



The Subordinate Self and the Immortal Nation: The Intellectual Origins of Japanese Ultrationalism, 1895-1930

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The Subordinate Self and the Immortal Nation:
The Intellectual Origins of Japanese Ultrationalism, 1895-1930

Daisuke Kojima

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Abstract

What was the foundation of Japanese ultranationalism, which started to spread its roots between 1895 and 1930? Ultrationalism is an ideological monism which downplays or even denies other components of human identity, and de facto views human beings not as individuals, but as cells within a national organism. This thesis argues that Japanese ultranationalism emerged from the belief of subordinate Self and collective immortality.

Nine Japanese thinkers from different backgrounds, born in 1860-80s, shared the idea of subordinate Self and collective immortality as a premise for their respective arguments. Historiology of Japanese ultranationalism has focused on specific groups of people within the Japanese society to create a clearer picture of Japanese ultranationalism. Namely, they were the Emperor, the military personnels, Shintōists, and terrorists. This thesis builds on these previous studies to discover the underpinning idea of subordinate Self and collective immortality shared throughout Japanese society, regardless of their social status.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this book to my wife, Ms. Akiko Kojima, who was kind enough to help me go to the Harvard Extension School to get my master's degree in international relations. Without her love and support, I would not have made it.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	iv
Chapter I.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Definition of Terms.....	3
Research Questions and Hypotheses	5
Overview.....	7
Chapter II. Literature Review of Nationalism and Ultrationalism.....	8
Chapter III. Methods.....	22
Hypothesis and Research Framework.....	22
Case Selection.....	26
Limitations	26
Chapter IV. Ideologists of Ultrationalism in Japan.....	28
Kakei Katsuhiko (1872-1961).....	29
Kita Ikki (1883-1937)	34
Ōkawa Shūmei (1886-1957).....	38
Inoue Nisshō (1887-1967)	47
Tanaka Chigaku (1861-1939).....	49
Deguchi Onisaburō (1871-1948)	52
Kihira Tadayoshi (1874-1949).....	57
Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945)	63
Takakusu Junjirō (1866-1945).....	66

Chapter V. Conclusions and Limitations	72
References	74

Chapter I.

Political nationalism has become, for the European of our age
the most important thing in the world, more important than civilization,
humanity, decency, kindness, pity, more important than life itself.
Norman Angell, *The Unseen Assassins* (1932)

Introduction

In the field of international relations, the study of nationalism started to flourish in 1980s after major publications by Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, followed by Liah Greenfeld in 1990s. Their geographical scope extended beyond the Western countries and colonies to include Japan. For example, Anderson (1983/2006, p. 95) classified Japanese nationalism as the official nationalism, and Greenfeld (2001, p. 228) argued that Japanese nationalism was imported from the West and later took root for indigenous reasons. Furthermore, John Breuilly classified Japanese nationalism as the ethnic nationalism in the introduction of Ernest Gellner's *Nation and Nationalism* (Gellner, 1983/2008, p. XVii).

These early works aligned Japanese nationalism together with Western nationalism in the 19th century, and their interests in investigating the abnormality of Japanese extreme nationalism in the 20th century were limited (Hashikawa, 1985, September, pp. 7-8). During World War II, the Allied Powers named the ideology which drove Japan into the World War II as “ultranationalism.” However, few Western scholars

studied how and why Japanese nationalism transformed itself into ultranationalism in the early 20th century (Skya, 2009, p. 16).

In contrast, a greater number of Japanese scholars studied the singularity of Japanese ultranationalism. For example, Maruyama Masao (1914-96) was one of the earliest scholars who conducted ideological analysis, and argued that Japanese nationalism has become extreme because the government monopolized truth and morality (Maruyama, 1946/1964, pp. 11-28). He approached to the ultranationalism by analyzing political theories. As a consequence, Maruyama concluded that extremely nationalistic ideologists took over righteous democratic nationalism in the 19th century and deteriorated it (Ōsawa et al., 2020, pp. 102-04). He condemned Ōkawa Shūmei and Kita Ikki for theorizing the ultranationalism throughout its preparatory period (1919-31), maturity period (1931-36) and completion period (1936-45).

Hashikawa Bunzō (1922-83) took a contrasting viewpoint and approach with those of Maruyama by vicariously experiencing agony of nationalistic terrorists (Ōsawa et al., 2020, pp. 98-99). He understood “ultra” not as extreme, but as overcoming. Hashikawa argued that ultranationalism was a campaign to liberate people’s soul from the problems of the modern ego, and that is why it should not be seen as mere extreme nationalism, but as a problem of the human interior. He asserted that the terrorism by Asahi Heigo (1890-1921) in 1921 was the watershed between nationalism and ultranationalism in Japan (Hashikawa 2001, pp. 162-65). It was because terrorism before Asahi was motivated by the righteous indignation of those who could claim the right to rule, whereas terrorism after Asahi was motivated by the demand for equality of those who are ruled, from the standpoint of the ruled.

Definition of Terms

Nationalism: While scholars agree that there is no single definition for nationalism, this research follows the definition of nationalism presented by Greenfeld (1992, p. 69). She defined nationalism as “phenomena of national identity, consciousness, and collectivities based on nation”. Other typical definitions include “primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent” by Gellner (1983/2008, p. 1), and “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’” by Anthony Smith (1987, p. 11). This thesis did not adopt Gellner and Smith’s definition because Japan has not experienced division of political and the national unit, and not faced the need to attain autonomy.

Ultrationalism: This research follows the definition of ultrationalism by Andreas Umland (2010, p. 195). He defined ultrationalism as “an ideological monism which downplays or even denies other components of human identity, and de facto views human beings not as individuals, but as cells within a national organism”. Other definition includes “the revolutionary, mass-based form of ethnic nationalism that had at the center of its ideology the Shintō creation story of the Japanese islands by Izanami and Izanagi, the divine origins of the imperial line, the divinity of the emperor, the ethnic divinity and superiority of the Japanese people, the belief in a divine world mission for the Japanese state, global imperial rule under the emperor, and so on” by Skya (2009, pp. 19-22). However, this thesis did not adopt his definition because Skya defines ultrationalism in a limited way as radical Shintō ultrationalism. This research does not follow his idea that ultrationalism here includes a powerful religious component.

Organic State Theory. Organic State Theory is a view of the state as if it were a single organism, with the individual members of the organism sharing the functions of the whole. It was first discussed by Plato (427BC-347BC), and then by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), and others. Of these scholars, Spencer was widely read in Japan in the 1870s and 1880s (Godart, 2016, p. 56). Despite the conflict between the Organic State Theory and Spencer's own doctrinaire liberalism (Simon, 1960, p. 298), Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916) promoted the vision of societies as biological organism, its individuals as cells, and these organisms locked in a struggle for survival (Godart, 2016, p. 60). Katō (1894, p. 103) further argued that the maintenance and progress of a society, which is an organism, does not merely result from each individual sharing mutual interests, but is actually the result of society as a whole benefiting from its own interests. For this reason, the main goal of each individual in society should not be to achieve mutual common interests, but rather to satisfy the interests of society as a whole by integrating the common interests of each individual.

Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa. In 1868, during the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government implemented a “one reign, one era name system” wherein era names would change only upon immediate imperial succession. Under the practice of assigning one era name to the reign of each emperor, Meiji is Japanese era name used during the reign of Emperor Meiji from 1868 to 1912. Likewise, Taishō was used from 1912 to 1926, and Shōwa was used from 1926 to 1989.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Broadly speaking, this thesis aims to investigate the root of Japanese ultranationalism before the end of WWII. This topic needs to be narrowed in two steps. First, the ultranationalism has to be defined. Second, the period has to be marked off.

What differentiates ultranationalism from nationalism? More specifically, why did the Allied Powers feel that Japanese nationalism was different from theirs? Both Japanese and Allied soldiers lived for, killed for, and died for their nations. However, Japanese people not only imagined their nation differently, but also perceived each individual differently from the Allied Nations. These two elements distinguish ultranationalism from nationalism.

The second step is to define the time scope. In accordance with the previous research, this thesis assumes that ultranationalism emerged roughly between 1920 or 1930 and disappeared in 1945. The root of ultranationalism should have taken place before its emergence in 1920. At the same time, it should have come after the emergence of nationalism. Japan's nationalism crystallized in First Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-05). Therefore, this thesis specifically focusses on the time period between 1895 and 1930. As a consequence, the research question is: What was the foundation of Japanese ultranationalism, which started to spread its roots between 1895 and 1930?

The clue for the root of ultranationalism is given in Anderson's (1983/2006, p. 10) classic masterpiece, *Imagined Communities*. He pointed out that the cultural roots of nationalism lie in death and immortality. Anderson argued that nationalism offers a form of collective immortality, in the same way that religion offers the promise of individual

immortality. Following the argument, this thesis examines how Japanese people adopted organic conception of the state, believed in the Japanese nation's permanency, and imagined themselves as a part of the nation's eternal life.

In order to investigate the root of Japanese ultranationalism, this thesis presents three hypotheses. The first hypothesis is: Japanese ultranationalism arose after the belief of subordinate Self and collective immortality. The second hypothesis is: Japanese ultranationalism arose after Japanese imperial and family system. This idea is well known not only among Japanese but also among Western scholars who focused on the societal difference between Japan and the West. The third hypothesis is: Japanese ultranationalism arose after Japan's image as an advanced and modern nation. The last idea is derived from Barak Kushner's (2005, p. 11) discovery that the Emperor was rarely cited as a reason for Japanese people to support WWII. Instead, he argued that the propagated national image of high modernity drove Japanese people not only before the war, but even today.

I answer the research question by the historiography of nine Japanese intellectuals who were born in 1860-80s and later contributed to the emergence of ultranationalism. Their titles vary from jurists, philosophers, commentators, writers, Buddhist scholars and preachers, Shintō thinkers and spiritual leaders, propagandists, and terrorists. While some of them have been mentioned in previous studies of Japanese nationalism, many of them have been overlooked. While building on previous research, this thesis takes a unique approach by focusing on subordinate Self and collective immortality. This angle is different from Maruyama because it focuses on human interior. It is also different from Hashikawa who mainly focused on terrorists' deposition, and from Walter Skya who

primarily spotlighted on State Shintōists. In the end, this thesis aims to contribute to the academic understanding of Japanese ultranationalism, which has complex and diverse aspects.

Overview

First, I present the research questions and the three hypotheses. Also, I review the literature of nationalism in general and Japanese nationalism in specific, in order to examine how previous studies addressed the research questions, and to describe how I built my argument upon them with a novel angle. Lastly, I define the key terms which need clarification.

Next, I present the research framework and methods. To show that Japanese ultranationalism arose after the belief of subordinate Self and collective immortality, we must first clarify how the Japanese perceived the nation and the individual, and how they understood the relationship between the two. Furthermore, how the Japanese viewed life and immortality should be determined. Lastly, I explain the methodology of this thesis, intellectual biography, and outline the influence of nine ideologists whose works I selected.

