極原因

[xii] 普遍の普遍

[xiii] 唯一なる不変不動の原理から多様と変化とを導き出すことが出来るかと問うならば…それを不可能とする

[xiv] その結合重畳に由って現実の多様と変化とを説明するに導く

[xv] 而して絶対に相対立するものとして思惟せられることを要する窮極の二元は、単に対立するのみでは多様と変化との発生を根拠附けることは出来ぬ。それが可能なる為めには両者は結合せられることが出来なければならぬ。然るにただ絶対に対立するのみで何等共通の媒介を有することなき二元は…不可能である。その結合はただ更に両者が共にそれの分化と考えられる如き共通の普遍者…に由ってのみ可能となる…単なる一元はもとより単なる二元でも、多様と変化とをそれから導くことは出来ないのである。変化と多様とを説明する窮極原理は二をその分化として含む一、一に由って媒介せられる二でなければならぬ

[xvi] 二と一との合せる三

[xvii] しかし儒教の天にせよ…行為の底に無を考える

[xviii] 地の素質

[xix] 然らば…陰陽の対立は気と質との対立、発動進行の原理とそれに対して素地を供する収容静閉の原理との対立に外なるまい…陰は発生の行われる素地、動力のはたらく質料である

[xx] 自性を欠く

[xxi] それ自身、地たり母たり、柔にして卑しきものたる自性を有する原理である

[xxii] すなおに対立者のはたらきかける力を受入れるものである

[xxiii] 動は必ず静と対立して始めて動となる。その意味に於ては常に動は静の素地に於て成り、静は動の媒介として存する。大極が分れて陰陽となるというのは、ただ斯かる静を媒介にして動の成ることをいうに外ならない

[xxiv] 歴史の母

[xxv] 歴史の妻

[xxvi] 歴史の妹

[xxvii] 暗黒と光明との生ける同一 lebendige Identität が精神なのである

[xxviii] 陽は万物発生の動力である

[xxix] けだし歴史的世界以前の世界に於ては、たとえそこに無限なる時の流れがあるとしても、それは単なる一瞬に外ならないからである。単なる自然は無限なる一瞬間にすぎないであろう。かくて歴史的世界は刻々に原始自然より誕生しつつある。歴史的世界の底は直接に原始自然である。しかも原始自然より歴史的世界への全過程は全き一つの瞬間である。それは永遠の今の出来事である

[xxx] 自然現象における前後を決定する形式

[xxxi] 随意に切断され得る自然科学の方式に於ける t に過ぎない。それは要するに時計によって計量される時間であり

[xxxii] 大極は未だ発動せざる陽である

[xxxiii] 無的有

[xxxiv] 歴史的なる自然物

[xxxv] 歴史的生物

[xxxvi] 母

[xxxvii] 真実在への通路

[xxxviii] 純粋経験においては、知るものと知られるもの、主客が合一しているためであろう

[xxxix] 色も香もある美しい花を、単に知的に分析すれば、それは生命なき物質に分解されて了うであろう

[xl] 言わば生きたものが生きたものを知るのである

[xli] 純粋経験が宇宙の真理に触れる形而上的機関たり得たのである。真理は同時に情意的である。それは幾変遷を経、論理的に深化され、やがて後の行為的直観に発展したものに外ならない

[xlii] 主観が自らを全く否定するということがなければ、客観が自らをありのままに現わすということはあり得ない

[xliii] 自我の底が破れて、自我が却て自我ならぬものから逆に誕生し来ること

[xliv] 問題に呼びかけられ、問題を理解し、またその解決に志す

[xlv]「善の研究」以来正しく把握されているように

[xlvi] 歴史の中から理念が生まれる

[xlvii] 真の伝統は、単に過去によって現在を限定することではなく、同時に現在によって過去を限定することでもある…過去を未来へ媒介することであり…力の伝統は、創造的伝統であり、発展する伝統である

[xlviii] 孔子学派における道の実現は…あくまでも衷心の誠意をもってすべきものであるが、しかしだからと言って人倫の道を単に主観的な道徳意識の問題と見るのではない。人倫の大いなるものは治国である、国としての人倫的組織の実現である

[xlix] 人間は安定した自然的世界の中にあるのではなく、常に動揺し転変する歴史的世界の中にあるのである。人間は歴史的・社会的存在である…人間存在の実体は所謂客観的精神である。それは時代であり、民族であり、国家である。それが所謂人倫的実体である。しかもこの実体が歴史的である以上動くのである。人間は自ら変わるだけではなく、彼の実体までが変わるのである。歴史的危機に於ては、自分が今置かれていると思う位置が、次の瞬間には全く違った位置に変わっていないとは限らない。しかも自分の人倫的実体の根柢からである。これが歴史的現実の真実である。従って人は歴史的現実を乗り越えて行き得るためには、常に新たに自己の位置 Situation が見定められなければならい

[l] あれでもない、これでもない

[li] 私は現在の世界史的危機の深い根底は、現実のうちに直ちに絶対を求めるところにあると思う。民族や国家や階級や個人をそのまま絶対視するところにある…もしマルクス主義やリベラリズムが自己の絶対化を撤去したら、どれだけ問題の解決は近より易くなることか。また国家の絶対主権が相対主権化されれば、どれほど世界平和への道は近くなることか…現実はどこまで行っても相対的である。しかし現実がどこまで行っても相対的であるということを主張するのは、却って逆に絶対無のみを絶対として認めることに外ならないのである

[lii] カントは善悪の概念から行為の法則を導く代わりに、逆に行為の原則から善と悪の概念を導くのである…カントの倫理は善悪の倫理ではなく、むしろ法則の倫理である。その限り彼の倫理は却って善悪の彼岸…にあるとすら言える

Concluding Remarks

In this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate the importance of Confucianism for interpreting the wartime Kyoto School, as represented by the political thought of Kōsaka, in its appropriate cultural and intellectual contexts. I have also presented what I believe to be an impartial account of Kōsaka's philosophy of history and the probable Confucian influences thereon. Although he has been largely neglected in the post-war era, in the 1930s and 40s Kōsaka was one of the most prominent and influential members of the movement. His philosophy clearly demonstrates the manner in which the second generation thinkers of the Kyoto School adapted the respective ideas and techniques of Nishida and Tanabe to social and political problems. Moreover, it is a good example of the continuing relevance of Confucianism for modern political theory in East Asia. I believe that a Confucian reading of Kōsaka's philosophy of history also establishes a suitable interpretative framework from which to reassess the political legacy of the *Chūō Kōron* symposia from an East Asian perspective. This is because Kōsaka's conception of the historical world broadly reflects the worldview that was shared in common by the other participants. Furthermore, his ideas contributed significantly to the group's theoretical understanding of interstate relations and their perception of the Pacific War as a 'world-historical conflict'.[1/i] I will therefore conclude this study with a brief examination of a few examples taken from these three meetings.

The Confucian-inspired influence of Kōsaka upon the *Chūō Kōron* discussions is most clearly discernible from his conception of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. During the third symposium he states:

[1] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 267; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 135-136.

> [T]he organization of a co-prosperity sphere that seeks to unite the states of East Asia with Japan at the centre … requires that the whole idea of separate national independence be abandoned. The state itself must be entirely rethought afresh from the standpoint of a co-prosperity sphere. This suggests a return to the traditional Eastern conception of the state.[2]

Williams explains that Kōsaka proposes a 'return to the traditional Chinese concept of East and North-East Asia as a collection of semi-independent peoples caught in orbit around a cultural centre which gives the entire region coherence and order'.[3] This is a reference to the Confucian ideal of All-Under-Heaven, which was modelled on the cooperative relationships that transpire within the family.[4] For Kōsaka, if the Co-Prosperity Sphere was to succeed, its member nations could not be treated as a mere 'means' for Japan's imperialist ambitions.[ii] Rather, they had to be acknowledged as partners in a relationship of mutual 'mediation' and empowerment.[5/iii] As a result, an atomistic conception of the state that fostered national interests alone would have to be abandoned.[6] While Kōsaka's argument resembles the second formulation of Kant's categorical imperative, there are a number of Confucian precedents for this idea as well: 'Exemplary persons are not mere vessels' (*Analects* 2.12); '[D]o not impose onto others what you yourself do not want' (*Analects* 15.24).[7] Furthermore, this understanding of interstate relations is firmly grounded in the relational worldview of Confucianism, as embodied in the ideal of benevolence, reciprocity or humaneness (仁/*ren*): 'To ignore the

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[2] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The Third Symposium', 302.
[3] Williams, 'Footnote 88', in 'The Third Symposium', 302.
[4] Zhao, 'Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept'; Hsu, 'Applying Confucian Ethics to International Relations'; Parkes 'The Definite Internationalism of the Kyoto School'.
[5] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 89-90; 129-131.
[6] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku no jōsetsu*, 190-191.
[7] Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, 74; See also *Daxue and Zhongyong*, 429-431.

subjectivity of others is to ignore one's own subjectivity'.[8/iv] In turn, Kōsaka conceived Japanese leadership as a 'symbolic'[v] or 'representative centre' that would guide the other member states through the strength of its moral energy.[9/vi]

Although the term for moral energy derives from Ranke's concept of *moralische Energie*, which the historian described in terms of the unifying trends or principles of a state that 'imprint a seal' on the national 'character' of its citizens, Williams argues that it is the Confucian notion of virtue (徳/*toku*) which in fact provides the core intellectual background for the group's appropriation of the idea. It should not be overlooked, therefore, that the expression is typically translated into Japanese as *dōtoku-teki-seiryoku* (道徳的精力) or *dōtoku-teki-seimeiryoku* (道徳的生命力) considering the etymological significance of the Chinese characters for the Way (道) and virtue (徳/*de*) within Confucian cultures.[10] For Kōsaka, the ideals or principles of a people or state are only able to manifest as a consequence of the mutual determination of this nation and its external environment through the historical praxis of the eternal now. Consequently, moral energy is conceived in terms of the creative powers of a people that is both unified as a self-determining political entity and located at the centre of historical formation. The relative strength of the moral energy of a particular nation or state is in turn dependent upon its ability to direct the collective energies of its citizens toward meaningful historical creation in the present. In other words, the moral energy of a state reflects its ability to adapt appropriately to current circumstances and resolve the historical problems of an age via a suitable application of the cultural models and types at its disposal. For Kōsaka, history and ethics are inseparable and therefore mutually defined within the

[8] Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku no jōsetsu*, 189-190.
[9] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 195; Kōsaka, *Rekishi tetsugaku no jōsetsu*, 192.
[10] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 219-221; Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 55; 76.

processes of historical creation.[11] As a consequence, the moral worth of the principles that direct the creative energies of a nation is determined by their practical utility upon the world-historical stage. If these ideals prove to be effective, however, then the moral energy of a people would flow forth in manner comparable to the 'flood-like *qi*' described by Mencius (2A:2).

Moral energy was consequently conceived by Kōsaka in a manner comparable to the virtue of the Confucian gentleman, a power that is able to 'sway others' and 'win them over'.[12] Kōsaka clarifies his position during the third symposium:

> When history moves, there is a point [in space and time] from which it moves. And this point is the absolute centre of historical reality. It is from this point that the motion of history sends out its waves; it is from here that history is built. If one wants to speak, for example, of *moralische Energie*, this is where moral energy realizes itself.[13]

Although the wartime Kyoto School has been accused of encouraging nationalist chauvinism, the notion that the cultural excellence of a people has the power to attract others to its Way is an important aspect of Confucian political theory.[14] What is more, this is premised on the ideal of 'non-assertive' action (無為/*wuwei*), ensuring that Confucian leadership is in principle non-coercive or 'authoritative rather than authoritarian' (*Analects* 15.5).[15] As Kōsaka explains,

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[11] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The Second Symposium', 183-185; 234.
[12] Hutton 'Footnote 7 – Chapter 10: Enriching the State', 74.
[13] Kōsaka, *et al*, 'The Third Symposium', 286-287.
[14] Jan Van Bragt, 'Kyoto Philosophy–Intrinsically Nationalistic?', in *Rude Awakenings*, 233-254; Arisaka, 'Beyond "East and West": Nishida's Universalism and Postcolonial Critique'.
[15] Ames and Rosemont, 'Notes to the Translation', in *The Analects of Confucius*', 231-232; See also *Analects* 1.12; 2.3; Although the concept of *wuwei* (無為) or non-assertive action is often associated with Daoism, it was in fact first used in the *Analects*. Nevertheless, the Daoist connotations of *wuwei* are also relevant for interpreting the Kyoto School's political philosophy

'Culture can secure voluntary consent from other peoples without resorting to military oppression'.[16/vii]

With leadership, however, comes responsibility – 'The Master said, "If one talks big with no sense of shame, it will be hard indeed to make good on one's word"' (*Analects*, 14.20). In order for Japan to gain the support of the various peoples of East Asia, something that was essential if the country was to emerge victorious over its Western adversaries, it would have to follow through with its promises to nurture and develop the national subjectivity of the other peoples of the region.[17] If not, the Co-Prosperity Sphere would end up as little more than an empty 'slogan' for a Japanese version of Western imperialism.[18/viii] It is for this reason that Kōsaka and his colleagues repeatedly emphasised the importance of Japan's conduct on the continent and the need to convince the Chinese people of the validity of its virtue (徳/*toku*).[19] This could only be done through a concrete demonstration of the country's exemplary behaviour in a Confucian sense. In other words, the Japanese people had to be seen as working sincerely for the benefit of East Asia. More importantly, Japan would have to prove to the other nations of the region that it was in fact

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from an East Asian perspective. For example, I believe Nishida's depiction of the Imperial Household as a '"place of nothingness" which transcends all particularities and embraces the world in its emptiness' may be compared to the Daoist analogy of a 'cart wheel' (*Daodejing* 11). This is because although historically the emperor 'did not come to the political fore', the Imperial Family 'was always present in the background as a kind of axis around which history unfolded'. Moeller explains: 'Since the sage ruler is the only person who does not take on any specific function in the state … he remains … the hub of the social wheel … This nonaction on his behalf is … the precondition for all duties being fulfilled and all actions being harmoniously performed … By doing nothing the sage ruler ensures nothing remains undone'. Confucius too stated that the sage ruler Shun merely 'assumed an air of deference and faced south' (*Analects* 15.5) – Ames and Rosemont, 'Notes to Translation', 262; Yōko Arisaka, The Nishida Enigma: "The Principle of the New World Order" (1943), *Monumenta Nipponica51:1* (1996): 97; 100-105; Michiko Yusa, 'Nishida and Totalitarianism: A Philosopher's Resistance', in *Rude Awakenings*, 126-127; *Daodejing*, 115-116; See also Masaaki Kōsaka, 'Nishida Kitarō hakase to 'sekai shinchitsujō no genre no yurai [Dr Kitarō Nishida and the origins of 'The Principle of a New World Order", in *Kokoro*, Vol. 7 issue 9 (1954): 21-33; Kōsaka, *Nishida Kitarō to Watsuji Tetsurō*, 187-207; Takeyama, *et al.*, 'Zadankai: Daitōa sensō to Nihon no chishikijintachi nitsuite', 30-38.

[16] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 88.

[17] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 40.

[18] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 98.

[19] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 139-142; Kōsaka, 'Shisō-sen no keijijō-teki konkyo', 10-12.

capable of realising its goals. This is why Kōsaka recommended sending a large number of 'morally superior people' to China in order demonstrate first-hand the strength of Japan's convictions and capabilities.[20] From a Confucian perspective, it is only to be expected that a people which is in alignment with the Way of Heaven would display a greater degree of virtue or moral energy. The words and conduct of such a people would in turn be able to persuade, guide and rectify the other nations of All-Under-Heaven through the example it sets:

> Governing with excellence (*de* 徳) can be compared to being the North Star: The North Star dwells in its place, and the multitude of stars pay tribute (*Analects* 2.1).

This nation would thus represent a 'beacon of virtue' around which its neighbours would willingly gravitate and for which its foes would express admiration.[21]

This is a very different conception of morality than that espoused by the modern liberal based on individual rights and the related ideal of self-determination. It is little wonder, therefore, that the Kyoto School's proposal for the Co-Prosperity Sphere has been condemned for its hierarchical and elitist nature.[22] For Confucians, however, 'If the people's authority is all equal, then they cannot be unified' (*Xunzi* 9.65).[23] Kōsaka too believed that the success of the Co-

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[20] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The Second Symposium', 183.
[21] This is my rendering of 明明徳/*ming ming de*. Johnston and Wang translate this term as to 'manifest luminous virtue': *Daxue & Zhongyong*, 135; Legge renders it as to 'illustrate illustrious virtue': *The Great learning by Confucius*; Plaks translates it as 'to cause the light of their inner moral force to shine forth': *Ta Hsüeh and Chung Yung (The Highest Order of Cultivation and On the Practice of the Mean*), 5.
[22] Rusneac, '*The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance: A Reading, with Commentary, of the Complete Texts of the Kyoto School Discussions of 'The Standpoint of World History and Japan'* by David Williams'.
[23] Compare Hegel, *Philosophy of Mind*, 237: 'The consistent principle of equality rejects all distinctions, and thus allows no sort of political condition to subsist'.

Prosperity Sphere necessitated a subjective centre that facilitated meaningful cultural creation based on a single unifying 'principle'[ix] or 'worldview' around which the other members could converge.[24/x] At the time, the Kyoto School believed this centre to be Japan. However, the nation's virtue or moral energy was based on the practical efficacy of its methods, that is to say its ability for meaningful cultural creation in the present circumstances. As Williams points out, the premise of change and the circular logic that underpins the group's arguments ensured that they fully accepted the possibility that the 'so-called leading nation-state may over time be replaced by one or more of the so-called follower states'.[25]

A perhaps more damning appraisal of the symposia is the fact that the participants' idealistic portrayal of the 'world-historical mission' of Japan bears little resemblance to what we now know about Japanese brutality in China and the Pacific.[26] Nonetheless, Kōsaka and his associates were not attempting to depict how the Japanese actually behaved but how they should conduct themselves, at least to the extent that this was possible under the watchful eye of the state censor.[27] This is why Hanazawa describes Kōsaka's wartime philosophy in terms of Kant's moral 'ought'.[28] Because the group's conception of the Co-Prosperity Sphere was hierarchical and premised upon Japanese regional leadership, however, liberal commentators typically dismiss their ideas as nothing more than a philosophical justification for Japanese aggression.[29] As a result, the full significance

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[24] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 120-122; 130.
[25] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*; Williams, 'Appendix: 'On the Logic of Co-Prosperity Spheres: Towards a Philosophy of Regional Blocs' (1942): Footnote 5', in *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 218; Tanabe, 'On the Logic of Co-Prosperity Spheres', 196-197.
[26] Rusneac, '*The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance: A Reading, with Commentary, of the Complete Texts of the Kyoto School Discussions of 'The Standpoint of World History and Japan'* by David Williams'.
[27] Minamoto, 'Kōsaka Masaaki Sensei no Koto', 81.
[28] Hanazawa, *Kōsaka Masaaki*, 13.
[29] See Appendix for an assessment of the liberal presentation of the Kyoto School's political philosophy.

of the Confucian-based arguments presented by the four participants is rarely appreciated. These arguments were not lost on the Tōjō government, however, as illustrated by the fact that 'further printings of the book were banned'.[30] After all, the group were adamant that the peoples of East Asia must be persuaded to cooperate with Japan, not forced into submission. This is a sentiment that was repeated time and again by Kōsaka personally in his individual books and papers.[31] Moreover, he and his colleagues were clear about what would happen if Japan failed in this respect.

A central idea discussed by the *Chūo Kōron* participants was the Hegelian notion that the 'history of the world is the world's court of judgment', which Kōsaka also discusses in *The Historical World.*[32] This issue is brought up by Kōyama during the first symposium:

> One often hears of world history described as the court of the world. But this court of judgment does not stand outside history ... The court of the world is the criticism that a nation makes collectively of itself. In effect, we judge ourselves … External pressures are just one cause. Rather, national decline is the result of the inner decay of moral energy ... The challenge lies not without but within … This dynamic should not be reduced to external factors. We neglect this truth at our peril.[33]

Once again, an East Asian precedent for this viewpoint may be found in the Confucian tradition:

> Only when a man invites insult will others insult him. Only when a family invites destruction will others destroy it. Only

[30] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 57.
[31] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 130-131; Kōsaka, 'Shisō-sen no keijijō-teki konkyo', 10-12.
[32] Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, 216; Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 266-267.
[33] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The First Symposium', 168.

> when a state invites invasion will others invade it (*Mencius* 4A:8).
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> Thus, in his activities to strengthen Qi, the king did not act for the sake of cultivating ritual and *yi* … Instead, he took as his constant task rushing envoys abroad continuously to form pacts and draw in others … But when the states were roused by Yan and Zhao to attack Qi together, it was like shaking a withered tree. The king of Qi perished and his state destroyed, punished by All-Under-Heaven (*Xunzi* 11.105).[34]

Kōsaka too insisted that destruction without meaningful construction would lead to the eventual self-negation of an aggressor state. For the *Chūō Kōron* participants, it was inevitable that Japan would sooner or later have to face the judgment of the court of world history as a consequence of the brutal destruction it had caused across East Asia without any meaningful cultural creation.[35] This is why the group sought to rectify the conduct of the Japanese people, particularly in relation to its East Asian brethren. Ultimately, however, the Kyoto School's warnings were not heeded by the Tōjō government. As Kōsaka feared, the Co-Prosperity Sphere became little more than an excuse for Japanese imperialism, something that was no different from the Western colonial powers from which Japan was supposedly liberating the region.[36] In the words of Xunzi, therefore, the nation had invited punishment from All-Under-Heaven. After all, as Mencius teaches, it is the people who are the 'eyes' and 'ears' of Heaven (*Mencius* 5A:1).

The above is no way an exhaustive presentation of the influence of either Kōsaka or Confucianism upon the *Chūō Koron* symposia. That

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[34] See also *Xunzi* 9.125.
[35] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 266; Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 62.
[36] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*. 130-131.

being said, I think this short analysis illustrates the importance of both for the discussions. It also hints at the great potential for future research. For example, although Jan Van Bragt emphasises the significance of Mahāyāna Buddhism for understanding the so-called 'immanent transcendence' of the Kyoto School's conception of metaphysics, it is perhaps the Confucian tradition that was more influential in a political context.[37] Confucianism would also seem to explain the participants' preoccupation with grasping historical reality, what they considered the most concrete expression of humanity as a social existence. Future studies may also explore the influence of Confucianism upon other members of the Kyoto School. Kōyama in particular comes to mind considering the importance he places on the ethical structure of the family and his concern for cultural types. Of course, none of this means that the validity of the wartime Kyoto School's arguments should go unquestioned. Kōsaka too expressed his regret after the war in a private conversation with Ryōen Minamoto that the true intentions of the symposia were not sufficiently conveyed. This is because most of the group's criticisms of the government and the Army were deleted to avoid censorship. He also reflected upon his inability to sufficiently embody the 'severity'[xi] and 'determination' of Socrates in his wartime writings.[xii] Perhaps the strongest criticism from a Confucian standpoint, however, is the fact that the group ultimately failed in its alliance with the Navy. I believe it is this more than anything that explains the main reason why the symposiasts never attempted to excuse their wartime actions in the public forum.[38]

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[37] Van Bragt, 'Kyoto Philosophy – Intrinsically Nationalistic?', 250-252; Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 158-159.
[38] Minamoto, 'Kōsaka Masaaki sensei no koto', 81.