After that, I present the case selection by analyzing the nine ideologists of ultranationalism in Japan. Although these thinkers differ in religion, social position, and the time of their appearance in the debates, they all share a bipartisan belief in subordinate Self and collective immortality, which this thesis argues is the source of Japanese ultranationalism. For better understanding they are classified into three groups.

Finally, I discuss my research limitations and give thoughts to issues for further research. I finish with concluding thoughts.

Chapter II. Literature Review of Nationalism and Ultranationalism

Anderson's (1983/2006, pp. 9-12) *Imagined Communities* is a true masterpiece. It is credited with raising the theoretical bar in the study of nationalism once and for all. With the example of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, this book reveals that nationalism, unlike Marxism and Liberalism, is conscious of death and immortality. To take a specific example, nationalism turns quite accidental chance of born Japanese into destiny that he/she is a part of Japanese eternity. The following discussion of ultranationalism in this thesis is inspired by Anderson's assertion that nationalism offers promise of collective immortality.

Of course, as Anderson's argument is focused on nationalism in the West and its colonies, it does not directly explain the emergence of Japanese ultranationalism. For example, there is no Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Japan. Instead, there are Gokoku Shrines, shrines dedicated to the spirit of those who died for the nation, represented by Yasukuni Shrine. Here, the dead do not exist as nameless warriors, but as deified demons to protect the nation, and these gods received the Emperor's annual visit. For another example, Anderson argues that evolutionary thinking is hostile to the idea of continuity. However, it fails to explain why Japanese ultranationalists who claimed eternity of the Japanese nation were heavily influenced by Herbert Spencer's theory of social evolution (Godart, 2016, p. 56). For example, Kita Ikki, one of the leading ultranationalists, defined the nation as an evolutionary organism (Kita, 1906, p. 489). Therefore, while this thesis

takes the Anderson's argument into account, the next step is to review previous studies specifically focused on Japanese ultranationalism.

When discussing Japanese ultranationalism, Maruyama's (1946/1964, pp. 13-17) *Theory and Psychology of Ultranationalism* is a landmark, and whether one agrees with it or not, it is unavoidable. It points out that modern nations in Europe take a neutral position with regard to internal values such as truth and morality. They base their state sovereignty on a purely formal and external legal mechanism that is divorced from such internal values. On the other hand, Japanese ultranationalism sought to base its rule on substantive internal values. As a consequence, private things have never been recognized as purely private in Japan. Here, Japanese Nation is distinct from Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* because the sovereign's decision determines right and wrong, and legitimacy is resolved in legality.

Furthermore, Maruyama cited Tsuda Mitsuzō's (1933, p. 77) *Current Status of Japanese Fascism* which states that the family, as an independent organism or living organism, is itself a complete cell. The individual is nothing but a part or an element of this complete cell. Tsuda insisted that the extension and expansion of this familism formulates Japanese nationalism, and it is nothing but a national combination of the families. Tsuda argued that the head, the patriarch, the center and the general representative of the state was the Emperor and he was the ethnic bond of Japan. After Tsuda's citation, Maruyama concluded that Japanese ultranationalism arose after Japanese imperial and family system.

Maruyama's argument succeeded in establishing the concept of ultranationalism and explaining it in a very simple way with two points: the emperor system and the

family system. However, while it succeeded in showing the government as the bad guy who imposed nationalism on the people, it failed to explain the nationalistic sentiment that arose on the part of the people. Moreover, Maruyama names Ōkawa Shūmei and Kita Ikki as the villains who constructed the theory of ultranationalism. However, both of them were sentenced to death or imprisonment by the government for the danger of their thoughts and actions. Therefore, it is unreasonable to place the government and these two men side by side as the root of ultranationalism. Further discussion was needed to resolve these contradictions and to understand Japanese ultranationalism more objectively.

The most prominent of the counterarguments against Maruyama is Hashikawa's argument. Hashikawa (1986, p. 219) straightforwardly stated his criticism of Maruyama that he could not help but feel a certain defiance toward Maruyama's theory of fascism because it would force us to "fictionalize" ourselves once again by passing off "the masses".

In accordance with the first hypothesis, Hashikawa (1985, September, p. 176) pointed out that the authentic historical image of patriotism in modern Japanese history is, almost without exception, an image of actions associated with the idea of the death of man, or of the nation. If the idea of becoming a Yasukuni demon to protect the nation is the prototype of traditional patriotism, it is ultimately the occasion of legitimacy that mediates between the death of an individual and the eternal life of a nation. In other words, a Japanese individual is seen as a kind of alter ego, subordinate to a larger individual, that is, the emperor's state. Here, the individuality and uniqueness of his/her soul is dissolved into the nation.

Hashikawa (1985, September, p. 177) indicated that in the West, the impulse toward death was an active negation of all life (nihilism), whereas in Japan it was an expectation that a leveling of human nature would be achieved. The death of individuals made everyone equally eligible to enjoy the worship by the Emperor, the living god, as “Gods of Yasukuni”.

In accordance with the second hypothesis, Maruyama argued that familist tendencies is particularly emphasized in Japanese fascist ideology. Familism was particularly highly advocated as a principle of state formation. He pointed out that the fundamental nature of the Japanese national structure is always represented as an extension of the family, that is, as a family state composed of the imperial family as the “head family” of the nation and its “babies”. The familism was not merely a metaphor, as in the case of the organic state theory. The Japanese nation was taught not merely as an abstract idea, but as if it was actually a historical fact that the structure of the ancient kinship society had been maintained as it was in ancient times (Maruyama, 1946/1964, p. 42).

Although Hashikawa shares with Maruyama the extent of familism’s influence, his analysis is almost heading for the opposite conclusion. He argued that the individual does not immerse himself in the state represented as a huge family, but rather immerses himself in the state by escaping from the family. The individual is separated from his or her home through association with the state, and this separation satisfies the interest in individuality. This is why Maruyama picked up the family system, while Hashikawa picked up the liberation from the modern ego, as the source of ultranationalism. In either arguments, just as the spirits of ancestors who served their families are perpetuated

through family rituals to protect their descendants, the spirits of those who died in the service of their nation are honored by the worship of the people to gain eternal life and to protect their nation forever (Hashikawa, 1985, September, pp. 214-15). The ancient desire of the Japanese people was to remain in the country after death. However, from sometime during the Edo period (1603-1868), the Japanese individuals began to develop a desire to be regarded as gods and to be worshipped posthumously.

Hashikawa's argument corrected the simplistic and uniform understanding that the government imposed ultranationalism on the people, and revealed that ultranationalism was driven by an active campaign on the part of the people as well. Kushner (2005, p. 4) supports this argument that the choice to go to war against the Allies was not made by the Japanese government, but by each and every Japanese person. In contrast to the French public's response to the Vichy regime, the Japanese public continued to support the war and the national mobilization that accompanied it from 1943, when the war situation began to become desperate, until the surrender in August 1945. Realpolitik alone cannot explain why the Japanese public did not lose its enthusiasm for the war long after defeat became imminent.

At the same time, another question about ultranationalism arises from Hashikawa's argument. Hashikawa sees ultranationalism as a solution to overcome the problem of modernity and does not see modern elements in it. However, there are also those who argue that ultranationalism is due not to these premodern or non-Western elements, such as the emperor system, the family system, individual death and the eternal life of a nation, but to the image of a modern, progressive nation.

In accordance with the third hypothesis that ultranationalism arose after Japan's image as an advanced and modern nation, Kushner (2005, p. 11) argues that Japanese nationalism is supported by its self-image as a modern nation. He pointed out that after acknowledging the unprecedented success of social mobilization in Imperial Japan, the U.S. was unable to elucidate the specific mechanisms of the social mobilization process, how it was possible to achieve such success by means other than coercion or the use of fear. As a consequence, Americans at the time were caught up in an exaggerated understanding that single-minded devotion to the emperor was part of Japanese culture.

Kushner refutes the claim that belief in the Emperor was the source of nationalism. Instead, he claimed that because people were not mobilized by empty rhetoric, Japanese wartime propaganda has often portrayed Japan as an advanced and modern nation, and it rarely referred to the Emperor. Although wartime propaganda is commonly explained as a failure, Kushner argues that it was a "successful failure" because the propaganda did not disappear with the defeat of the Empire of Japan. He adds that the same nationalism is shared by contemporary conservative Japanese politicians.

There are several more works in the English language which answered to important questions on Japanese ultranationalism. For example, should Japanese ultranationalism be understood as a single event? Or are there several different phases?

Skya (2009, p. 5) counterargued Maruyama on this issue. He criticized Maruyama for propagating the erroneous notion that there was little change in nationalistic ideology between the Meiji Restoration (1868) and the end of WWII. Skya divided this period into four parts. The first period is from 1868 to the early 1890s, during which the national ideology was full of surprisingly strong democratic ideas. This period was represented by

Kido Kōin (1833-1877), Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-1878) and Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883). The second period is from the early 1890s to 1912, during which Hozumi Yatsuka (1860-1912) constructed the ideology of a traditional and patriarchal family state. The third period is between 1912 and 1926, during which Uesugi Shinkichi (1878-1929) formulated the ideology of a structureless state devoid of all institutions linking the masses to the emperor. The fourth period is between 1926 and 1945, during which Kakei Katsuhiko (1872-1961) envisioned an orderly Japanese theocratic state situated at the center of a Shintō cosmology and a hierarchical world order. Skya criticized Maruyama for ignoring the first, third and fourth periods, and explaining everything with the familist ideology in the second period. Skya argued that Kakei's theory of radical Shintō ultranationalism led Japan into a full-scale war with China in 1937 and with the Western world in the 1940s.

Skya succeeds in showing the transition of ultranationalism in a straightforward manner. In particular, the idea of dividing the first period and the subsequent periods is in common with this thesis, which separates nationalism and ultranationalism at the same point. On the other hand, the categorization of the subsequent periods is questionable. Skya lists in chronological order three professors at Tokyo Imperial University who rejected the emperor-as-organ theory and advocated the emperor-as-sovereign theory, and simply classifies three periods of nationalism under their names. Although it is indisputable that the influence of the three professors was greater than that of ordinary people, it is unclear whether the phenomenon of nationalism as a whole can be categorized in terms of three university professors. Furthermore, Skya focuses deeply on Shintōism by arguing that it was the core of the prewar Japanese nation, and the role

played by the Buddhist Nichiren sect, for example, is discarded. It must be said that this, too, has limited his scope when examining nationalism.

Another important question is whether the rise of ultranationalism in Japan was an example of a global trend of the same era, or whether it was caused by circumstances unique to Japan.

Dickinson (1999, p. 4) provides an answer to this question with an interesting approach. He argues that the purpose of diplomacy was not limited to strategic reactions to external events, but also includes the creation of a national identity. Dickinson offers a macroscopic perspective that is often lacking in the study of nationalism, and states that the study of nationalism should not ignore diplomacy and vice versa. To be specific, Dickinson (2014, p. 1172) states that the four powerful empires of the 20th century – Imperial Russia, Imperial Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire – collapsed at a time when nationalism gave way to ultranationalism in Japan. Just as the feudal empires gave way to new regimes after worldwide industrialization, urbanization, the rise of middle class and mass consumer culture, political power in Japan moved from the nation's non-elected founders to political party cabinets who strongly promoted ultranationalism more so than the government and the military.