Nevertheless, Collin Rusneac asks where all this leaves our liberal values.[39] Indeed, one of the biggest frustrations for the liberal commentator of the Kyoto School is the apparent ambivalence of its members toward democratic institutions and the various checks and balances that these in turn impose upon the powers of the state or what Tanabe referred to as the irrationalism of the species. As this study has shown, this is due in part to the ontological differences that shape the respective worldviews of liberalism and Confucianism. The Kyoto School thinker ultimately rejects all substantial conceptions of the self, as is presupposed in liberal political theory. It is for this reason that Nishitani and his colleagues were so critical of liberal arguments for human rights.[40] Whatever the moral insights of this ideal, the Kyoto School philosophers believed it was based upon a mistaken conception of the self that had been abstracted from the field of relations upon which its identity always depends. Of course the subjectivity of others must be respected, but appropriate action is entirely dependent upon both circumstances and the types of relationships one has with others. In this sense, the principle moral value for determining human relations is not the unchanging rights of a substantially conceived individual, but a dynamic conception of *ren* (仁) or Confucian benevolence which adapts accordingly to specific situations. Perhaps of equal importance, however, is the impact of Confucian Revolution upon how East Asian thinkers determine the relative utility of particular political systems and ideologies in a modern context.

Williams argues that whereas the Western political thinker has tended to dwell on the 'forms of government', the East Asian theorist

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[39] Rusneac, '*The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance: A Reading, with Commentary, of the Complete Texts of the Kyoto School Discussions of 'The Standpoint of World History and Japan'* by David Williams'.
[40] Van Bragt, 'Kyoto Philosophy – Intrinsically Nationalistic?', 254.

has focused on the 'fruits of government'.[41] One of the principle concerns of Confucianism is the establishment of harmony within the community and therefore securing a sufficiently robust political system to facilitate this. As a result, in a contemporary political context a Confucian-inspired thinker may accept various forms of government as potentially legitimate depending on the prevailing circumstances. This contrasts sharply with the modern liberal for whom democracy is always the best form of government regardless of the situation, since the individual must take precedence over the community. For the Confucian, however, this is only true to the extent that a democratic system is able to realise social harmony, which he regards as the ultimate goal of government. If a democratic system is unable to achieve this, then its legitimacy must be called into question. I believe this explains Kōsaka's response to the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1951). For example, he undertakes an impartial examination of the respective pros and cons of democracy and communism as the dominant political ideologies of the time, before committing to democracy based on the present situation of Japan. Even then he insists that this did not mean he was rejecting communism in the manner typical of American rhetoric, nor was he wholeheartedly accepting 'individualism' as an unchanging political truth.[xiii] Rather, it was a 'temporary conclusion', the validity of which was entirely dependent upon the 'continuity of current world circumstances'.[xiv] Kōsaka could therefore envisage a time when Japan might have to introduce a different political system in order to realign itself appropriately with the political environment.[42] Yet this is only to be expected. As Kōsaka states during the second symposium, 'All Japanese must recognize that we owe an enormous debt to Chinese culture, which has had such a profound impact on our own'. After all,

[41] Williams, *Confucian Revolution*, 20.
[42] Kōsaka, 'Aru tetsugakusha no hansei', 6-10.

'China is the Athens of the Orient'.[43] Taking this proposition seriously ensures that there is still much to learn from the Kyoto School's political philosophy.

[43] Kōsaka, *et al.*, 'The Second Symposium', 198.

Concluding Remarks Japanese Citations

[i] 世界史的戦争

[ii] 手段

[iii] 媒介

[iv] 他の主体性を無視することは自己の主体性を無視することである

[v] 象徴的中心

[vi] 代表的中心

[vii] 文化は他民族を必ずしも武力的に圧服せずとも、自ら、自発的に、その同意を得るのである

[viii] 単に一片の標語に終わるであろう

[ix] 一つの原理

[x] 共通の政治的世界観

[xi] ソクラテスのようなつきつめた厳しさがなかったことは率直に反省せねばならないと思う

[xii] ソクラテス的覚悟

[xiii] 個人主義が直ちに真理だと私は思わない

[xiv] 私が述べた一応の結論は単に一応の結論であり、無論いつまでもという訳ではない。ただ現在のような世界情勢が続く限りに於てだけなのである

Appendix – Methodology

Initially, this essay was written to be the opening chapter of the dissertation. However, as the focus of my research shifted away from the specifics of Kōsaka's wartime philosophy to the Confucian influences on his general conception of social reality this was no longer appropriate. Nonetheless, this essay remains relevant insofar as it provides further clarification of the empirical methodology that I employ and the implications this has for my portrayal of the Kyoto School. One of the main reasons I emphasise the importance of methodology is my background in the social sciences. In this field, one is obliged to clarify one's ontological and epistemological standpoints because the presuppositions inherent within a particular perspective inevitably determine how the object of a study is portrayed.[1] Of course, philosophy is a very different specialism from the social sciences due to the 'universal idiom' of the ideas discussed. It is for this reason that James Heisig adopts a methodology that focuses upon the contemporary relevance of philosophical concepts over the cultural and historical nuances of the original texts.[2] This leads him to depict the 'non-western elements' of the Kyoto School's thought as an 'oriental spice' that may be kept safely at 'arm's reach'.[3] When an equitable dialogue between different traditions is possible such an approach may be beneficial, as has arguably been the case in Western research on the Kyoto School's philosophy of religion. However, I do not believe this methodology is conducive to an impartial analysis of the group's political thought. This is because it overlooks the fact that the Kyoto School thinkers philosophised within a political paradigm quite distinct from contemporary liberalism.

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[1] See Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 160: 'Each optical image differs from the others reffering to the same object in accordance with the perspectives and conditions of apprehension'.
[2] Heisig, 'Desacralizing Philosophical Translation in Japan'; Heisig, 'East Asian Philosophy and the Case against Perfect Translations'.
[3] Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness*, 8-9.

The problem is that liberalism is not simply a political ideology, but is also a form of moral communication as defined by Niklas Luhmann, who writes: 'I understand by morality a special form of communication which carries with it indications of approval and disapproval'. This distinction refers to the 'whole person insofar as s/he is esteemed as a participant in communication'.[4] Williams depicts liberalism as the modern exponent of Kantian cosmopolitanism. If this is an accurate portrayal, it is not inconsequential that Kant viewed individual freedom as a matter of moral necessity.[5] As a result, his liberal successors are dismissive of any political theory that suggests the individual is in some way subordinate to the social group. To be illiberal is therefore to be unethical. This is why Williams argues that when Kant 'declared that even God would have to obey the dicta of a universally valid set of morals, a formidable … ban on thinking was erected against the objective understanding of the non-liberal world'.[6] For example, Pierre Lavelle suggests that his analysis of Nishida's thought is based on 'universal' political categories.[7] However, by describing the Japanese philosopher as an ultranationalist he automatically expresses his moral disapproval in a liberal context, thereby disqualifying Nishida and his pupils as legitimate participants in accepted political communication. This feeds into the sweeping generalisations about wartime Japan that dismiss all so-called illiberal ideologies, whether of the Kyoto School, Tōjō's Control Faction or Japan's Confucian heritage, as fundamentally immoral and therefore irrelevant to modern political discourse.[8] This is why I have chosen to

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[4] Niklas Luhmann, 'Paradigm Lost: On the Ethical Reflection of Morality: Speech on the Occasion of the Award of the Hegel Prize 1988', *Thesis Eleven* 29 (1991): 84.
[5] Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, 26.
[6] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 24.
[7] Pierre Lavelle, 'The Political Thought of Nishida Kitarō', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 49/2 (Summer, 1994): 140.
[8] Rusneac, '*The Philosophy of Japanese Wartime Resistance: A Reading, with Commentary, of the Complete Texts of the Kyoto School Discussions of 'The Standpoint of World History and Japan'* by David Williams'; See also Goto-Jones, 25-46; Bernard Stevens, 'Overcoming

adopt the empirical techniques of disciplines that purposely emphasise the heterogeneity of distinct historical, cultural and political traditions over the moral homogeneity that is sought by the modern liberal.

I begin the Appendix with a detailed examination of the underlying premises of historical empiricism and the problems that arise from adopting values and principles that are brought *a priori* to the historical record. I then look at the methodological errors that are inherent within morally charged interpretations of the past based on the respective analyses of Herbert Butterfield and Hans-Georg Moeller.[9] Moral historians assume without question that the ethical values of the present are universal in application, despite the historical contingency of their own perspectives. The resulting portrayals of history are dependent upon presuppositions that cannot be substantiated by the empirical record. I go on to examine how the in-built assumptions of moral history have overly affected liberal presentations of the Kyoto School's political philosophy through a critical review of the English literature. I conduct this exercise in reference to the so-called 'historian's dispute' between Ernst Nolte and Jürgen Habermas – in response to the criticisms Williams has faced for citing Nolte. The rejection of moral history inevitably leads to questions about how to approach the legacy of Nazi Germany, questions that are beyond the scope of the present dissertation. Nevertheless, while I accept that aspects of Nolte's thesis are problematic, in relation to the empirical methodology of historiography that he defends I maintain that many of the counter-arguments forwarded by Habermas were misplaced because moralism is non-empirical and therefore fundamentally ahistorical.

Modernity: A Critical Response to the Kyoto School,' in *Japanese and Continental Philosophy*, 239.

[9] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*; Moeller, *The Moral Fool*.

Empiricism and Moral History

1: The Empirical Approach of Historical Research

Because this examination of Japanese political philosophy from the 1930s and 40s is presented as an historical study it must abide by the appropriate academic standards. Cognition of history is based on the historical materials that have been inherited in the present. Although what has survived only ever reveals an incomplete picture of the past, this sets the boundaries for what constitutes historical knowledge. If an interpretation of the past goes beyond what is discernible in the historical record it is speculative and must be treated accordingly. Because the academic discipline of history is thereby 'grounded in observation, and by extension, experience', its methodological approach to research is empiricism.[10] The validity of an historical interpretation is therefore dependent upon the 'dynamic relationship between thesis and proof … which unites the researcher in the humanities and most sciences'. In other words, historical knowledge is created through the interplay of 'a proposition or theory about the nature of an aspect of reality, and the evidence gathered to demonstrate that this theory is true'.[11] The validity of an historical interpretation must therefore be verifiable against the known empirical evidence of the period in question.

Herbert Butterfield explains that the 'value of history lies in the richness of its recovery of the concrete life of the past'. Through the historian the past is recreated in the present. It is not, therefore, the role of the historian to attempt to make 'judgements of value' but rather to try and understand what took place. Consequently, when the historian describes the past he or she must attempt to 'recapture the richness of the moments, the humanity of the men, the setting of

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[10] David Williams, *Japan: Beyond the End of History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 86.
[11] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxiii.

external circumstances and the implications of events'. The rich diversity of the historical record also ensures that, as a discipline, history defies generalisations based on an underlying 'absolute' or 'essence', something that goes beyond what can be verified empirically by historical documentation. Historical research is therefore 'bound to be intensive, taking us … not upwards to vague speculation, but downwards to concrete detail'. Consequently, the methodology of the historian must allow one to '[pile] up the concrete, the particular, the personal'.[12] Of the two objective approaches to research described by Kant, it is the logical principle of the 'species' and its recognition of individuality and difference, in other words its commitment to empirical detail, that must take precedence in historical scholarship. This is as opposed to the principle of the 'genera', which sacrifices the diversity sought by the historian in the name of unity and identity.[13]

The epistemological approach of empiricism assumes that there is an objective world about which facts are ascertainable independently of subjective interpretation.[14] Empiricism therefore shares its ontological foundations with the standpoint of positivism, which despite its adoption of the principle of genera, in principle also develops its theses based on empirical observation. Drawing on the exposition of Jürgen Habermas, Williams explains that both of these approaches to research subscribe to the view that knowledge has to be proven 'through the sense-certainty of systematic observation that secures inter-subjectivity'.[15] The objectivity of research is therefore secured through its basis in facts. The assumption of empirical objectivity is problematic, however, due to the reflexivity that is unavoidable in research. Parkes explains that a historical fact 'always obtains within a

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[12] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History,* 2; 68-69; 73; 99.
[13] Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 366-367.
[14] Tim May, *Social Research: Issues, methods and process* (Buckingham & Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2001), 11.
[15] David Williams, *Japan and the enemies of open political science* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 64.

certain horizon of interpretation; and as horizons of interpretation vary across cultures and change over time the realm of historical fact is altered accordingly'.[16] Interpretations of the past are broadly determined by the prevailing paradigms of the society and age from which they originate.[17] Furthermore, these paradigms are subject to shifts in perspective in a manner reminiscent of Thomas Kuhn's explication of paradigm revolutions in the field of science, thereby leading to new worldviews and horizons of historical understanding.[18] Because the meaning that is attributed to the past is therefore transient and not fixed, historical knowledge becomes inseparable from one's participation 'in a set of social conventions'. The significance of objectivity, in turn, comes to mean no more than to 'play by the rules within a given tradition of social practices'.[19] Some scholars devoted to 'theory' have drawn the conclusion from this that the socially constructed 'object of knowledge is a fiction'.[20]

The dangers that such a proposition entails are pointed out by Carl Ratner, who notes that if objectivity simply 'denotes congruence with cultural values, symbols and terms', than both the Catholic's acceptance of Christian dogma and the Nazi's persecution of the Jews obtain an 'objective and even scientific' value. Collapsing the distinction between fact and fiction ensures that the differences between 'science, religion and ideology' also disintegrate.[21] Although claims based on a mistaken conception of objectivity may indeed lead to dogmatism, the tyranny of radical subjectivity no less undermines the

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[16] Parkes, 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism: An Unsubstantiated Connection', 353.
[17] Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 24 & 159.
[18] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
[19] Kenneth J. Gregen, 'Psychological Science in a Postmodern Context', *The American Psychologist 56* (2001): 803-813.
[20] Harry Harootunian and Naoki Sakai, 'Japan Studies and Cultural Studies', *Positions: east asia cultures critique* 7.2 (1999): 611.
[21] Carl Ratner, 'Subjectivity and Objectivity in Qualitative Methodology', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *3* (3), Art. 16, (2002), accessed March 6, 2016, http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/829/1800

standards of scholarship. The limitations of human cognition ensure that the underlying premises that guarantee the inter-subjectivity of human knowledge defy empirical verification, as exemplified by the induction principle of Bertrand Russell.[22] Nevertheless, it seems unhelpful practically speaking to therefore dismiss the distinction between fact and fiction as meaningless. Parkes writes that, for example, we know 'for a fact that Heidegger resigned from the Rectorship of Freiburg University in April of 1934'. We are also aware of the sorts of evidence that would be required in order to oblige us to reassess this fact. Consequently, although the distinction between fact and fiction is indeed 'subject to blurring and modification', it would require 'compelling circumstances to abandon it'.[23] For the empiricist, it is imperative to be able to distinguish between 'science' as conceived in terms of the relationship between a theory and the burden of proof, 'and various belief systems such as religion, metaphysics … and Marxism'.[24] Rightly or wrongly, the socially constructed criteria for telling science and ideology apart are dependent upon the 'practical distinction' that is made between fact and fiction.[25]

In his short critique on the detrimental effects that the ideology of totalitarianism had on academia, Eugene Webb argues that knowledge creation must proceed through 'interpretations that are developed as a genuine effort to understand reality'. Furthermore, it is necessary for these interpretations to 'compete with others and be tested against the evidence of experience'. Although it may be possible to interpret an historical event in a myriad of ways, the arguments forwarded must be grounded on an appropriate use of the available empirical sources. This allows for proper revisions to be made to an

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[22] Bertrand Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy,* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 36-37.
[23] Parkes, 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism', 353-354.
[24] Tim Benton and Ian Craib, *Philosophy of Social Science: The Philosophical Foundations of Social Thought* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2001), 13.
[25] Parkes, 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism', 354.

interpretation 'in the light of new hypotheses, evidence, and critical procedures for testing their adequacy'. Totalitarian governments, in contrast, stifled 'the free pursuit of general inquiry' in this way due to their dependence upon the complicity of the 'conformist affirmations' that state ideology induced, thereby maintaining their 'system of control through intimidation'. Ultimately, however, emphasising ideology over academic standards contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union, since it had severed itself from 'the sources of objective knowledge on which a technologically developed economy depends'.[26] It is not insignificant that the Kyoto School were also highly critical of the erosion of academic freedoms and the propagation of ideology in Japanese historical education that were taking place in the 1930s and 40s.[27] This is one of the reasons why the *Chūō Kōron* discussions were so strongly condemned by the ultranationalist opponents of the Kyoto School.[28]

The historian is also obliged to attempt an accurate portrayal of history 'as it really was' based on the available textual evidence.[29] This is so irrespective of the epistemological difficulties that necessarily befalls such a task. Consequently, historians must limit as far as possible the *a priori* premises that they bring to their investigations. Nevertheless, subjective approaches to research have taught us the impossibility of bracketing all of one's assumptions. This is why Kōsaka argued that the introduction and conclusion of any historical study is necessarily dependent upon a philosophy of history.[30] Both the methodology used and the inferences drawn are ultimately based on premises that cannot be tested against the historical record, as in the

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[26] Eugene Webb, 'Objective and Existential Truth in Politics,' *Public Affairs Quarterly* Vol. 9 No. 2 (1995): 193-196.
[27] Kōsaka *et al,* 'The First Symposium', 148-151.
[28] Horio, 'The *Chūōkōron* Discussions', 291.
[29] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 14.
[30] Kōsaka, *Shōchōteki ningen*, 226-227.

assumed causality of events for example.[31] That being said, certain methodological approaches would seem to be more conducive to the purposes of historical research than others.

Because of the different ontological foundations at stake, it is generally inappropriate to employ a methodology that has been adapted from the natural sciences to the humanities.[32] Although positivism shares an objective ontology with empiricism, it differs significantly in its approach because of its dependence on the principle of the genera, ensuring that as 'a school of thought [it] holds that science advances solely by the elaboration and testing of universal laws'.[33] The origins of this assertion may be traced back to John Stuart Mill's analysis of the positive philosophy of Auguste Comte.[34] Williams believes that Mill ascribed to Comte's philosophy the idea that 'facts are not real facts unless they are ordered within a framework of scientific laws'. A belief that was reinforced by Mill's distinction between what was 'empirical' and 'scientific', or what is now understood as the methodologies of empiricism and positivism in the modern academy.[35] The result of which has been a wanton neglect of any empirical facts that fall outside the scope of positivist laws.

Williams offers the example of the sociologist Robert Merton's classic attempt to develop a testable thesis on why Catholic communities had a lower suicide rate to Protestant communities. Although the resulting study was hailed as 'a masterpiece of interpretative reasoning' for its development of a law-like statement

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[31] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 19; Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 219.
[32] Dilthey distinguishes between the natural sciences, which focus upon discerning the laws that govern the physical world based on abstract conceptualisations of space, time, mass and motion, and the human sciences that deal with objective spirit or the human world through an 'attitude … founded upon the nexus of life, expression and understanding' – Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*, 101-109; 169-170; 294-295.
[33] Williams, *Japan and the enemies,* 99 & 62.
[34] John Stuart Mill, *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1961).
[35] Williams, *Japan and the enemies*, 62.

based on Durkheim's observations regarding the greater social cohesion of Catholic communities, it failed to take into account the simple fact that for Catholics the act of suicide is a sin against the Holy Ghost. A similar charge may be made against the neo-liberal understanding of the Japanese economy. The commitment of positivists to economic laws ensure that many of the values that are held by the Japanese themselves, often in contradiction to those that inform Western theories on how economic-actors are meant to behave, are disregarded as either delusionary or irrelevant. Consequently, Williams insists that the 'arrogant claims made for universalism' by positivists have to be balanced with a 'more responsive' approach to 'empirical detail and … non-Western values and perspectives'.[36]

The historian too needs to be responsive to values and perspectives that are fundamentally different from those prevalent in the present. This is especially true when dealing with the history of another culture. Although the use of methodologies that are based on the genera may be suitable for certain disciplines, the 'fundamental method' of history is its 'commitment to detail, not to generalization'.[37] A failure to respect this important methodological distinction can lead to portrayals that are comparable to Hegel's attempt to understand history through the distorting lens of his philosophical system. Although Hegel laid many of the foundations for the later development of Kōsaka's own philosophy of history, his use of *a priori* principles resulted in a teleological understanding of the history that reduced the past to a 'means' through which the present was realised.[38] Significantly, this claim was met with severe criticism from professional historians such as Ranke for overstepping the bounds of

[36] Williams, *Japan and the enemies,* 18-19; 73-74; See also Simon Learmount, *Corporate Governance: What can be Learned from Japan?* (Oxford UK & San Francisco USA: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[37] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance,* 36.
[38] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki Sekai*, 15.

what is discernible from the historical record. Consequently, although positivists are equally sceptical of abstract metaphysical speculations, their commitment to generalisation through universal laws over empirical description may be said to lead to a similar distortion of history because their interpretations are based on premises that are derived externally to the historical record.

Knowingly or otherwise, such an approach assumes that the present in which we live forms the 'basis of reference' for historical investigation. However, it is not the job of the historian to 'stress and magnify the similarities between one age and another' or to 'hunt for the present in the past'. Rather, it is to elucidate 'the unlikeness between the past and present'.[39] If the objective methods of the historian's attempt to realise this goal are recognised, in other words, if the significance of empirical facts is acknowledged separately from a framework of universal laws, it may be possible to reach a consensus on the suitability of an empirical approach for historical research over a methodology based on universalism as in the case of positivism. Nevertheless, although empirical studies attempt to bracket the values of the present in an attempt to perceive the past as it actually was, questions arise on the suitability of adopting such an objective stance to historical research when confronted by the tragic events of the Second World War. In turn, this has resulted in a commitment to a moral interpretation of history in Japan studies, especially in relation to the Kyoto School and their support for the war and the Co-Prosperity Sphere.