On the other hand, since Dickinson deals with nationalism within the scope of his discussion of diplomatic history, his references are primarily to persons who have held important government positions. Therefore, while Dickinson succeeds in providing one perspective on ultranationalism, the challenge remains to study it comprehensively.

The next important remaining question is whether there is a single Japanese ultranationalism. This thesis does not necessarily argue that there is more than one type

of ultranationalism, but believes that there are multiple facets to ultranationalism and that the nature of ultranationalism has changed over time. While there is no prior research on whether ultranationalism is single or multiple, there is prior research of the same kind on nationalism.

Doak (1997, pp. 33-35) notes that Japanese nationalism is structured around four building blocks: the emperor, society, the people, and the nation. However, he emphasizes that this is not a single nationalism, but multiple competing nationalisms, which, rather than deepening national solidarity, have the aspect of deepening domestic divisions. Doak (1997, p. 22) argues for freeing Japanese nationalism from unconditional ties to statism, imperialist ideology, ultranationalism and militarism, which is common to the perspective of this thesis. On the other hand, since Doak does not differentiate nationalism from ultranationalism, he lumps all nationalisms from the late 19th century to the present into a single scope in his research. As such, he could not conceptualize a single nationalism in change, but had to categorize a number of different nationalisms.

Dork's unique approach to view the anti-governmental claims of the Japanese communist as a form of nationalism is a valuable contribution in that it expands the scope of study of nationalism. On the other hand, since no special focus is given to ultranationalism, it does not provide an answer to the question of the fundamental elements of ultranationalism.

A final important question is the relationship between social evolutionary theory and ultranationalism. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) argued for social Darwinism, and there was the Spence Boom in Japan in 1870s and 1880s (Godart, 2016, p. 56). Was the social evolutionary theory a cause of Japanese ultranationalism?

Godart's (2017, pp. 12-13) study of the relationship between evolution and religion in Japan reveals that it is inaccurate to follow the master narrative that prewar Japan as a whole was conservative Social Darwinism. He criticizes Japanese historians for treating evolutionary theory as inherently conservative, claiming that Japanese intellectuals, under the influence of Spencer, capitulated to Social Darwinism, which became part of Japanese ultranationalism. Godart (2017, p. 123) argues that evolutionary theory was a liberal movement in the 1870s and 1880s, but from 1905 to the early 1930s it was gradually associated with the theories of the left such as socialists, anarchists, and pure Marxists. As a consequence, in the mid-1930s, there was a rise of vocal Shinto activists and thinkers, and even government officials, who opposed evolutionary theory, which was then rejected outright until 1945.

Godart correctly distinguishes between ultranationalism and evolutionary theory, saying that nationalistic thought posited an essence inherited from the deep past, whereas evolutionary theory was oriented toward a distant or alternative future. Importantly, however, both nationalistic thought and evolutionary theory assume a subordinate Self and collective immortality in common.

This thesis agrees with Maruyama's assertion that the failure to recognize the private as purely private and the individual as a social unit in Japan was a cause of ultranationalism. On the other hand, this thesis disagrees with the assertion that familism was the fundamental cause of ultranationalism.

This thesis agrees with Kushner's assertion that the emperor was not the fundamental cause of nationalism, and citizens pushed themselves toward ultranationalism. On the other hand, this thesis does not adopt the methodology of

narrowing the research perspective to propaganda. More importantly, this thesis disagrees with the assertion that Japan's image as an advanced and modern nation was the primary cause of nationalism. Kushner positions the progressive and modern image of Japan as the opposite of empty rhetoric, but nearly all nationalism scholars agree that ideology, vacuous or not, is very powerful.

This thesis agrees with Skya's assertion that the nature of nationalism has changed over the Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-26), and Shōwa (1945-89) periods. On the other hand, the purpose of this thesis is not to compartmentalize these nationalisms, but to examine the more fundamental factors they have in common. For this reason, this thesis examines the causes of ultranationalism without limiting its references to Shintōists.

Lastly, this thesis agrees with Hashikawa's assertion that ultranationalism was caused by the lack of individuality in the individuals, and their belief in subordinate Self and collective immortality in the state. On the other hand, this thesis does not adopt the methodology of narrowing the sources to terrorists. Furthermore, this thesis disagrees with the assertion that Japanese nationalism disappeared with the defeat of the war (Hashikawa, 1985, November, p. 281). This way of perceiving the world can be seen in the public mind of the Japanese people today. Therefore, it is not something that can be easily put away as a prewar legacy.

There are a few key questions that have not been answered in the existing literature. First, the cause of ultranationalism has not been answered in a satisfactory manner. If it is national Shintōism, it does not explain why Buddhists, Christians, and a populace that had no interest in religion promoted the ultranationalist movement.

Moreover, if this is the progressive and modern image of the state, it is unclear why ultranationalism did not occur in other developed nations. That said, if one takes the emperor system and familism as the basis, it is difficult to explain why they are not mentioned in several ultranationalists' theories, especially those influenced by evolutionary theory.

Second, is the idea of ultranationalism in Japan the logic of the regime or the anti-regime side? A simplistic view is that Japan as a whole was steeped in one ultranationalist ideology under a totalitarian regime. For example, Maruyama (1946/1964, p. 34) argues that some ultranationalists, namely Kita and Ōkawa, led Japanese regime into extreme nationalism. However, the Japanese government has condemned both men to death and imprisonment as dissident terrorists. The reality is not as simple as it seems.

Third, what keywords should we focus on when we search for the phenomenon of ultranationalism in the literature of the time? Doak (1997, p. 2), for example, picks up civil nationalism, ethnic nationalism and statism as three keywords. However, he analyzes Japanese prewar nationalism by focusing only on ethnic nationalism, denying that statism was not nationalism because it was promoted by the government, not by the people. As a consequence, his analysis features only socialists and communists, leading him to the conclusion that the leftist were responsible for Japanese nationalism.

This thesis responds to these three unanswered questions as follows. As for the first question, simply analyzing institutions such as the Emperor System and National Shintōism does not provide a deep analysis that leads to the essence of ultranationalism. Therefore, this thesis will analyze it through the methodology of an intellectual

biographies of influential thinkers. The nine thinkers were selected from different religious background because Shintōism was not necessarily the primary source of ultranationalism.

As for the second question, this thesis selects nine thinkers in balance between the regime side and the dissident side. Namely, four thinkers (Miyake, Takakusu, Kakei and Kihira) were playing the major roles in the government, four thinkers (Deguchi, Kita, Ōkawa and Inoue) were suppressed by the government, and one thinker (Inoue) was neutral.

As for the third question, this thesis defines ultranationalism as de facto views of human beings not as individuals, but as cells within a national organism. Therefore, it focuses on the terms such as large/small life (daiseimei/shōseimei, daishinmei/shōshinmei, daiseibutsu/seibutsu), large/small Self (daijiko/shōjiko), absolute/universal/individual ego (zettaiga/fuhenga/koga), large/small ego (daiga/shōga), large/small will (daiishi/shōishi), large/small individual (daikotai/shōkotai), and super-individual/individual (chōkojin/kojin). The term “large” indicates that nation or society has its own life, ego, will, and individuality, which is superior to the smaller beings,

This thesis’s contribution to the study of Japanese ultranationalism is to analyze nationalism from a new angle, namely, how individuals perceive their own lives as a subordinate Self and how they imagined their collective immortality. Although analyses touching on organic state theory have existed in the past, it has been treated in a limited manner as one of the minor elements of nationalism in combination with the Emperor System and familism. Furthermore, previous studies have often focused on state Shintoism, and many Buddhists cited in this thesis have been excluded from

consideration. This thesis attempts to present a new interpretation of Japanese ultranationalism from a new angle with a number of new sources, based on the argument presented in Anderson's classic on nationalism.

Chapter III.

Methods

The methodology of this thesis is to analyze the arguments in favor of ultranationalism. This chapter describes the hypothesis and the research framework used to assess it.

Hypothesis and Research Framework

I hypothesize that Japanese ultranationalism arose after the belief of subordinate Self and collective immortality, Japanese imperial and family system, and Japan's image as an advanced and modern nation (Hypothesis 1, 2 and 3). The framework for testing these hypotheticals consists of three pillars. The first issue is how the Japanese perceived the social group to which they belonged and the individual, and how they understood the relationship between the two. From the individual's point of view, it is how they imagined and theorized the nation or society, both of which do not exist physically. From the society's or nation's point of view, it is how they defined the individual. For instance, people can be the sovereign who created the social groups, or they can be the mere cells within the larger entities. The second question is how the Japanese viewed life. Is the individual the unit of life, or is the family or ethnic group the unit of life? Furthermore, can an imaginary community, namely the nation be the unit of life as well, or can even the world, the earth or the universe be the unit of life? Third, what is immortality? Does immortality mean eternal life as a living person, or does it mean that one continues to live

even after death? Did the Japanese really seek for eternity, and if so, in what form? This thesis uses these three questions as a framework for testing the hypotheses.

This thesis analyzed 410 books by nine intellectuals, of which 77 are cited.¹ They are cited as evidence to support the hypotheses.

There are different types of methodologies for understanding Japanese ultranationalism. A typical approach, for example, is to focus on the emperor system, which does not exist in the West, and to study the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, which stipulates it. Or one might focus on the State Shintōism, which also does not exist in the West, and study its doctrines. However, just as nationalism is composed of multiple factors, it is difficult to grasp the full picture of ultranationalism from a single aspect. To understand ultranationalism, it is more useful to analyze a wide range of ways in which intellectuals of the same period have spoken about the supposedly ultranationalist discourse in later periods, rather than to select an angle of analysis in advance from a contemporary intellectual framework. That is the very approach this thesis adopts. Rather than limiting the analysis to official documents such as constitutions, laws, and imperial edicts, or to a single field, this thesis seeks to discover new findings by analyzing intellectual biographies of influential thinkers, who agree/disagree on various aspects of ultranationalism.

The nine thinkers were very well-known public figures at the time. Miyake Setsurei wrote editorials for a newspaper called *Nippon* and published the weekly magazines *Nihonjin* and *Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin* from 1888 to 1945. The highest

¹ On December 21, 2022, Japan's National Diet Library has renewed its digital collection which enabled full-text search for digitized materials. It enabled this thesis to go through 61 books by Tanaka, 46 book by Miyake, 61 books by Takakusu, 113 books by Deguchi, 37 books by Kakei, 51 books by Kihira, 10 books by Kita, 29 books by Ōkawa and 2 books by Inoue in a short period.

circulation of *Nihon* and *Nihonjin* were approximately 20,000 and 4,000. Tanaka Chigaku founded a political party called Rikken Yōseikai, which had about 300,000 members at its peak in 1936, and although it had only one seat in the Imperial Diet, it had over 100 members in local assemblies. Takakusu Junjirō led the discussion on democracy in the 1910s and 1920s by publishing the monthly magazine *Chūō Kōron*. He also taught at the University of Tokyo, served as the principal of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and founded Chūō Gakuin University and Musashino University. Deguchi Onisaburō was a founders of the new Shintō religion *Omoto*, which attracted not only ordinary people and intellectuals, but also military personnel and aristocrats. By 1917, the number of followers reached to 300,000. Kakei Katsuhiko has been a professor and taught constitutional law at Tokyo University since 1900. In 1914 he taught at the Naval War College which brought him into direct contact with the Japanese military. In the early 1920s he lectured on “The Way of the Gods” to Prince Chichibu and Empress Teimei, and in 1944 he lectured on Shintō to the last emperor of China, Puyi. After retiring from Tokyo University, he taught at Tokyo University of Commerce, Hōsei University, and Kokugakuin University. Kihira Tadayoshi worked as a lecturer at Kokugakuin University and Tōyō University before becoming a professor at Gakushūin University in 1919. He became a member of the National Spiritual Culture Research Institute in 1932, serving on the editorial board of *Kokutai no Hongi*, of which 2,200,000 copies have been distributed. Kita Ikki publish several works since 1906, but his major publications were banned in violation of the Publication Law. However, these books influenced the young officers who carried out the February 26 Incident, which led to the assassination of Finance Minister and former Prime Minister by 1,483 military personnels. Ōkawa Shūmei

founded the first nationalist organization aimed at reforming the nation. His organization had 36 chapters and 4,500 members throughout Japan. Ōkawa was involved in the League of Blood Incident directed by Inoue Nisshō, and the May 15 Incident. Ōkawa and Inoue influenced terrorists and navy personnels, who assassinated the former Finance Minister and Prime Minister. In response to these terrorist attacks, 300,000 petitions for commutation of sentences were received from the public.

Despite all of this influence, English literature has never focused on these people. This is because virtually none of their thoughts or writings are present in the English literature. Thus, Japanese ultranationalism, an extremely valuable phenomenon in studying non-Western nationalism, remains secluded like an undiscovered gold mine, and isolated itself as a study of the Japanese people, by the Japanese people, for the Japanese people.

Even in the Japanese-language literature, there are significant differences in the number of previous studies on these nine individuals. Kita Ikki, for example, opposed to the imperial sovereignty and advocated a democratic government in 1906. Therefore, it was an easy subject for postwar researchers to study. On the other hand, Kakei Katsuhiko who was a defender of the imperial sovereignty and State Shintōism, was not considered as proper research subjects due to censorship by GHQ as well as and its incompatibility with the subsequent regime under the new Japanese Constitution. The research was even more difficult when it came to minorities under the old regime, such as radical right-wingers and Buddhist thinkers such as Ōkawa Shūmei and Inoue Nisshō. This thesis is unique in its focus on these hitherto unnoticed figures in the study of Japanese ultranationalism.

Case Selection

The choice of cases in this thesis attempts to capture the perception of ultranationalism in Japan by covering a wider range of Japanese society at the time, in contrast to previous studies which analyzed ultranationalism with heavy focus on terrorists and Shintōists. This thesis selects nine thinkers who come from a wide range of backgrounds. Miyake Setsurei, Takakusu Junjirō, Kakei Katsuhiko and Kihira Tadayoshi partially represent the ideas of the Japanese government as they have all worked for the government in different position. In contrast, Tanaka Chigaku, Deguchi Onisaburō, Kita Ikki, Ōkawa Shūmei and Inoue Nisshō were in conflict with the government's view and were subject to penalties including imprisonment and execution. As for their religious background, Tanaka Chigaku, Takakusu Junjirō, Kita Ikki and Inoue Nisshō were Buddhist, while Deguchi Onisaburō, Kakei Katsuhiko and Kihira Tadayoshi were Shintōists. Although Ōkawa Shūmei's own religion is unknown, he was the scholar of Indian philosophy and Islam. The nine figures well represent different ideological groups in Japan, while they share the idea of subordinate Self and collective immortality.

Limitations

This thesis is a preliminary investigation into challenging the existing studies of Japanese ultranationalism with a new angle of subordinate Self and collective immortality. Challenging Japanese ultranationalism as it is known from very specific standpoint of attributing it to the emperor, military personnels and Shintōists or extracting it from terrorists is important. However, there will be some questions about the number and variety of the case selection. Also, some sources of ultranationalism could be both from the belief of subordinate Self and collective immortality, and Japanese imperial and

family system, or from Japan's image as an advanced and modern nation as well. There should be further research that would supplement these points, in order to reveal characters of Japanese ultranationalism. Yet, this thesis is certainly a stepping-stone to show that subordinate Self and collective immortality was a bipartisan believe that formed the basis of Japanese ultranationalism.

Chapter IV.

Ideologists of Ultrationalism in Japan

In the following, we will analyze the background and details of each of the nine thinkers' ideas. Before doing so, we will pick up a few key points and compare each thinker's ideas.

The first point is the position of the emperor. Kita and Miyake are distinctive in their positioning of the Emperor. While the other seven scholars all place the Emperor at the center of the nation and regard him as the living god, Miyake discusses the nation without mentioning the Emperor, and Kita says that the nation has no head of state and that the Emperor, as a member of the nation, has the same patriotism as other members of the nation, and that there is no class difference in their patriotism. Thus, for example, while Tanaka refers to the Emperor as the brain and the people as the body, Takakusu refers to the Emperor as the proton and the people as the electron, and Deguchi refers to the Emperor as the whole body and the people as the heart, lungs, head, waist and limbs, Kita considers both the Emperor and the people as equal parts of the society.

The second point is whether Japan should dominate the entire world. While six scholars did not specifically state whether Japan should unify the world, Tanaka, Deguchi and Kihira were explicitly positive about it. Tanaka says that Japan is not a country built for the Japanese, but an official state built as an institution for world unification, while Deguchi says that the fundamental purpose of the empire is to implement the family system to the rest of the world. Kihira further states that the fulfillment of life defines

space, and that it is a fundamental error to think that Japan is limited to the small islands from the very beginning. He stated that it is nothing less than the fulfillment of life to advance into the Asian continent and establish the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

The third point is the nuance of their assertion on subordinate Self and collective immortality, which is the main topic of this thesis. While these nine thinkers have in common the idea of subordinate Self and collective immortality, there is a difference in nuance. In terms of the subordinate Self, the nine thinkers do not differ greatly, and they all define the individual as a cell of the nation, rejecting Western individualism. On the other hand, ideas about collective immortality can be divided into three main categories regarding how individuals can achieve immortality. The first is the idea that only the nation is immortal, and the only way for an individual to become immortal is to merge with and become one with the nation. This idea is held by Kakei, Kita, Okawa and Inoue. The second is the idea that, while explicitly stating that the state is an immortal entity, individuals can also become immortal if they meet certain conditions. Tanaka, Deguchi, and Kihira hold this view. Finally, the third does not explicitly state whether the nation is an immortal entity, but rather believes that the individual is the entity that can achieve immortality as long as certain conditions are met. Miyake and Takakusu hold this view.

In the following, the nine thinkers will be analyzed in the order of these three main categories of subordinate Self and collective immortality.

Kakei Katsuhiko (1872-1961)

Kakei Katsuhiko was born in Nagano in 1872, graduated from the Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo in 1897, studied in Germany for six years, and upon his return

to Japan in 1903, became a professor at the University of Tokyo, where he taught constitutional law, national law, administrative law, and jurisprudence. His predecessor in this chair was Hozumi Yatsuka. Together with others such as Minobe Tatsukichi and Uesugi Shinkichi, Kakei was in charge of constitutional law, national law, administrative law, and jurisprudence at the Imperial University of Tokyo before the war. In addition to the University of Tokyo, Kakei also taught administrative law and constitutional law at Meiji University, Kokugakuin University, and the Naval Academy. Kakei deepened his relationship with the Imperial Family by advancing his lectures to Yasuhito, Prince Chichibu in 1923 and to Empress Teimei in 1924, which led to the publication of his lectures to the Empress, “The Way of the Gods” by the Shintō Shrine Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs, with the encouragement of the Empress. After retiring from the University of Tokyo, he became a professor at Kokugakuin University, and from 1935 to 1940 he taught constitutional law at Hitotsubashi University, where he succeeded Minobe Tatsukichi. He died in February 1961.

Kakei first defined the ego as one’s own consciousness (Kakei, 1907, p. 311). Then, he states that there are three kinds of ego: the self ego, the universal ego, and the absolute ego. The self ego is the individual (Kakei, 1911, June 5, p. 55), which is both the individual cell and the manifestation of the absolute ego. The absolute ego is the innumerable aggregation of the self egos, and is the deepest essence of them (Kakei, 1907, p. 65). This absolute ego is never born nor destroyed, and has other names as God, Buddha, the universe, and the vacuum. Each ego does not have only one body as its container, nor does one body have only one soul as its master (Kakei, 1911, June 5, p. 94). One soul shares the body of all, and one body shares the mind of all. They are

inseparable as the universal and the particular, and essentially one (Kakei, 1911, June 18, p. 238). Between the self ego and the absolute ego, there is the universal ego, and there are countless degrees of it (Kakei, 1907, p. 59). For example, a family, a local community, a nation, a race, and humanity. The universal ego is not merely an abstraction in conception, and it would be a mistake to assume that it is only a simulacrum (Kakei, 1911, June 18, p. 200). The universal ego and the self ego are also inseparable and fundamentally identical.

The nation, as imagined by Kakei, is the universal ego. The nation should exist as a unified whole by its own internal power, but at the same time, it is different from a natural organism because it is established and exists by free human effort (Kakei, 1910, p. 25). The purpose of the state is the complete fusion and development of the universal ego and the self ego in all directions (Kakei, 1911, June 18, p. 298), and the state is the one that controls almost all of the universal egos (Kakei, 1907, p. 88). Kakei argues that it is not true that the state was created by a contract and that people's obedience arose from it, and that the explanation of the legal principle by means of a legal principle is fundamentally flawed (Kakei, 1910, p. 218). The social contract theory is a hypothetical explanation, dogmatic and not based on facts. The social organism theory, on the other hand, holds that the state arose from a natural and inevitable relationship, just as natural organisms are formed and exist, and that it was not established through a contract. This theory is accurate in that it makes up for the shortcomings of the social contract theory, focusing on the whole and explaining its factual basis, but it is erroneous in that it does not focus on the free will of each individual. The state is like a large self ego and a large individual, but it is not a natural organism with various psychological effects. The state,

as a collective personality, is based on the social psychology of the individual, and through the psychological effects of the individual, it becomes a unified entity, and its unified action is carried out by an institution established from the individual. As above, the state is an extension of the law and the self ego (1911, June 5, p. 168), and the state, as the universal ego and the subjects, as the self ego are inseparable (Kakei, 1911, June 18, p. 237). The universal transcendent existence that should be inherently present in the life of each individual exists outside of the individual, and this external existence is called the state (Kakei, 1936, June, p. 62).