2: Critiquing Moral History

Of the Kyoto School's political works, it is perhaps the three *Chūō Kōron* symposia that have received the most criticism because of

[39] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 62-63; 10.

the participants' support for the war, their discussions of Japan's 'world-historical mission' in Asia, and it is alleged, their deliberations on 'the importance of race in a genetic rather than cultural sense'.[40] More than anything, it is their engagement with the idea of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere that has perhaps attracted the most disdain. The 'orthodox liberal interpretation' of the Pacific War maintains that the Co-Prosperity Sphere was nothing more than a moral 'sham, a mere pretext for Japanese imperialism'. The term is therefore always understood as having represented an 'ideological pretence' for Japanese aggression, regardless of whether used by members of the Tōjō junta or the Kyoto School.[41] As a result, it is of little consequence to the ethical appraisal of the movement that the proposals forwarded by Nishida and Tanabe contained 'nothing fascist or imperialistic', since the very notion of the Co-Prosperity Sphere was fraudulent.[42] Williams writes that 'even now, a defence of the surprise attack on Pearl Harbour or a justification of the events that led to the horrors of the Burma Railway is a moral provocation'.[43] Many liberal historians have consequently dismissed the Kyoto School's political speculations as inherently flawed, while the *Chūō Kōron* symposia are widely denounced as the 'most baneful legacy' of the group's many political 'misadventures'.[44] This prompts Williams to ask, 'in the face of the transcendent claims of ethics, why spend hours reading these wartime writings or urge others to do the same?'[45]

Influenced by Butterfield's 'brilliant dissection of Whig history', Williams argues that the metaphysical claims of ethics are in fact untenable in terms of historical research because they allow the moral

[40] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 114.
[41] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance,* xxix & 24.
[42] Parkes, 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism', 349.
[43] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 19.
[44] Harootunian, 'Returning to Japan: part two'.
[45] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 19.

prejudices of the liberal scholar 'to overwhelm the historical record'.[46] A moral interpretation of the past is a 'form of general history' that presents an abridgement of the past based on the glorification of the present. It thereby ascribes a 'line of causation' to history that converges 'beautifully' upon the dominant moral paradigm of contemporary society.[47] In a manner similar to the distinction made by Kant between the principles of the species and the genera, Butterfield distinguishes between the approaches of the 'historical specialist' and the 'general historian'.[48] Adapting the terms of Masao Maruyama, the historical specialist may be described as someone who is committed to the 'heterogeneity' of historical facts and therefore employs the principle of the species in order to provide as detailed an account as possible. The general historian, in contrast, adopts the principle of the genera or the notion of historical 'homogeneity' so as to comprehend the past in accordance with a set of moral values presumed absolute in nature and universal in application.[49] The abridgement of the historical record that is presented by the general historian who is committed to universal moral values is therefore comparable to the sweeping generalisations made by the positivist in the name of universal economic laws, though a moral interpretation of history differs from the objective approach of positivism because its framework of interpretation is not grounded in empirical observation. It is no coincidence that the influential moral philosophy of Kant regarded empiricism as something to be guarded against because it destroyed 'at its roots the morality of dispositions'.[50] Nevertheless, Williams argues that the assumption of historical homogeneity, whether determined by

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[46] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxii; Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War,* 19.
[47] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance,* 18 & 36; Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, v & 12; Moeller, *The Moral Fool,* 90.
[48] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 6.
[49] Masao Murayama, *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, ed. Ivan Morris (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), xiv-xv.
[50] Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, 68.

universal scientific laws or absolute moral principles, is unsuitable for historical research because the fundamental method of history is the elaboration of empirical detail, not generalisation. Consequently, the abridgements of history presented by positivists and moral historians alike must be rejected because they are based upon assumptions that stand *a priori* to the historical record. This leads to the neglect of the cultural and historical contingencies that were of actual importance during the period in question.

Butterfield believes that 'the whig interpretation of history', what Williams refers to as moral history, assumes a number of propositions that cannot be substantiated by the historical record. Firstly, it is maintained that the moral beliefs of the present, specifically the values of modern-day liberalism, are superior to the moral ideals that were held by various peoples of the past. Williams explains that the moralist's condemnation of the Kyoto School is often based upon a simplistic and self-flattering comparison – '*our* high ideals against *their* low conduct'.[51] The political philosophy of the Kyoto School is repeatedly subjected to moral examinations undertaken from the liberal perspectives of individual freedom, human rights, and democracy.[52] Consequently, their political thought is inevitably judged inferior to modern liberalism whenever it fails to meet the moral standards of the 'ideals we have come to hold crucial to civilized existence'.[53] Secondly, by asserting the superiority of the morality of the modern period over that of the past, a notion of moral progress is attributed to the historical record. As a result, the Pacific War is judged to have been a struggle of liberal morality against the ultranationalist dogma of expansionist Japan. The success of the Allies

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[51] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, xxiv.
[52] Lavelle, 'The Political Thought of Nishida Kitarō', 139-165; Bret W. Davis, 'Turns to and from political philosophy: the case of Nishitani Keiji,' in *Re-Politicising the Kyoto School as Philosophy,* ed. Goto-Jones, 26-45; Stevens, 'Overcoming Modernity', 193-211.
[53] Heisig, 'Nishitani Keiji and the Overcoming of Modernity', 297.

is in turn regarded as a moral victory for freedom over tyranny. Finally, the moral historian assigns roles of moral agency to historical figures, resulting in a black and white division of the world into 'the friends and enemies of progress'.[54] This leads to the 'contention that the Japanese and their allies alone committed all of the sins of the Pacific War', while America's aggressive retaliation was justified because it helped realise the morally superior age in which we now live.[55]

For Williams, Butterfield furnishes 'the outline of a critique that defeats any claim of liberal moralism to qualify as factual history' because he demonstrates that the conclusions drawn by the moral historian are necessarily predetermined by the moral principles that they advocated '*before*' initiating their study, not the evidence of the historical record.[56] Because Japan's war in the Pacific is judged to have been immoral, the Kyoto School's support for the war must also have been immoral. This conceit, which Williams refers to as 'Pacific War Orthodoxy', undermines any attempt at an impartial understanding of the Kyoto School's political philosophy since empirical 'objectivity has nothing to do with moral judgements'. Williams offers the example of the pacifist historian Tetsuya Takahashi, who strongly condemns the address on 'Life and Death' that was given by Tanabe to newly drafted students at Kyoto University. Significantly, Takahashi argues that the contents of the text in question are inconsequential for the conclusions of his moral appraisal because 'Tanabe was sending these young students off to war, and that was a crime'.[57] But Takahashi ignores the fact that Tanabe gave the address at the request of the students themselves, who having received the draft from the government would

[54] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 5.
[55] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 17.
[56] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance,* xxiii & 36.
[57] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 14-15; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxvi; 37; 60.

have been sent off to fight regardless.[58] Takahashi therefore prioritises the moral imperatives of pacifism over the evidence of the historical documentation. However, this rejection of textual fidelity violates the academic obligation of the historian to offer an interpretation of the past that is faithful to the available empirical evidence. This is tantamount to a fabrication of the historical record. Williams therefore calls for the 'deep revisionism' of historical research on modern Japan to ensure that the moral prejudices of liberal ideology are prevented from displacing the standards of empirical research.[59] For a textual exegesis of the political philosophy of the Kyoto School, the standard of such historical objectivity is to 'generate an interpretation that would be recognizable and persuasive to the authors of the Japanese original'.[60] Only then will it be possible to take their works 'seriously as philosophy'.[61]

Williams's call for historical 'revisionism' is highly provocative, however, because it assumes that the tragic events of the 1930s and 40s are a valid topic for an impartial historical investigation. While it may be accepted that a moral interpretation of Martin Luther and the Reformation will not produce an accurate depiction of 16th century Europe, the very suggestion that an event such as the Holocaust was not an act of evil is deemed morally beyond the pale. Consequently, Butterfield's assertion that the generations that follow a past 'sin or calamity' will inevitably find a way to 'make the best of it' no longer seems an appropriate proposition in the aftermath of the horrors of the twentieth century.[62] In terms of moral orientation, Williams too admits that after Adolf Hitler 'we are all universalists'.[63] The difficulties faced

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[58] Hajime Tanabe, 'Shisei [*Live and Death*]', *Tanabe Hajime Zenshū* [*The Complete Works of Hajime Tanabe*] Vol. 8 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō. 1964), 245.
[59] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 14.
[60] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 4.
[61] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 43.
[62] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 88.
[63] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 167.

by attempting a revisionist interpretation to the Second World War are illustrated by the so-called 'historian's dispute' that erupted in Germany in the mid-1980s. This centred around the debate that raged between Ernst Nolte and Habermas on the suitability of treating the Holocaust as an object of impartial historical analysis. The implications of this are relevant for Williams's call for historical revisionism because he cites Nolte, who Harry Harootunian describes as someone who looks forward to the 'day when nobody will remember Germany's suicidal war', as an important inspiration for his own research.[64] Ben-Ami Shillony also points out the significance of Nolte's influence for making sense of Williams's controversial defence of Japan's Pacific War.[65] This prompts the question: is it morally acceptable for an empirical historian, confronted by the genocidal acts of Japan and her Nazi allies, to approach history in a purposefully scientific or impartial manner when the methods of scientific research are equally implicated in the horrors of the period?[66]

3: The Morally Superior Present

On historical research, Kōsaka explains that it is not possible for the historian to write a history about the present because it is a period that is still in the process of historical creation. It is only once an epoch or era has concluded and fallen away from the present, only when it has become the past, that it acquires historical meaning and can therefore be treated as a legitimate object of historical inquiry.[67] An important dimension of Nolte's research on European fascism was the premise that sufficient time had elapsed since the end of the Second

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[64] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, xix-xx; Harootunian, 'Returning to Japan', 277.
[65] Ben-Ami Shillony, 'Book Review: *Defending Japan's Pacific War: The Kyoto School Philosophers and Post-White Power*. By David Williams. RoutledgeCurzon, London, 2004. xxvi, 238 pages. $125.00, cloth; $40.95, paper', *Journal of Japanese Studies* 32:2 (2006): 432.
[66] Mark S. Peacock, 'The desire to understand and the politics of Wissenschaft: an analysis of the Historikerstreit', *History of the Human Sciences*, 14/87 (2001): 105.
[67] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 118.

World War for the Holocaust to be considered a legitimate object of historical analysis and therefore comprehended in its proper historical context.[68] Furthermore, Nolte argued that 'it is an indispensable postulate of *Wissenschaft'* – science as understood in terms of thesis and proof – 'that even Hitler be made understandable in the realm of the possible'.[69] In turn, Nolte presented an interpretation of the Holocaust that insisted on the necessity of its comprehension in relation to 'other cases of politically motivated mass extermination in the 20th century'.[70] In particular, he identified the genocidal behaviour of the Bolsheviks in Russia as the 'main precondition' for the Holocaust in Germany, going on to describe Auschwitz as a copy of the gulags.[71]

In the context of the ideological debate that was taking place on national identity at the time, Habermas believed that Nolte's interpretation of the Holocaust was an attempt to normalise German history in the name of objectivity or *Wissenschaft* by relativizing the crimes of the Nazis, thereby reducing the nation's burden of moral guilt for its past. Habermas rejected the proposition that the events of the Holocaust had become a 'past which has passed', however, because 'even Germans born after the war were raised in a culture in which Auschwitz was possible'.[72] This sentiment is shared by Mark Peacock who argues that a *wissenschaftliche* or a scientific study of the Holocaust is paradoxical because the tragedy was only possible through *wissenschaftliche* methods. We therefore find the Nazi's behaviour so incomprehensible because their actions were a product of

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[68] Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 96.
[69] Ernst Nolte, *Das Vergehen der Vergangenheit* [The Passing of the Past] (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1987), 80-81, cited Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 88.
[70] John Torpey, 'Introduction: Habermas and the Historians', *New German Critique*, No. 44, Special Issue on the *Historikerstreit* (Spring - Summer, 1988): 8.
[71] Ernst Nolte, 'Between Myth and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of the 1980s', in Koch, ed. (1985): 35-36, cited in Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 91.
[72] Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 104; Benjamin B. Weber, 'Shades of Revisionism: Holocaust Denial and the Conservative Call to Reinterpret German History', *History Review*, vol. 6 (December 1994), accessed February 18, 2016, http://www.uvm.edu/~hag/histreview/vol6/weber.html

modernity, which we are still very much a part of today.[73] As a result, Habermas found attempts to understand the Soviet Union's advance into East Germany from the perspective of the 'brave' German soldiers on the Eastern front astonishing because, in the words of Saul Friedlinder, it was this brave defence of Germany that 'allowed the extermination process' of the Holocaust to continue.[74] Consequently, Habermas questioned why 'the historian writing in 1986 [doesn't] assume the perspective of that very year from which he could not escape were he to try?' This he believed had the 'hermeneutic advantage of relating the selective perceptions' of the historians involved, as well as permitting the benefit of the moral hindsight of 'later generations'.[75]

Even today, many would debate whether sufficient time has passed for the Holocaust to be treated as a valid topic of impartial historical investigation. This was certainly true back in the 1980s when many of the people directly affected by the Nazi's atrocities were still alive.[76] Furthermore, there are aspects of Nolte's thesis that would seem to have been ideologically motivated despite his insistence on scientific objectivity, as exemplified in his provocative comparison of talk about 'the guilt of the Germans' in the 1980s with talk about 'the guilt of Jews' during the Nazi regime.[77] Peacock also believes that Nolte's decision to publish his views in a national newspaper instead of an academic journal raises questions on the scientific credentials of his

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[73] Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 105.
[74] Saul Friedlinder, "A Past That Refuses to Go Away," unpublished English translation of an article in Hebrew entitled "The New German Nationalism: The Controversy Grows," originally in Ha'aretz 3 October 1986: ms. 7, cited in Torpey, 'Introduction: Habermas and the Historians', 8; Compare with Williams's discussion on the brutal treatment of civilians by the Red Army during its advance into Germany – Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 124-126.
[75] Jürgen Habermas, 'Eine Art Schadensabwicklung [A Type of Damage Limitation]', '*HISTORIKERSTREIT*', (1986): 64, cited in Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 93.
[76] Based on personal conversation in 2013 with Dr Christopher Hood, Japanese Programme Director at Cardiff University.
[77] Ian B. Warren, 'Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History: The Third Reich's Place in History – A Conversation with Professor Ernst Nolte', *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb, 1994): 15-22, accessed February 18, 2016, http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v14/v14n1p15_Warren.html

thesis.[78] Although it is not unusual for German academics to publish in this manner, Nolte himself concedes that in the case of the articles that provoked the 'historian's dispute' he was more of a 'publicist than scholar'.[79] Consequently, Habermas did not believe that he was taking issue with the methods of historiography per se, but rather with 'the public use of history' in society.[80] This is why he readily admitted that his own arguments were politically charged, something he felt historians like Nolte had purposely concealed in the name of science.