The individual Japanese citizen, as imagined by Kakei, is considered to be a cell of the nation (Kakei, 1910, p. 271). The relationship between the nation and each individual is likened to that of autumn leaves on a mountain and their reflection in a river; they are essentially one and the same, and have the substance and the shadow relationship (Kakei, 1911, June 5, p. 15). In Japanese thought, the natural family is the center of the nation, and the nation of Japan is an extension of the natural family (Kakei, 1911, June 18, p. 40). In Japan, the people have been a part of the family from the beginning, and they have been inside the nation. In the Japanese nation, the sovereign was from the beginning a member of the nation and was inside the nation. Although the division between sovereign and vassal is clear, the two have been considered to be one and the same and not different. All the groups of society are unified through the Emperor, and are remarkably unitary and all have their basis in the nation as a whole. Therefore, the national polity is fixed, the energy of the sovereign is used for the nation, and there is no thought of it being used for private reason. The faith of the people from top to bottom of the nation is to clarify the status of the father and son of the nation, and not to disturb the

distinction between them. All the people from top to bottom must not forget the source of the common ancestor, but must exalt the reason for their oneness and carry out the expansion of the universal ego. Respect for God means love for one's nation, and love for one's nation means reverence for one's king. A Japanese is a person who is realizing in his or her body the universal great life that is the Empire of Japan, or the divine kingdom, which transcends each person (Kakei, 1936, p. 4).

The life imagined by Kakei does not dwell only in the individual. The universal ego and its will are independent and have universal existence over the past, present, and future. Even though people in the past have died and people in the future have not yet been born, they still possess life as a nation in the past and in the future, and they currently possess eternal life in the future (Kakei, 1913, p. 48). Funeral rites take the grave event of death as an opportunity to demonstrate the consolidation of the divine and the human, and to establish the reason why the dead have the basis of eternal life while consolidating to the gods. The evil of the dead is turned to good by the living, the life of the living is extended to the countless dead, and the life of the dead is extended to the countless living. There is nothing in the world that is not a part of the gods, and everything is consolidated to the universal ego, the Empire of Japan, whose essence is the extension of the life of The god of the Imperial Family, and there is no one who is not a manifestation of the Empire of Japan (Kakei, 1940, p. 17). All things, from top to bottom, are manifestations of the one great life, and are all consolidated to the same great life. Although there may be differences in the status, everyone is a warrior of the gods, and their equality is consolidated to the public, and not to the private. Why, for example, must some die for the sake of war? The reason why the self ego is bound by national law is

because the basis of the self ego is not the self ego, but the universal ego (Kakei, 1907, p. 110).

The Emperor, as imagined by Kakei, is the very essence of the Empire of Japan, and without the Emperor there would be no nation because the emperor is the life of the nation (1936, June, p. 207). Japan is the imperial nation that is flourishing and growing as a great, divine life through the crowning of the Emperor. The universal spirit of life exists as an integral part of the Emperor's life. The Emperor is living the life of the gods of the Imperial Family as it is by obeying the great way of the ancestors of the Imperial Family (1940, p. 9). The great way of The god of the Imperial Family resides within the Emperor, and the Emperor has the great way in his inner life. The Emperor is living in the life of the Imperial ancestors, and The god of the Imperial Family is the source of life.

In light of the above, the Kakei Katsuhiko's literature supports the contention of this thesis that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality became the basis of Japanese ultranationalism. Individual life is supposed to be part of the life of the nation, which is not lost at death, but is consolidated at death to the original great life, which is the eternal great life. The reason why the Japanese die for the nation is that in Japanese consciousness there is only the public and not the private, and the basis of the individual ego is based on the universal ego.

Kita Ikki (1883-1937)

Kita Ikki was born in Niigata in 1883. In 1906, Kita published his first work, *The Theory of Japan's National Polity and Pure Socialism*. This book, which criticized the Emperor System in the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, was banned within five days of its release, and Kita himself was designated a person of note and subject to police

surveillance. Kita's pure socialism philosophy aimed at a general theory of man and society, and his greatest effort in this book was the destruction of the commonly accepted national polity theory. In October 1911, he traveled to Shanghai as a correspondent of the Black Dragon Society and took up residence with Song Jiaoren. In 1919, he wrote *The Outline of a Bill for Reforming Japan*, and returned to Japan in 1920, and from January 1921, he became involved in the national reformation movement as a core member of Yūzonsha. *The Outline of a Bill for Reforming Japan*, which, feeling the limits of reform through the Diet, admonished reform through a coup d'état, and influenced the planners of the February 26 Incident. He also placed certain restrictions on private property and land, preventing the concentration of capital, and referred to the nobility system, pointing out that the privileged class was the screen separating the emperor from the people. He was arrested in 1936 for the February 26 Incident, and on August 14, 1937, despite being a civilian, was sentenced to death by a special military tribunal for being one of the theoretical leaders of the incident. On August 19, he was executed and died at the age of 54. Although Kita was a devotee of Nichiren Buddhism, his understanding of Nichiren and the motivation for his devotion to the Lotus Sutra, along with his view of the emperor, remain uncertain.

The nation imagined by Kita is an organic and indivisible family. It is based on the modern *Organic State Theory*, plus profound and expansive philosophical speculation and religious faith from the ancient times (Kita, 1928, p. 106). Kita rejects the theory of social contract, saying that modern social science is based on the discovery in biology that mankind, as a social animal, existed as a society from the beginning, and that man never created a society by contract (Kita, 1906, p. 247). It should be noted here that the

body of the national polity is the nation, not the emperor. Kita holds that there is no head of state in the nation, and that the idea that there is a head of state is an old-fashioned Organic State Theory. The nation is a large individual with humanity as its cells separated by space. The nation is not a mechanical art of imitation, but a real personality. It should be denied that the nation is a legal entity that exists for the benefit of the monarch, ignoring the legal personality that it has acquired after a long evolutionary process. The Emperor of Japan, as a member of the nation, has the same strong patriotism as other members of the nation, and there is no class difference in his patriotism. Kita argues that although Japan's national polity has not been the same for thousands of years, Japanese scholars have become completely idiots by the phrase "an unbroken line of emperors" and have failed to categorize the nation in terms of evolutionary classification. Furthermore, it must be added that the nation will not remain a unit of survival forever.

As for the life imagined by Kita (1906, p. 239), the invention of the microscope dismissed the idea of an intermediate space or a single egg, which had been used to define the individual. Each male, female, parent, child and sibling is an individual, as well as a cell of the large individual named society, with space in between. The theory of biological evolution, however, is based on the dogmatic preconception that the unit of competition for survival is the individual. In contrast, Kita, from a socialist standpoint, relies on the fact of competition for survival among species as discovered by the theory of biological evolution. This is because the definition of the individual as a unit of competition for survival must be established in order to explain the theory of biological evolution, but since the invention of the microscope, the intermediate space as a definition of the individual has become an untenable assumption. Society is the large

individual, and education for the small individual constitutes reproduction for the large individual. Organic State Theory was born from this point of view, and Kita argues for the existence of the national personality. Both the individual, as a single organism, and society, as a family of organisms, are single units in a competition for survival.

The Japanese people, as imagined by Kita, have the consciousness of the individual as an individual, as well as the consciousness of the society as a cell of society. Here, the consciousness of the individual is self-interest and individuality, and the consciousness of the society is public-mindedness and sociability. The reason why the people have both selfishness and public mind, individuality and sociability is that public-mindedness and sociability are manifested when the self-interest of the society as a large individual is conscious by the individual as a cell of the society. Conversely, the self-interest of the individual as a cell is also the self-interest of society in the sense that the small individual is a cell of society. Both individual and social self-interest are equally important, but because humankind has been competing and outperforming others through social cohesion, it is necessary to have more social self-interest which has been given a particularly heavy status, being named sociality, moral instinct and divine mind. Those with greater and stronger social cohesion, through social self-interest and mutual support, have prevailed over the other solitary ones in the competition for existence as a unit of the large individual. Therefore, we must not recognize only the small ego of individual self-interest and forget the large ego of social self-interest. In other words, we must not forget that just as the competition for survival between individuals is based on individual self-interest, the competition for survival between societies is based on social self-interest, and that there exists a social nature and public mind, which is a social self-

interest that competes for survival between societies. For this reason, the terms “large ego” and “small ego” are more appropriate than “selfishness” and “altruism.”

In light of the above, Kita’s literature indirectly supports this thesis’s contention that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the source of Japan’s ultranationalism. The individual is both an individual and a cell of society, each having a small ego and a large ego. Of these, the big ego has played the role of overcoming the other species in the eternal competition for survival among the society. In Kita, however, the distinctive feature is that the object of eternal consolidation is not the nation but society, and that the nation and the royal family are not necessarily at the center of society. Thus, Kita himself was sentenced to death in the February 26 Incident, even though he neither supported nor carried out the terrorism, because of his claims that subverted the concept of national polity.

Ōkawa Shūmei (1886-1957)

Ōkawa Shūmei was born in 1886 in Yamagata. After graduating from university, he supported the Indian independence movement. He was involved in the Indian independence movement, including sheltering Rash Behari Bose in his home for a time, and wrote *The Present Situation and Origin of the National Movement in India* in 1916. In 1918, he joined the East Asia Economic Research Bureau and the Manchurian Railway Research Department, and in 1920 he was appointed as a professor at Takushoku University. He became acquainted with Kita Ikki, and in Shanghai, he was entrusted with a manuscript of Kita’s plan to remodel Japan. He was involved in most of the Showa Restoration coups, including the March Incident, the October Incident, and the League of Blood Incident, and was convicted of five years imprisonment for the May 15 Incident in

June 1936. He was a close friend of Itagaki Seishirō, one of the planners of the Manchurian Incident, and supported the establishment of Manchukuo, which the from the viewpoint of saving the Japanese living in Manchuria and the people of Manchuria from political tyranny. In 1938, he became a professor at Hōsei University. Regarding the WWII, he did not want this war until the last moment and strove to stall it until a time when Japan would be more prepared. He was also involved in the drafting of the Greater East Asian Declaration. After the war, in December 1945, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces ordered the Japanese government to arrest Ōkawa, and he was detained at Sugamo Prison. Although the arrestees included many non-military personnel, he was consequently the only one indicted on charges of being a Class-A war criminal. According to the report submitted to the Far Eastern Military Tribunal in March 1946, the reasons for his prosecution included publishing inflammatory books, calling for change, forming ultra-nationalist right-wing organizations, and helping the Army seize Manchuria. Because of his incoherent behavior, including starting to take off his pajamas after the court opened, and striking Tōjō Hideki, who was sitting in front of him, on the head from behind during a recess, Australian Judge Webb found Ōkawa insane and formally excluded him from the trial. He became the only defendant indicted in the Tokyo trial who was alive at the end of the trial and was not convicted. He died in December 1957.

The nation that Ōkawa envisioned is the path of constant realization of the Way of the Gods as described in the *Kojiki*, the history of Japan (Ōkawa, 1921, October, p. 24), and that the nation is in a consistent and constant creative process, just as all life is (Ōkawa, 1925, p. 1). The nation is a house built with the soul of the people. In primitive

society, the family was an independent entity, but with the establishment of the nation, the family became an element of the nation (Ōkawa, 1925, December, p. 47). Ōkawa identified the main body of the family as the husband and wife. As people's moral consciousness increased, tribal life emerged where families came together, and even in the case of tribes, moral principles were valid. The nation emerged from the union of many tribes, and the nation, too, was nothing more than an objective organization with internal morality. The nation is the manifestation of national life, and all the institutions of the nation are the organizations through which the national life lives (Ōkawa, 1929, p. 15). The national spirit, which has been forged through many years of history, flows through all the institutions of the nation as the blood of the nation. The driving force of the nation is not the desire for happiness, but the very life of the people. The institutions of the nation are the channels through which the blood of the people flow, and they are the inevitable channels through which the life of the nation develops. When we look at the nation as a whole, it is nothing other than the expression of national life, and therefore, any change in this important institution will immediately lead to the rise and fall of national life. For the Japanese people, the true meaning of national life is to crown an eternal and unbroken line of Emperors, to remain on this land forever, to absolutely respect the history of Japan, to carry on the aspirations and projects of our ancestors, and to carry them out to the end of the world.

Loyalty and patriotism are two very different things. Religion is a demand for complete life (Ōkawa, 1921, September, p. 17), whereas the essence of loyalty resides in the recognition of the true source of life in the emperor (Ōkawa, 1925, December, p. 20). Therefore, for the Japanese, the most concrete religion is to be filial as a member of the

family, and to be loyal as a member of the nation. In Japan, each member of the nation is called a separate soul. It reveals the awareness that the Japanese people are a special manifestation of the same life. The Japanese salute each other as they would to a deity, bowing their heads in recognition of the divine life in all people. In contrast, in the West, the handshake signifies the laying down of arms. The national project of the Japanese people is unlimited development of this fundamental life. The people of the past have taken the form of rituals to remind the people that the Japanese people are children born of one parent, and that they must cooperate with each other for a noble task. Because the Japanese people are a branch of the soul, the Japanese people are sacred in nature. Since the place where the sacred is housed is a shrine, people's houses with the souls inside, must immediately become a shrine. At the New Year, every house is decorated with a sacred rope *shimenawa*. In Japan, the nature of the nation was naturally spiritualized without the help of any special religion. Other countries have a specific religion as their national religion. In Japan, however, the national life contains a rich religious element within it, and all specific religions serve to demonstrate this religious aspect of the nation. One of the characteristics of the Japanese nation is that religion and the nation are not at odds with one another, as is the case in other countries. Western national thought holds that the nation was established for the purpose of individual happiness (Rousseau, Hobbes) and total amount of individual happiness (British utilitarians), and considers the nation as a means to achieve them (Ōkawa, 1929, p. 12). In Japan, this idea is not only logically incoherent, but also inconsistent with the facts. This is because the nation, in reality, is a single, vibrant life.

The Japanese people, as Ōkawa imagined them, could only become human beings in and by the nation of Japan (Ōkawa, 1925, December, p. 40). An individual can become a human being only through community life, and the reason why a human being is a human being is to establish a personal life. Personality is a subject that knows rationally and does morally, and for this reason it necessarily requires communal life. A tribe is unified into one life by the deity of that tribe, which is gradually traced back to its origin, and finally the whole nation is connected to the same life through Amaterasu. The people of Japan must abandon their small egos and every single citizen should engage in the national project. The individual and society, if understood ethically, are two sides of a single entity, inseparable from each other (Ōkawa, 1925, p. 6). Since the family, clan, tribe, and nation are each the realization of a moral spirit, society is an organized good or objectified morality. In other words, the individual is the society consolidated, and the society is the individual expanded.

Ōkawa held that the people should return to the Way by denying the small ego (Ōkawa, 1921, September, p. 86). When one leaves the attachment of the small ego, denies all egoic demands, and returns to the activity of the point that governs all things, a unified will arises in the depths and heart of the personality. This is the feeling of love in the broadest sense of the word, the feeling of unity of Self and others. The perfection of the ego is achieved only when one recognizes the existence of the supra-personal life and consolidates one's own life into it.

Regarding the relationship between the emperor and the people, the Japanese emperor is the father of the family, the tribal chief who became the sovereign of the nation as a result of the natural development of the coexisting body (Ōkawa, 1925,

December, p. 56). Therefore, since the beginning of the nation, the descendants of the founder of the nation have continuously reigned over the nation to the present day. The father in the family is the religious object in one's personal life, and the religious relationship to the father is called filial piety. In Japan, the belief that the emperor is the embodiment of the nation's founder has naturally developed, and the emperor has become the religious object of the people, the realization of which righteous relationship is called loyalty. Therefore, the true meaning of loyalty is something that can only be experienced by Japanese people born and raised in Japan under the Emperor, and in Japan, the people are connected to the source of their own life through the Emperor. In other words, the supreme life that unites all life is expressed in the Japanese nation by the Emperor.

The life that Ōkawa imagined is heaven, which is the origin of all human life (Ōkawa, 1927, p. 3). The most direct of these lives traces back from the parents to the origin of the lives of each family, then to the origin of the lives of the whole nation, and finally to the origin of the life of the universe itself. This life is both personal and ultra-personal (Ōkawa, 1921, September, p. 8). As Socrates said, what we seek is not a mere life, but a good life (Ōkawa, 1925, December, p. 2), and people do not exist merely as individuals, nor are they content with this (Ōkawa, 1921, September, p. 8). Behind the personal life, there is an even greater life that unites it. The former must look to the latter for its ultimate basis. Our body is originally nothing more than the division of the cells of our ancestors, and the bodies of our descendants are likewise nothing more than the division of our cells. If we follow this relationship back and forth without limit, we can say that all sentient beings are the same organism. This is true not only in our natural life,

but also in our spiritual life, which is even more complex, and our life is connected to other lives (Ōkawa, 1925, December, p. 11). Therefore, it is a clear fact that the individual never exists independently, and that behind our life there is a greater life that underlies our life. This is why communal life appears in the human world. Aristotle said that man is a social creature, meaning that those who share a common life objectively form an organization as a society. In our spirit resides the spirit of all mankind (Ōkawa, 1921, September, p. 8). All of our conscious activities have their basis in the greater consciousness. As we sink deeper and deeper into our consciousness, our personal colors gradually fade, and our supra-personal colors become more vivid. Thus, we recognize that all individual lives are unified by one great life. The proof that all life flows from the one spiritual spring is that life is social. We cannot bear to live a life of solitude, nor do we wish to. Even those who flee from the world are sure to live together spiritually in some way, such as by visiting their idealized ancestors as friends and imagining a future society in their own minds. In this way, the lives of Self and others merge with each other, whether we are aware of it or not, and we all share a common life (Ōkawa, 1925, December, p. 12).

Communal life is the merging of the personal life with the supra-personal life (Ōkawa, 1921, September, p. 11). In other words, it is a life in which one's life is realized in the other's life and the other's life in one's own. It is a serious misunderstanding to think that the ego is limited to the individual. Our life is more or less embedded in the lives of others, and their lives are embedded in ours. Thus, the perfection of mutual life is found in the fusion of Self and other lives and their mutual influence on each other. Behind us is a deep-seated need to live for the other for ourselves and ourselves for the

other. Because of this demand, we are compelled to communicate with life other than our own or greater than ourselves. The great man, by displaying his unique individuality, lives for and in the hearts of far more people than the average person, and at the same time, far more people live through them and live for them. In pursuing the fact that life and life merge and possess each other in this way, we must recognize the great life by which all individual lives exist and by which they are unified. If we recognize that all individual lives share the same source, then the concept of “people across the seas are one” will be born. If we go one step further and recognize the movement of the great life in mankind and nature, and unify nature and life, we will arrive at the existence of the ultimate life. To sum up, the first step is to recognize the origin of life through our parents, then to recognize the origin of life through our ancestors, and finally to recognize the origin of life through the ancestors of the nation and the nation’s sovereignty (Ōkawa, 1925, December, p. 28). Then, through our national ancestors, through the sovereigns of nations, we are linked to the heavens, and further on, we immediately begin to pay sincere homage to the life that is the origin of this universe, to the principle that makes the universe the universe.

The feeling we have toward things that are superior to us in value is devotion or reverence. First of all, recognizing one’s parents as the source of one’s life is the most fundamental and primitive religion in the spiritual and personal life of the Japanese, and this is called filial piety. When many families unite to form a clan, the ancestors of the clan are worshipped as the source of the life of the entire clan, and when many clans unite to form a nation, the ancestors of the nation are worshipped as the source of the life of the entire nation. In other words, when many families join together to form a tribe, the tribal

deity, the joint ancestor of the families, is worshipped as a higher deity than the ancestor of each family. When many tribes are unified into a nation, the ancestors of the entire tribe become the object of national worship as the ancestors of the nation. In Japan, the emperor, who preserves the spirit of the nation's ancestors, has reigned over the nation from the time of the nation's foundation to the present, and since to be loyal or obedient to the emperor is to be obedient to the ancestors, loyalty to the emperor is not a morality of loyalty as in the West, but has a religious purpose, like filial piety. Heaven is the origin of our life, and the most direct way of consolidating into it is to worship heaven and earth, the origin of the life of each family, tracing back from our parents (Ōkawa, 1927, p. 78). A nation is the realization of the spirit of the founder of the nation, and therefore, the spirit of the founding of the nation, and the development of the nation is the gradual and complete realization of this spirit. Heaven is the origin of our life, which is traced most directly from our parents to the origin of the life of each family, then to the origin of the life of the whole nation, and finally to the life of the universe itself. In other words, we are an aspect of Japanese life from eternity to eternity. Whether we are aware of it or not, we as a nation and as individual, Japanese stand in this world with the whole history of Japan in our hearts (Ōkawa, 1931, p. 1).

In light of the above, Ōkawa's literature supports the contention of this thesis that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the source of Japanese ultranationalism. The individual body is originally nothing more than a division of ancestral cells, and individual life is merely one manifestation of the eternal, greater life that underlies. All men divide the common life. The Japanese people can only fulfill the perfection of their ego by returning their lives to the nation, the manifestation

of national life. Every single one of Japanese people were required to abandon their small egos and engage in the national project.

Inoue Nisshō (1887-1967)

Inoue Nisshō was born in Gunma in 1886. He joined the South Manchuria Railway in 1909 and engaged in espionage activities, returning to Japan in 1920 and becoming the head priest of Risshō Gokokudō, a Nichiren sect of Buddhist temple in 1928. Later, he became acquainted with radicals in the Navy and the planners of the May 15 Incident, and was persuaded that there was no other way to reform the Imperial Japanese Government but through violent action, and began to plan terrorism. In 1932, he formed the right-wing organization, the League of Blood. It was Inoue's own ideological formation based on the Nichiren Buddhism founded by Tanaka Chigaku, which combined Buddhist mysticism and a desire to reform the imperialist ideology and nation. He was sentenced to life imprisonment for the League of Blood Incident, in which he planned to reform the nation by assassinating key figures under the principle of "one man, one kill". In 1940, he was granted a special pardon and released from prison, and he served as a bouncer at the residence of Konoe Fumimaro. 1947, he was purged from public office, and in 1954, he formed the right-wing organization Gokokudan and became its first leader. He died in 1967.