Problems arise because Habermas nevertheless calls for *wissenschaftlichen* pluralism in historical research.[81] At the same time, however, he insists that the study of history is primarily an interpretative problem and therefore 'always a question of our contemporary understanding of ourselves'.[82] While it is true that all historical research is determined by the perceptions of the individual historian, which in turn are shaped by his or her respective social, cultural and historical contexts, Habermas mistook the moralist's abridgements of the historical record, based on the assumed universality of present-day moral values, as a legitimate methodological approach for studying the past. Nolte accepts that there are 'moral grounds' for condemning the Nazi's actions. However, if the Holocaust is to be acknowledged as a legitimate object of academic history as an empirical discipline, the moralist's 'claim to totality' must be rejected.[83] This is because a 'permanent negative or positive image' of any past event, be it the Holocaust or the Reformation, will inevitably take on 'the character of a myth'.[84] This in turn allows the

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[78] Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 100.
[79] Warren, 'Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History'.
[80] Ralph Raico, 'The Taboo Against Truth: Holocaust and the Historians', *Liberty*, (September, 1989), accessed February 18th, 2016, http://mises.org/library/taboo-against-truth
[81] Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 89.
[82] Torpey, 'Introduction to Habermas', 10.
[83] Nolte, *Das Vergehen der Vergangenheit* [The Passing of the Past], 162-163, cited in Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 101.
[84] Warren, 'Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History'.

ideological values of the researcher to take precedence over the empirical methods of historiography, thereby undermining the historian's endeavour to understand the past free from the value-judgments of the present. Consequently, Habermas was mistaken when he argued that the 'historian's dispute' was not an issue of 'scientific theory' or 'value-free analysis' because the moral approach that he advocated was itself a rejection of historical investigation as a scientific endeavour.

Moral interpretations of history inevitably turn the 'present into an absolute to which all other generations are merely relative'. This places the modern day historian in a privileged position for dispensing moral judgments on past injustices.[85] However, it is 'natural but tautological' for the defenders of a particular morality to believe their system superior to all alternatives, past or present.[86] This is because this system is itself considered morally good, bestowing upon it an absolute and universal significance in the eyes of its proponents. From the viewpoint of the empirical historian, in contrast, the only absolute that is discernible in the historical record 'is change' itself.[87] It is not that the moral values of the present are superior to those of the past; it is simply that the moral principles valued today are different now because times and circumstances have changed. This is even evident in the case of historical figures with whom the moral historian may closely identify. For example, the moral philosophy of Kant remains an important influence on modern day liberalism, while the second formulation of the categorical imperative continues to be used as a justification for human rights.[88] Nevertheless, the same rational foundations of modern morality were used by Kant to condone

[85] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 4-5.
[86] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 90.
[87] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 58.
[88] Davis, 'Turns to and from political philosophy', 38-39; Jan Van Bragt, 'Kyoto Philosophy–Intrinsically Nationalistic?', 253.

viewpoints that many liberals would now find reprehensible.[89] For example, Kant used his system to justify not only the death penalty, but the killing of illegitimate children.[90] For Hans-Georg Moeller, the only reason why a particular moral paradigm is 'generally accepted in society is simply because it is a generally accepted paradigm'. If one assumes that their moral beliefs are correct, as most people tend to, then 'one cannot but believe that it is more advanced' than whatever system of morality preceded it.[91]

Butterfield argues that by absolutizing the present the moral historian fails 'to realise those things in which we too are merely relative'. As a result, we lose any sense of where our own 'ideals and prejudices' stand in the 'stream of the centuries'. Furthermore, continual reference to the present hinders the principle goal of historical research, which is to try and understand the past on its own terms. For Butterfield, this is 'not only an aim of the historian, but is an end in itself'.[92] Kōsaka believed that if our knowledge of the past were only perceivable from the standpoint of modern-day values, then true historical cognition would be impossible because the meaning of the past is to be found in its independence from the present, not its subservience to it. All events in history are one-off and unique. This gives events from the past both an individual and universal significance that cannot be appreciated if only viewed through the distorting lens of contemporary values.[93]

The political philosophy of the Kyoto School is often appraised from a modern liberal perspective. However, the members of the movement are destined to fail any moral test that is based exclusively on the ideological values of contemporary liberalism for the simple

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[89] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 83-84.
[90] Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals,* 106-109.
[91] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 90-91.
[92] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 63 & 69.
[93] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 82.

reason that they were not modern liberals. Moreover, such appraisals can tell us nothing about the nature of their political beliefs or their reasons for supporting the idea of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. They show only that the political speculations of the Kyoto School have fallen short of the moral standards now expected by the modern liberal. Consequently, the empirically minded scholar is sceptical as to whether the standpoint of modern liberalism could ever be capable of accurately interpreting a society from the past, never mind a country that was distinctly Confucian in character, a substantially different moral paradigm.[94]

4: Moral Progress and Historical Causation

An important dimension of the moral approach of Habermas to the Holocaust is his insistence that a 'critical appropriation of historical traditions' is only possible if based on the concept of 'post-conventional identity'. He believed that there is an identifiable 'development of … universalistic value orientation' in modern societies and he adopts aspects of Lawrence Kohlberg's model of moral progress for interpreting history. Post-conventional identity is an orientation toward the universal principles of justice, reciprocity and the equality of human rights, as well as a respect for the dignity of individual persons. Significantly, these principles are thought to be incompatible with the 'closed and second-hand, unreflective images of history' that scholars like Nolte were thought to portray.[95] Kohlberg presented his model as an empirical study of moral psychology. He believed that the six stages of moral development that he identified were 'culturally invariant' because morality is a 'cognitive achievement that is independent from culture and culminates in an *a priori* and universal

[94] Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan*, 25-46.
[95] Jürgen Habermas, 'Apologetische Tendenzen', *Eine Art Schadens- abwicklung* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1987): 134, cited in Torpey, 'Introduction: Habermas and the Historians', 15.

rationality'. However, Moeller strongly questions the scientific credentials of Kohlberg's thesis. Like Kant, Kohlberg claimed to have identified a set of universal moral principles. Yet the moral ideals of these two thinkers are vastly different despite their shared commitment to moral universalism. This is because what they rationalised were not absolute principles, but the moral values of their respective 'time and place'. For Kant, the moral values of 18th century Germany, and for Kohlberg, the liberal 'ethics of social justice propagated in the Western world' during the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, despite the supposedly empirical approach that was employed by Kohlberg in his use of interviews, what he measured was in all likelihood not the respective stages of the moral development for his numerous test subjects, but rather their ability to engage in moral communication as defined by Niklas Luhmann. It is little wonder that adolescents were better able 'to communicate in more complex ways than younger children' in response to his moral probing.[96] The adoption of this thesis by Habermas as a model of historical moral development is no less problematic.

Because of his or her insistence on the moral superiority of the present, the moral historian is prone to attribute notions of moral progress to the historical record. Particular events or persons become associated with stages in the development of a moral process that culminates in the present, while in certain cases they are even perceived as direct causes for the progress that was achieved, as in the case of Luther and the Reformation.[97] As a result, the historical record is understood as a narrative of humanity's struggle to morally better itself through the ages. The defeat of the Axis nations in the Second World War was significant because it was just such a moral victory.[98]

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[96] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 94-99; Luhmann, 'Paradigm Lost', 84-85.
[97] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 12 & 34.
[98] Moeller, *The Moral Fool,* 159.

Within this context, the Kyoto School's call to overcome Western modernity is seen as having been fundamentally flawed because they misunderstood what was at stake morally speaking. Bernard Stevens believes that the Kyoto School were guilty of conflating two distinct definitions of modernity in their critique of the West. The first is ontological and based on the idea that humanity had been reduced to an object of abstract reason, thereby severing it from its essence or concrete mode of existence. The second is a political conception of modernity, which is conceived as the incomplete endeavour to emancipate humanity from all forms of socio-economic and political-juridical oppression. Political modernity is therefore 'linked to the *ancient regime* and to its avatars in the contemporary capitalistic system of profit and exploitation'. The political 'ignorance' of the Kyoto School led them to regard the ontological and the political conceptions of modernity as identical. Consequently, they mistakenly aimed 'at overthrowing every aspect of Western modernity, including its sense of progress, humanism, democracy, and the rule of law'.[99] Regardless of whether a political conception of modernity could ever be conceived separately from its ontological foundations, especially as the Kyoto School started from a very different set of such presuppositions, Stevens appears to present history as a narrative of moral progress that cannot be understood separately from modern-day liberal values.

The proposition of moral progress presents a teleological understanding of history that is reminiscent of the philosophies of Kant and Hegel. This is because the significance of the past is reduced to nothing more than a 'means' through which the morally superior 'end' of the present comes to be realised. As Kant himself concedes, such a notion of providence seems far-fetched in theory. Yet in terms of

[99] Stevens, 'Overcoming Modernity', 233-236.

moral practice 'it does possess a dogmatic validity'.[100] Moeller criticises the very idea of moral progress, however, because such an interpretation of history is inevitably undertaken from the standpoint of whatever happens to be the dominant moral paradigm of society.[101] What is more, empirically speaking there is simply nothing in the historical record that can prove that any one set of moral values is superior to any other since 'historical facts are entirely neutral'.[102] This is why Kōsaka believed that it is impossible to pass moral judgment on past events like ethnic migration or the Crusades.[103] Moral progress is therefore read into history by the moral historian. In turn, the principles that are adopted are determined by the particular moral paradigm to which this historian necessarily belongs. Consequently, these principles stand *a priori* to the historical record. In other words, the moral historian starts with a 'world-view' and then proceeds to selectively draw from a body of texts 'in the pursuit of a blanket of evidence to confirm the moral opinion' that is endorsed by this world-view.[104] Such an approach is non-empirical because the conclusions that are drawn are predetermined by the principles the researcher advocated before initiating their historical enquiry, not the evidence of the historical record.