Unlike other countries, Japan, as Inoue imagined, is a nation in which human beings existed first, then people gathered to form a race, then a society, and finally a nation was formed (Inoue, 1934, p. 124). In other words, since the life of the Japanese nation is the natural development and growth of individual life, the nation is the total unification of society and individuals.

The Japanese people, as Inoue envisioned them, are individuals as a whole nation, not as a single entity in opposition to and separate from the whole of the nation. Even if we look at the individual only materially, each person consists of the entire universe. For example, if we look at the things we eat, drink and breathe in everyday, such as rice, vegetables, meat, salt, water, and air which support our individual existence, if we expand our vision beyond these things, we must eventually reach the entire universe. Moreover, each individual has become a full-fledged human being by communicating with everything in the universe, including the knowledge and feelings that form the inner life of each individual. Our feelings and knowledge are the universe itself, and apart from the universe, they have no reality or existence. In other words, from the perspective of the true nature of the universe, all things in the universe are one body and soul, and nothing is independent and separate from anything else. Inoue's argument is that the individual, society, and the state should not be in conflict with each other because the true body of the universe is the unity of the whole.

Inoue's conception of life is that both national life and individual life exist fundamentally within the cosmic life system. Although the body of life is absolutely unchanging, the manifestation of this body differs and changes in accordance with various factors. In the case of Japan, the national polity is the spirit of the nation, and since it is the eternal body of the nation, it never increases or decreases. On the other hand, the body of the people continues to change without a pause, and the ever-changing shape of the body is merely a state of flux.

In light of the above, Inoue's literature supports this thesis's contention that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the source of

Japan's ultranationalism. Individuals cannot be themselves unless they are consolidated and unified into the nation. The nation, composed of individual lives, is the universe itself, eternal and absolutely unchanging.

Tanaka Chigaku (1861-1939)

Tanaka Chigaku was born in Tokyo in 1861 and entered the Nichiren sect of Buddhism in 1871. Later, having doubts about the sect, he returned to secular life and founded the Rengekai in 1880 with the aim of reforming the sect. In 1884, he moved his base of activities to Tokyo and renamed it the Risshō Ankokukai, and in 1914, he united various groups to form the Kokuchūkai. On November 3, 1923, he founded and became president of the Rikken Yōseikai with the aim of conducting social movements based on Nichiren-ism and Kokutai-ism. In 1936, the Rikken Yōseikai won a seat in the Imperial Diet for the first time, and at its peak, there were more than 100 members of local assemblies and agricultural associations. Many scholars and cultural figures formed friendships with Tanaka. Ishiwara Kanji of the Imperial Army, a leader of the Manchurian Incident, joined the Kokuchūkai in 1916, and Inoue Nisshō, who was involved in the Blood League Incident and the May 15 Incident, also devoted himself to Tanaka for a time. Tanaka's influence spread to military, financial circles, and even to right-wing terrorist groups.

Tanaka imagined a nation as something larger than a person, and something that is alive like a person with its own life (Tanaka, 1899, p. 1). The life of a nation is a tenet, determined by the principles and conduct of its people. The tenet of the Japanese nation is the doctrine that Japanese people should take for themselves and for mankind throughout the world, which has been established since the founding of the nation. The nation was

imagined as an institution of the Way of the Gods, and its unchanging principle includes a broken line of emperors. When Tanaka described the Japanese nation as an organism, he mentioned that the brain of the nation was the Imperial Family, and the other parts of the body were the Japanese people. Japan was not built for the sake of the Japanese people, but for the sake of the world's mankind, and every action of the Japanese people must be based on the standard of for the sake of the world and for the sake of others (Tanaka, 1921, p. 90). The individual and the ego were to be contained within the nation and offered to the world. Tanaka believed that The god of the Imperial Family was the head of the national polity, Buddha formulated Japan's tenet, and Nichiren united the national polity and the tenet (Tanaka, 1899, p. 33).

The Japanese people, as Tanaka envisioned them, were rooted in the land of Japan and had a natural commitment to never leave the country. A genuine citizen was always considered to be a subject (Tanaka, 1940, March, p. 93). People was expected to revere the Emperor as their own lives, and to devote their entire bodies and minds, in the reason of *Ikkun Banmin*, the idea that only one sovereign has innate authority and power, and that, in principle, there is no discrimination or difference in status among the other subjects. In Japan, individuals were considered subordinate, while the Japanese nation was considered inherent (Tanaka, 1940, December, p. 63). In other words, it is the people for the state, not the state for the people. Because the nation is important, people are important by virtue of being an element of the organization of that nation. The people must know their vocation and national principles, and must be aware, prepared, and able to act as one cell of the nation (Tanaka, 1899, p. 20). Tanaka also said that it is the family that prepares the foothold for the organization of the nation (Tanaka, 1940, December, p.

63). Individuals die from generation to generation, but the family is permanent, and it is the family that always leaves behind the preparations for the elements of the organization of the nation. Therefore, he stated that the transformation of the human individual into a cell of a family is the preparation whereby the individual is transformed into a cell of a nation.

Life, as imagined by Tanaka, was categorized into two types of life: large life and small life. The origin of these lives was considered to be God, and the national polity of Japan. Tanaka identified the large life as the nation of Japan, Japan was considered to be the perpetual continuity of life. In Tanaka's worldview, law, nation, and people are a single entity, and they are united under one true life (Tanaka, 1940, September, p. 82). However, what is originally one is reflected in many ways in the human mind. This is the hesitation, and the way to break it is to return to the Self. In such a case, the Self is true ego (Tanaka, 1922, p. 11). This true ego is immortal, infinite, and has been represented by the Buddha as large ego. The large ego is infinite in life and infinite in its greatness. In other words, when one has learned the oneness of the Self and the universe, his/her small life of the small ego ceases to exist, and it becomes the great life of the large ego. When one's mind is focused on the truth, he/she will truly attain eternal life (Tanaka, 1940, May, p. 78). Or, once one is prepared to give up one's own body and life, what one gains in return is infinite life, and that life is the life of the Buddha (Tanaka, 1942, March, p. 223). Tanaka insisted that the life of an individual who asserts his ego is worthless and should be immersed in the large life of the nation. The teaching to immerse oneself in the large life of the nation must be based on the belief in the Japanese national polity, which has unificationism as its spirit (Tanaka, 1942, December, p. 161). The life without

principle is like a maggot, something that does not need to exist. When the righteousness of the national polity dwells in this life, that life becomes true life for the first time.

In light of the above, Tanaka Chigaku's literature supports this thesis's argument that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the source of Japan's ultranationalism. The individual's small life, while worthless in itself, can attain eternal life through immersion in the great life of the nation. Furthermore, Tanaka stated that Japanese people should support Japan, not because they are Japanese, but because Japan is the official nation built as an institution for world unification, and they represent mankind of the world (Tanaka, 1922, p. 74). He added that it is the vocation of the Japanese people to unite the world's human race under the national polity (Tanaka, 1942, December, p. 169).

Deguchi Onisaburō (1871-1948)

Deguchi Onisaburō was born in Kyoto in 1871. In 1898, after a week of spiritual practice in a cave in Kyoto, Deguchi became aware of his messiahship. Deguchi visited Nao, the founder of Ōmoto, a new Japanese religion originated from Shintō. In 1900, Deguchi married Sumi, the fifth daughter of Nao, and changed his name to Deguchi Onisaburō. In 1919, he took over the Taishō Nichinichi Shimbun newspaper and entered the world of the press. In this way, not only ordinary people and intellectuals, but also military personnel and aristocrats joined Ōmoto one after another. The Imperial Japanese Navy was particularly influenced by Ōmoto. Deguchi, while expressing his view of Japan as a divine nation, predicted a war between Japan and the U.S., and even the destruction of the Emperor's nation. People who had been disturbed by World War I, rice riots, and

the Russian Revolution turned their attention to Ōmoto, and the cult exploded to a membership of 300,000.

The Japanese government felt threatened by Ōmoto's interpretation of mythology that was at odds with the State Shintoism. The Scripture was deemed impious and was banned. In 1921, the government arrested 80 people for disrespect and violation of the Newspaper Law, and Deguchi was eventually sentenced to five years in prison. In 1924, Deguchi left Japan with the idea of building a divine nation to solve the problems of unemployment and food shortage. The Japanese Imperial Army Special Service Agency acted as an intermediary, and Deguchi organized a volunteer army after receiving a mandate from Zhang Zuolin to subdue bandits in Inner and Outer Mongolia. However, Zhang was angered to learn that Deguchi was aiming for the unification and independence of all Mongolia, and dispatched an army to defeat him. Deguchi was almost shot to death, but just before his execution, the Japanese consulate intervened, and he was released. He was able to return home.

While domestic activities were restricted, Deguchi focused on activities in Asia, establishing ties with Chinese warlords and Japanese right-wingers such as Tōyama Mitsuru and Uchida Ryōhei. Fearful of the revolutionary climate of 1935, the Japanese government launched a fierce attack with the intention of thoroughly eliminating Deguchi and Ōmoto through the Peace Preservation Law. Even before the trial, the government dynamited the temple in Kyoto, destroyed all local facilities, and disposed of property at low cost. Ōmoto-related organizations were also forced to dissolve or suspend their activities, and all publications were banned.

Deguchi imagined that the universe has a consistent will, and that the nation is an organism with eternal life. Everything in the universe is an aggregate of cells (Deguchi, 1928, p. 150). The family, the nation, and the organization are all assemblies of cells. When an aggregate is formed, those with similar wisdom and character come together to form it. Therefore, a nation is not merely an economic organization, but a national organism united by the human soul (Deguchi, 1934, October 9, p. 21). In Japan, the fundamental purpose of the Imperial Way is to implement the organic family system to the world (Deguchi, 1934, October 28, p. 1). In modern times, there are two views of the nation: the cosmic nation and the body nation, although the latter is imperfect (Deguchi, 1934, June, p. 319). However, there is no country other than Japan that can be called a nation in each of these views of the nation. Constitutional scholars today are making various arguments about the nation. However, explaining the nation and monarchs without knowing God will not give them a true view of the nation. The Organic State Theory and the State Authority Theory are advanced theories, but their fundamentals are weak and inadequate. Constitutional scholars who advocate either theory must quickly learn to listen to the theory that the basis of the nation is on the divine scriptures that originate from God.