In opposition to the notion of progress, Moeller forwards an alternative thesis of paradigm shifts in ethics based on Kuhn's understanding of scientific revolutions. Such shifts are also attributable to what is normally identified as a continuous moral tradition, as in the case of the past acceptability of slavery and colonialism for historical liberals. Although the basic premises of the liberal tradition may have been inherited from the past in terms of

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[100] Kant, 'Perpetual Peace', 109.
[101] Moeller, *The Moral Fool,* 91.
[102] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 37.
[103] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 161.
[104] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 35-36.

their form, the actual content of the maxims prescribed have in many cases changed beyond recognition. The proponents of moral history may argue that this is evidence of moral progress, but it equally reflects the historical contingency of any particular value or belief in society, undermining the moralist's assertion that it is their ideals that hold absolute validity for all. While Moeller concedes that it is 'rhetorically and logically' inevitable that 'a narrative of progress' is attached to both the paradigmatic and progressive understandings of history, this does not mean we can conclude the idea of progress to be an 'objective fact'. This is because, as Kuhn demonstrates in the natural sciences, it cannot be shown that 'the history of succeeding paradigms is actually a history of progress since there is no neutral vantage point' from which to measure this progress.[105] What is more, the very notion of causality that is necessarily assumed within the thesis of moral progress is itself problematic for the empirical historian because such inferences ignore the sheer complexity of factors that are necessarily involved in any historical event.

Butterfield argues that the only thing that the historian can positively assert in terms of historical causality is that it is the entirety of the past, 'with its complexity of movement, its entanglement of issues, and its intricate interactions, which produced the whole of the complex present'. Even then, this is 'an assumption and not a conclusion of historical study'.[106] Discussing the concept of causality in the natural sciences, Russell insists that the principle of induction is an essential premise for assuming the possibility of knowledge about something that has not been directly experienced. This is typically done through inferences to past examples. Yet despite its necessity for the development of scientific laws, the induction principle can neither

[105] Moeller, *The Moral Fool*, 90-91.
[106] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 19.

be confirmed nor refuted by experience itself.[107] In the case of historical research, the problem is exacerbated further by the different ontological foundations involved in the humanities and natural sciences.[108] The knowledge we have of the past is wholly dependent on the historical documents that have survived, which are always incomplete. Even then, the sheer number of factors involved makes it impossible to identify with any certainty one specific thing as the most important factor for bringing about an event. Attributing causality is therefore a selective process on the part of the historian that inevitably oversimplifies the historical record. While this is also problematic for the empirical historian, when they generalise they seek 'to mirror as closely as possible the facts of the case'. The moral historian, in contrast, specifically focuses only on those facts that support their case for moral progress. On the other hand, 'No facts that call liberal orthodoxy into question are permitted'.[109] This results in abridgements of the historical record that are 'sometimes calculated to propagate the very reverse of the truth of history'.[110]

Even if some notion of causality is assumed, Moeller doubts whether it can be said that the world has actually improved in a moral sense when tested against the known empirical facts. Although he concedes that many societies have abolished slavery and accepted some notion of human rights, severe social problems have often accompanied the heralded moral progress of civilisation. He offers the non-violent example of overpopulation as a result of economic development, which has subjected millions of people to abject poverty. Environmental problems also raise questions on whether the notion of negative freedom, so important for political organisation in liberal societies, is still capable of remaining a viable moral paradigm in its present form

[107] Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy*, 36-40
[108] Williams, *Japan and the enemies*, 99; Dilthey, *The Formation of the Historical World*.
[109] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 36.
[110] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 22.

if humanity is to survive into the future.[111] As Stevens concedes, contemporary environmental issues add significant weight to the Kyoto School's opposition to Western modernity, although the importance of their criticisms likely extends beyond a purely ontological understanding to also include valid questions about the political implications of its ontological assumptions.[112]

5: Moral Agency in History

One of the main issues Habermas identified with Nolte's thesis was his rejection of the 'singularity' of the Holocaust because it was only one example of the many acts of genocide that were committed during the twentieth century.[113] Consequently, Habermas believed that Nolte was guilty of attempting to reduce the severity of the Nazi's crimes through comparisons of the Holocaust with other acts of brutality committed in different regimes and periods, thereby setting 'Auschwitz … off against Dresden'.[114] As a consequence, Nolte was accused of belittling the significance of the Nazi's actions in an attempt to 'settle accounts' and he subsequently became associated with Holocaust 'apologists' and 'deniers'. In turn, the supposedly objective methods of his scientific approach to history were dismissed as little more than tactics of 'denial, denigration, transference, and relativism'.[115] For the moral historian, the Holocaust was an act of 'Absolute evil', and by relativizing the significance of the horrors that took place Nolte was guilty of exonerating 'Hitler and the Nazis from the responsibility of having committed the worst crimes in the history

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[111] Isaiah Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty' in Liberalism and its Critics, ed. by Michael Sandel (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 15-36.
[112] Stevens, 'Overcoming Modernity', 234.
[113] Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 94.
[114] Jürgen Habermas, 'Vom öffentlichen Gebrauch der Historie', *Eine Art Schadensabwicklung: Kleine politische Schrifien VI* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987): 139, cited in Torpey, 'Introduction: Habermas and the Historians', 12.
[115] Weber, 'Shades of Revisionism'.

of humanity'.[116] His attempts to make Hitler's treatment of the Jews understandable were also dismissed as entirely inappropriate, especially as he argued that the connection made by the Nazis between the Jews and Bolsheviks was comprehensible, even if mistaken. This led Nolte to conclude that it may have been possible that Hitler had pre-emptively carried out an Asiatic deed, like that of the act of genocide committed by the Turks against the Armenians, because he saw Germany as a potential victim of a similar act at the hands of the Judeo-Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union.[117] In response to this thesis, Sergio Minerbi argues that the link drawn by the Nazis was in no way comprehensible as Nolte claimed, but entirely irrational. Furthermore, Nolte was guilty of shifting the blame for the Holocaust onto the Jews themselves by focusing on a non-existent association with the Soviet Union. Consequently, more important aspects of the Nazi's ideology were neglected such as Hitler's racist beliefs.[118]

There is no doubt that some aspects of Nolte's thesis are highly contentious. For instance, although welcoming his identification of Nazism as a revolutionary movement, François Furet insists that it is impossible to determine a direct 'causal nexus' between the gulags and Auschwitz in the manner Nolte suggested.[119] Furet also questions the appropriateness of Nolte's attempt to derive the Nazi's anti-Semitism entirely from their anti-Marxist beliefs.[120] Nevertheless, although it 'cannot be said that Nolte has demonstrated the truth of his thesis', Ralph Raico wonders what there is in his 'basic account' that justified

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[116] Nolte, *Das Vergehen der Vergangenheit*, 162-163, cited in Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 101; Sergio Itzhak Minerbi, 'Ernst Nolte and the Memory of the Shoah', *Jewish Political Studies Review* ,14:3-4 (Fall 2002), accessed on February 18th, 2016, http://jcpa.org/article/ernst-nolte-and-the-memory-of-the-shoah/
[117] Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 91.
[118] Minerbi, 'Shades of Revisionism'.
[119] François Furet, 'Autour de "La guerre civile européenne" d'Ernst Nolte', *Le Débat*, No. 122 (November/December 2002): 27, cited in Daniel Schönpflug, '*Histoires croisées*: François Furet, Ernst Nolte and a Comparative History of Totalitarian Movements', *European History Quarterly,* 37.2 (2007): 284.
[120] Schönpflug, '*Histoires croisées*', 284.

the 'frenzy' of the 'historian's dispute'. For example, scholars such as Paul Johnson had also earlier suggested that the atrocities committed by Stalin had likely 'encouraged Hitler in his wartime schemes'. Furthermore, there is substantial evidence to support the notion that European rightists after 1917 did strongly associate Bolshevism with Judaism. This was even true of more liberally-minded thinkers such as Russell, who wrote in a letter after a visit to the Soviet Union in 1920 that he thought the country was being run by 'Americanised Jews'.[121] For Raico, however, Nolte's thesis remains significant because of his refusal to treat the Holocaust only as a metaphysical issue. That is to say, as a 'unique object of evil, existing there in a small segment of history, in a nearly perfect vacuum'.[122] This is because viewing the Holocaust in complete isolation from its historical context only leads to the mythologizing of the Nazi's crimes. Whatever the moral imperatives for such a stance, myths are not grounded in empirical fact.

Nolte believed that historical research needed to focus on epochal trends as opposed to purely national factors. Consequently, Nazism and the Holocaust cannot be comprehended in abstraction as an object of evil or as a uniquely German incident because they were actually a part of a much broader 'world phenomenon' of totalitarianism.[123] Instead of focusing specifically on single agents, origins and causes, Butterfield argues that the discipline of history is more successful when conducted as the study of a 'process which moves by mediations'. These mediations may be 'provided by anything in the world', be it 'men's sins or misapprehensions or by what we can only call fortunate conjunctures'.[124] Fascism emerged as a 'broad European phenomenon', of which National Socialism was only one dimension

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[121] Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell, II,* 1914–1944 (Boston: Uttle, Brown, 1968), p. 172, cited in Raico, 'The Taboo Against Truth'.
[122] Raico, 'The Taboo Against Truth'.
[123] Warren, 'Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History'.
[124] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 46.

despite its distinctive characteristics. What is more, fascism was itself part of an even broader trend of totalitarian resistance to liberalism, of which the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 was also a part. As a consequence, Nolte believed that in order to understand the events of the twentieth century it is essential to understand the relationship between fascism and communism, not only in terms of their mutual mistrust of liberalism and similar modes of political oppression, but also in terms of the extreme enmity that existed between these two movements.[125] This is why he considered the association that was drawn by the Nazis between the Jews and the Bolsheviks in the 1920s and 30s as such an important precondition for the Holocaust.

Nevertheless, Peacock maintains that the supposedly impartial analysis that is presented by Nolte is morally inappropriate, referring to Peter Winch's discussions on the importance of the moral 'unease' that is felt when confronted by the horrors of the brute facts of the Holocaust. Significantly, this feeling cannot be 'alleviated' by any explanation that is provided by historians. Winch continues that although Hitler was no doubt a human being, it is vital that we are able to feel that his actions 'could not lie in human nature' and that we can say 'I do not understand how people could behave in such a way'.[126] This proposition is problematic for the empirical historian, however, because the events of the Holocaust did in fact take place. Consequently, the potential to act in this manner must lie within human nature because the members of the Nazi party were human too. This is why even Hitler must be comprehensible in the 'realm of the possible'. If this was not the case, the Holocaust could not have happened.

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[125] Warren, 'Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History'.
[126] Peter Winch, *Simone Weil: The Just Balance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1989): 150-155, cited in Peacock, 'The desire to understand', 88.

Peacock is right to bring our attention to the role that science and the values of modernity played in the atrocities of the Nazis. Nonetheless, this surely makes it even more essential to attempt to understand why the Holocaust occurred based on the available historical evidence, even if the facts that are uncovered do provoke a feeling of moral unease. This analysis cannot be carried out from the ideological standpoint of liberalism, however, because the liberal historian is morally obliged to be biased in their conclusions, undermining the standard of impartiality that is sought by history as an empirical discipline. Although Nolte may have exaggerated the significance of the link between Judaism and Bolshevism at the expense of other equally important factors, this does not mean that such a link did not contribute to the terrible events of the 1930s and 1940s. Especially when there is evidence to suggest that the possibility of such a connection was indeed taken seriously by many at the time. Raico insists that the atrocities committed by the Nazis and the Soviets must be understood in the wider context of the period as a whole, rather than in isolation as objects of metaphysical condemnation. This is important because it is highly 'unlikely that Nazi racist ideology of itself can account for the murder of the Jews' – a claim that would appear to be vindicated by the fact that comparative studies of fascism and communism have become more widely accepted since the collapse of the Soviet Union.[127] This is despite the fact that the very suggestion of such an approach at the time of the 'historian's dispute' was considered something 'terrible'.[128]

Butterfield explains that by viewing history in terms of moral progress, the moral historian is encouraged to view the past based on a metaphysical division of 'mankind into good and evil'. They depict the past as if there had been an 'unfolding logic in history' that has

[127] Raico, 'The Taboo Against Truth'.
[128] Warren, 'Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History'.

continuously worked towards the moral superiority of the modern-age. As a consequence, any party that appears 'more analogous to the present' is depicted as having acted for the moral enhancement of humanity. This is because the moral historian concentrates 'upon [the] likenesses' of their chosen protagonist at the expense of everything else, thereby abstracting them from their proper historical context. Conversely, a historical figure that is deemed too dissimilar to the accepted moral standards of the present is judged to have been a hindrance to the moral progress of history. From the standpoint of the empirical historian, attributing such moral agency to the perceived actors of history is highly questionable. This is because it is extremely difficult to determine from the incomplete evidence of the historical record the actual degree to which any of the perceived protagonists and antagonists of the past were personally responsible for causing the historical events under examination for the moral reasons suggested. Regardless of the apparent importance of the roles that were played by certain historical figures, the complexity of factors involved makes it impossible to discern direct causality with any certainty. Kōsaka maintained that an historical event only comes about as a result of the simultaneity of multiple focal points.[129] For example, it is highly unlikely that the Holocaust could have taken place without Europe's long history of anti-Semitism, irrespective of the strength of Hitler's personal convictions. Furthermore, news of the acts of genocide that were committed by the Soviet Union in the 1920s, combined with fears of a Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy, may very well have eased the Nazi's introduction of increasingly extreme measures against European Jewry. To focus on the causal agency of one specific actor is to simultaneously disregard other contingencies that contributed to the realisation of an historical event. While it is inevitable that the historian must

[129] Kōsaka, *Rekishi-teki sekai*, 332.

generalise about his or her research findings, the biases of the liberal moralist ensure that the motivations, intentions and circumstances of the historical figures that they portray are distorted by the 'optical illusion' that inevitably results from always presuming the moral values of the present in historical research.[130]

In the case of the Second World War, the Allied powers are thought to have been justified in their actions because the Axis nations represented such a serious threat to moral progress. Adopting the moral values of a modern liberal ideology based upon a Kantian conception of the 'nature of the state and the law of war', Japan's actions during the conflict are judged to have been immoral because the country rejected a diplomatic solution in favour of acts of aggression against the peoples of East Asia and the United States.[131] According to the liberal moral paradigm of the present-day, not only were such wars of aggression an illegitimate means for resolving international disputes, but Japan's imperialist agenda infringed the right to self-determination of the nations it had subjugated. The Pacific War is therefore understood as having been, in essence, 'a struggle of democratic morality against the aggressive brutality of Japanese expansionism'.[132] In contrast, America's retaliation against Japan was fully justified because, in the words of Bret Davis, it is sometimes necessary for liberal nations to risk 'breaking the principle of non-imposition of cultural specificity' in order to secure 'a more binding principle of justice'.[133] Japan's invasion of China and its surprise attack on the United States had violated this principle, an assessment further strengthened by knowledge of the brutality of Japan and her Nazi allies. Importantly, these atrocities were only stopped due to the military intervention of the Allied powers.

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[130] Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, 29.
[131] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, xxvi.
[132] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 32.
[133] Davis, 'Toward a World of Worlds', 244.

Because Japan's actions are regarded as having been fundamentally immoral, any supporter of the Japanese state or its war in East Asia is implicated in the nation's moral crimes. As a result, Elena Lange insists that the Kyoto School's political philosophy can only be properly understood in the historical context of Japanese ultra-nationalism, as discussed in the works of Pierre Lavelle and Harootunian.[134] This leads to interpretations of the Kyoto School that depict Nishida, despite his strong opposition to Japanese militarism, as having desired 'world domination by Japan' as a consequence of his 'embarrassing' support for the ultranationalist propaganda of the Co-Prosperity Sphere.[135] Equally, the four participants of the *Chūō Kōron* symposia are thought to have committed a serious error in moral judgment in their support for the war because they ended up developing a 'political discourse that effectively served to legitimate the Empire', which was unethical.[136] This appraisal is reinforced by the apparent influence of illiberal thinkers upon their political thought, such as Hegel and his 'vulgar' conception of war as a 'means of spiritual affirmation', and Heidegger who joined the Nazi party in 1933.[137] While these criticisms may be justified from the perspective of modern liberalism, they undermine an objective understanding of the Kyoto School's political philosophy because they are based entirely on a one-sided denunciation of Japanese wickedness. Nolte insists that a historian must 'try to find out the other side of any historical phenomenon that has been presented with a universal simplicity'.[138] Although moral historians assert that the Allied campaign against Japan was ethically justified, Parkes argues that only 'an unregenerate

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[134] Lange, 'Reviews: GOTO-JONES', 746-755.
[135] Michiko Yusa, 'Nishida and the Question of Nationalism', *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 46, No. 2 (Summer, 1991): 203-209; Lavelle, 'The Political Thought of Nishida Kitarō', 160; Arisaka, 'Beyond "East and West"', 541-560; Arisaka, The Nishida Enigma, 81-105.
[136] Davis, 'Turns to and from political philosophy', 37.
[137] Andrew Feenberg, 'The Problem of Modernity in the Philosophy of Nishida', in *Rude Awakenings,* 167; Parkes, 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism'.
[138] Warren, 'Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History'.

Western imperialist' would reject the criticisms made by the *Chūō Kōron* participants of 'British, Dutch and American colonial expansion in East Asia'.[139] Notwithstanding Japan's actions during the war, the so-called liberal powers of the time were also guilty of frequently transgressing the right to self-determination of the peoples they had subjugated. This is why thinkers such as Kōsaka also criticised the expansionist policies of the Japanese Army through comparisons with the imperialist methods employed by the Western colonial powers.[140]

The problem of presenting a one-sided interpretation of the Kyoto School based entirely upon a liberal moral interpretation of history is exemplified by Lavelle's influential paper on the political thought of Nishida. Although alluding to the inherent biases of a liberal perspective for understanding wartime Japan, Lavelle strongly associates Nishida with ultranationalist ideology because he expressed ideas that would normally 'be identified with the extreme right in any liberal democracy'.[141] For example, Lavelle believes that Nishida's use of the expression 'Japanese mind' or 'Japanese spirit' in a letter sent to a committee on educational reform was indicative of his extremist beliefs.[142] Such an assertion is contentious, however, because the Kyoto School's understanding of national spirit was greatly influenced by Hegel's notion of objective spirit and not the values of ultranationalist ideology. Although the political philosophy of Hegel is also criticised by liberals for having 'absolutized the Prussian state', the very fact that the Kyoto School championed the political ideas of a European philosopher over traditional Japanese values immediately sets them apart from the 'traditional Japanese exceptionalism' of their

[139] Parkes, 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism: An Unsubstantiated Connection', 348.
[140] Kōsaka, *Minzoku no tetsugaku*, 129-131.
[141] Lavelle, 'The Political Thought', 139.
[142] Yusa and Lavelle, 'Correspondence', 527.

ultranationalists opponents.[143] Furthermore, Michiko Yusa insists that Lavelle has actually quoted Nishida out of context, pointing out that in all likelihood he was simply summarising the purpose of the committee in question as previously determined by the then Minister of Education Genji Matsuda. Significantly, Nishida went on in the same letter to argue for the need of objectivity when researching Japanese history and culture, an explicit rejection of the prominence of ultranationalist ideology in education, as well as insisting on the importance of maintaining academic freedoms to ensure this would be possible. Ultimately, these proposals were rejected in favour of an education policy that was 'based on traditional Japanese content and method'.[144] In Lavelle's portrayal, the significance of Nishida's opposition to state ideology is greatly diminished because he employs an all-encompassing definition of ultra-nationalism based purely upon a liberal conception of political normality.

For Lavelle, almost everyone who published on the Japanese polity during the 1930s and 40s was implicated to some extent in the nation's extremism, regardless of the diversity of ideas that were actually expressed. This includes people like the Kyoto School thinker Kiyoshi Miki, who Lavelle describes as a fascist opinion maker despite the fact that he died in prison after being incarcerated for harbouring an escaped communist.[145] Considering the influence of Marxism on Miki's philosophy, Parkes rightly points out that the 'insinuation of a penchant for fascism will come as a surprise' to many.[146] In the beginning of his article, Lavelle states that 'anyone involved in politics was obliged to position himself in relation to official doctrine'.[147] While this may be true, he does not go into any detail about the issue of state

[143] Van Bragt, 'Kyoto Philosophy–Intrinsically Nationalistic?', 250; Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 5.
[144] Yusa and Lavelle, 'Correspondence,' 524-529.
[145] Lavelle, 'The Political Thought', 140 & 163 (Footnote 154).
[146] Parkes 'Heidegger and Japanese Fascism', 356.
[147] Lavelle, 'The Political Thought', 163 & 139.

censorship, nor does he mention the increasing severity of punishments for violations. Admittedly, these may not be central issues for the purpose of his study, but when dealing with a society that increasingly restricted freedom of expression in the public forum one must treat with caution Lavelle's assertion that it is only 'Nishida's expressions of public involvement and not his private conversations and correspondence that are significant'.[148] This issue is further complicated by the fact that the Kyoto School were actively involved in a 'tug-of-war' over the meaning of many of the phrases that are now associated with ultra-nationalism, as exemplified by the careful deliberations on terminology by the participants in the secret meetings held with the Navy.[149] This also included the term 'Japanese spirit', on the use of which Nishida himself was often highly critical because of its implications for the uniqueness of the Japanese nation in ultranationalist propaganda.[150]

A moral critique of wartime Japan is deemed necessary from a liberal ideological perspective not simply because of the country's questionable behaviour during the conflict, but because any political system that diverges from the liberal conception of normality is by default unethical and therefore deserving of moral censure. However, this hinders any attempt at attaining an objective understanding of the actual domestic political situation of wartime Japan. Regardless of our personal beliefs concerning the immorality of the Japanese during the war, the historical evidence suggests that at 'every point that Imperial Japan was a successful society, it was a rational society'. This included a legal system for which 'judicial reason exercised substantial sovereignty' and an economy that was 'modernising and rationalising

[148] Yusa and Lavelle, 'Correspondence', 527.
[149] See Ohashi, *Kyoto-gakuha to Nippon kaigun*, 175-182.
[150] Shizuteru Ueda, 'Nishida, Nationalism and the War in Question', in *Rude Awakenings*, 90 & 99.

in a way that Max Weber would have respected'.[151] Furthermore, Japan remained a deeply Confucian culture, despite the impact of the Western notion of reason on its social systems, and the early Shōwa period experienced numerous factional divisions that were 'governed by the logic and conventions' of this tradition. The *Chūō Kōron* symposiasts were also embroiled in these Confucian influenced political struggles as a consequence of their alliance with the Yonai Peace Faction of the Imperial Japanese Navy in opposition to the Tōjō junta. Subsequently, although they expressed positive opinions about the historical significance of Japan's war with the West and the Co-Prosperity Sphere in East Asia, the methods and objectives that they advocated were often diametrically opposed to the aggressive imperialist policies of the Tōjō government. This is of little consequence to the liberal historian, however, because their sweeping generalisations of the historical record ensure that anyone who supported the war, the Japanese state or the Co-Prosperity Sphere is immediately dismissed as a political extremist. If we are to comprehend the Kyoto School's political philosophy in its proper historical and cultural context, Confucianism will also have to be recognised as a 'respectable form of ethics' since it was this tradition, not liberalism, that determined the nature of their political deliberations and resistance to Tōjō.[152] This cannot be done if it is a liberal conception of ultra-nationalism, with all its moral implications, that constitutes the only interpretative framework via which an historical analysis of their works is permitted.

[151] Williams, *Defending Japan's Pacific War*, 110-111.
[152] Williams, *Japanese Wartime Resistance*, 96; 37.

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