The Japanese people, as Deguchi imagined them, were not only the alter ego of God, but also a part of the nation. The heavenly realm of Takamagahara is God himself, and people are parts of the body of God, from the heart, lungs, head, waist, and extremities down to the ends of the limbs. As such, God controls the heavenly realms, and thus man is a microcosm of the universe, and a priest who governs heaven and earth. From the larger point of view, the human body is composed of limbs, joints, organs, and

viscera. From the smaller point of view, there are fibers, nerves, and blood vessels. As above, there is a limb within a limb and a part within a part. Therefore, we, as one of the many individuals, should strive to build heaven on earth by embracing the one and only mind of God as our heart. At this time, a subject is the driving force, and a small cell of the nation. We should strive to expand our national authority and demonstrate our national brilliancy more, and to enhance our ability to make our nation supreme in the world (Deguchi, 1913, p. 1). The loyalty to the emperor is achieved by respect for the gods, service to the nation, and by the willingness to give one's life for the sake of the security of the imperial family (Deguchi, 1921, p. 45).

Fundamentally speaking, religions, such as Buddhism and Christianity, emphasize the fusion and unification of Buddha and man, God and man, and the large ego and the small ego. In foreign countries, doctrine and history, religion and politics, are very distant from each other. In Japan, however, there is no other religion but history, and all of the history is a sacred scripture that concretely reveals and proves the Way of Heaven, Earth, and Humankind. Therefore, our national religion is our great history from the creation of the universe. This is why we must follow our national religion and respect history, more than to preserve our lives (Deguchi, 1935, December, p. 213).

When the people are united in life and death, when they leave all worldly affairs to the will of God, when they renounce their small egos and join the large ego, when they are unselfish in their activities for the common good of the nation, and when they have no personal interest in anything, then they will have in their hearts an eternal and unlimited divine kingdom (Deguchi, 1930, p. 3). The people, as the alter ego of God, should preserve true life forever (Deguchi, 1935, June, p. 319). As the physical body, they

should protect the sovereign nation, and as the spiritual body, they should help and protect God and the people.

The life that Deguchi imagined was the eternal and infinite life that is the alter ego of God. The life of a person is the life of an inner spirit, and it is this spirit that gives life to the human body (Deguchi, 1934, October, p. 233). It is through this truth that we live as we are inside and remain unchanged throughout eternity, maintaining the eternal life of immortality (Deguchi, 1935, April, p. 415). We are eternal and immortal lives themselves, together with God. Although there may be physical and spiritual separation, our true body itself will never perish. We will resurrect in the spirit world eternally and immortally with all the history of the real world as our background. To put it the other way, human beings enter the spirit world only after death and are resurrected to live a heavenly life, and our present physical life is merely a preparation for that (Deguchi, 1934, October, p. 481). Life is eternal, and our past, present, and future lives are absolutely unchanging, and they are the alter ego of God's spirit. Therefore, our life is eternal and immortal (Deguchi, 1928, p. 136). Our infinite, never-ending, eternal life will lead us from the past to the present and into the future, and ultimately to the heaven. Japan, as a nation of one sovereign and thousands people, should make the respect and support of the entire nation, with the Imperial Family at its center (Deguchi, 1934, November, p. 22).

In light of the above, Deguchi Onisaburō's literature supports this thesis's argument that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the source of Japan's ultranationalism. It is because he argued that the physical life of an individual in real world is merely a preparation for resurrection, and he/she must

use his/her body to protect the sovereign nation. Individuals are but one cell of the nation, and they should work to expand national authority and enhance their ability to make Japan a dominant power in the world. Deguchi said that if one can contribute to the security of the imperial family, then there is no need to spare one's life to do so.

Kihira Tadayoshi (1874-1949)

Kihira Tadayoshi was born in Mie in 1874, graduated from the Faculty of Literature of the University of Tokyo in 1900, and after working as a lecturer at Kokugakuin University and Toyo University, became a professor at Gakushūin University in 1919. He studied Western philosophy, particularly Kant and Hegel, but by 1923 he was strongly inclined to blend Hegel's dialectic with Confucian and Buddhist thought to formulate a national morality. In 1932, he became a member of the National Spiritual Culture Research Institute, which aimed at the indoctrination of the national spirit, and was active as a theoretical leader of Japanism under the wartime regime. After the war, he was purged from public office. He died in September 1949.

The nation imagined by Kihira is an organization with a personality. In order for a large organization to be an organization, it must be individualized through special regulations (Kihira, 1916, December, p. 276). In other words, the unifying principle must be clarified and embodied to the extent that Self and other are not mistaken. This concretization is the personality. Thus, a large organization eventually emerges as a nation, through particularization of the organization. The significance of a nation is in the unifying principle, in which the individual is willing to immerse himself or herself in all that is. When we submerge ourselves directly into our nation through the efforts of our ancestors, we become the national ego, and the nation becomes our personality (Kihira,

1923, p. 406). On the other hand, some jurists consider the nation to be a juridical person. However, a juridical person should refer only to a corporation. Since a juridical person is defined by the recognition of the nation, the concept of a juridical person cannot be applied to the nation. The nation is more than a legal entity. The nation is something that we have created, and at the same time it is something to which we are absolutely restored. The Japanese nation is the only nation that is centered on a concrete entity, the Imperial Throne, as its authority, and each of its people, as great supporters of the imperial destiny, are in harmony with each other (Kihira, 1937, March, p. 11). In the case of Japan, even if we call it democracy, it means that the gods of the Imperial Family and other gods have abandoned their individual egos, and not that they claim their own interests as their rights. For example, the background of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War was the festivals held by the local Shintō shrines (Kihira, 1935, May, p. 9). The true image of Japan can be found in the way young men carry sacred portable shrines at festivals, and this is where the permanence of Japan can be seen. The Japanese festivals are truly unique in the world in that all men and women, young and old, high and low, kneel before the gods with complete equality. Whether they are geisha, parishioner of a Shintō shrine, babies of His Majesty, clever or stupid, they all kneel before the fundamental being. As symbolized by the festivals, Japan is a divine nation (Kihira, 1936, p. 13). The nation of Japan, from the nation itself to all of the organizations that it encompasses, is centered on Japanese gods, and the politics is conducted in consultation with the gods (Kihira, 1941, p. 159).

In Japan, a family is a small nation, and a nation is a large family (Kihira, 1935, February, p. 32). In the Japanese family, the relationship between parents and children is

the main element of the relationship, and because it is a vertical unity, harmony between husband and wife and friendship between brothers and sisters are all based on it (Kihira, 1935, June, p. 16). It is more of a way than just coexistence and co-prosperity. To live in accordance with the spirit of the fathers in the family is a sincere attempt to follow the source of our life, and it is a true humanistic sentiment (Kihira, 1942, April, p. 239). In Japan, a family has gained significance by demonstrating its essence in line with the nation, and this sincerity immediately becomes the spirit of following the imperial way. In other words, it is to be consolidated to the Emperor and to respond to the ancestors of the Imperial Family. God and the sovereign, and the sovereign and his subjects, are one and the same. This is the basis for the respect for the gods and the ancestors, and the incorporation of loyalty and filial piety of the people. A family follows the way (Kihira, 1935, June, p. 16). Therefore, the family is a training ground for the harmony between man and man, man and nature, and man and the gods. The nation is a larger version of this training ground, and these are the fundamental principles that have been the basis of the nation under the 3,000-year imperial lineage. If the nation needs its subjects at home, and if the emperor calls his subjects, they must go into battle unconditionally and be born as the same person for seven lifetimes to destroy the enemies of the dynasty (Kihira, 1935, February, p. 32). In the face of great challenges, it takes on the special significance of escaping from life and death, and attaining eternal life (Kihira, 1935, June, p. 16).

The people of Japan, as imagined by Kihira, must be unconditional subjects even if the sovereign was unfit to be a sovereign, and this is what gives Japan its eternal nature as a national polity (Kihira, 1931, p. 26). In Japan, there is only the service without ego, and the Japanese people have abandoned their egos from the beginning (Kihira, 1937,

December, p. 16). At the time, the leftist ideology was popular, followed by the rightist ideology of the Japanese spirit, but Kihira rejected both as individualism, which is at variance with the Japanese position (Kihira, 1935, May, p. 5). The Japanese are not centered on the ego of individualism (Kihira, 1937, December, p. 21), but rather forgetting their own self-interests and somehow merging with the spirits of their ancestors and with the gods. The thought of devotion by destroying oneself is regarded as appropriate (Kihira, 1938, October, p. 34). In other words, it is to enter into the great being with self-destruction, and to be obedient, devotional, and of service. The people have the small ego, which is the socially acquired ego, and the large ego, which emerges through the shedding of the small ego (Kihira, 1916, May, p. 451). When one discovers the ego for the first time, it is the small ego as an individual, because the ego is against the others (Kihira, 1923, p. 21). Since the small ego is a worthless people must become like a god by removing the stain of the small ego through a light drink of rice wine (Kihira, 1930, p. 60).

Life, as imagined by Kihira, is the unifying principle of the cell (Kihira, 1916, May, p. 8). He who has the unifying principle outside is the machine, and he who has the unifying principle inside is the life with its unifying principle (Kihira, 1915, p. 232). Since life is the principle of inner unity, it can be created only by life, and no other can create it. Death as an individual is a fact, but it does not destroy life (Kihira, 1923, p. 12). Death is a transition for the continuation of life, and a further completion of the service to the nation (Kihira, 1943, p. 12). One's death may be grievous, but if death is replaced by life, and life by death, then one's whole self is not gone, but is present and developed as an element of what is to come next (Kihira, 1916, December, p. 369). Therefore, it is not

really death and destruction, but in fact, everything possesses an eternal nature and will be resurrected. Therefore, while being content and at ease with the life as a nameless people, one must entrust the immortal life to the imperishable Empire of Japan together (Kihira, 1942, April, p. 183). Japan is eternal, and ordinary Japanese will also live eternal lives by supporting imperial destiny (Kihira, 1938, December, p. 479). The nation is the organization of the great life of Japan, and therefore the history of Japan itself (Kihira, 1942, July, p. 142). In Japan, the life of the nation is more important than the life of the individual, because Japanese consider the continuity of life apart from the individual (Kihira, 1944, p. 23). Furthermore, in accordance with the eternal nature of life, it is a great belief that life can be traced back to the origin of life in the past, and that it will continue on to the eternal future.

On the contrary, true death is the cessation of significance (Kihira, 1916, December, p. 370). Hence, the question becomes how to die, and the need to avoid useless death (Kihira, 1937, January, p. 23). In Japan, a person who dies a glorious death is worshipped as a god. Therefore, the question is not whether or not, but how to die. All living things must die, and death is nothing more than eternal life (Kihira, 1938, December, p. 222). When an individual fulfills a command from the gods and becomes part of the Great Life, that is, when he or she dies in the sense that he or she is given leave from the gods. The gods in Japan also died after performing their respective deeds, but as universal beings, they retain their eternal great life. The emperor, as the most concrete concept, exists eternally as a living deity, always renewing his robe of Amaterasu, which is the body of Japan. Although an individual can die, the Japanese nation cannot die and is eternal. Japan is a special nation, and because the nation itself is

the realization of the way of humanity and the training ground for it, it will continue to evolve and develop eternally.

The common life of the nation may require the sacrifice of the individual, but it is for the good of the individual after all. In the view that places the nation in high esteem and the mission of the people in the existence of the nation, there is really no such thing as sacrifice (Kihira, 1916, December, p. 278). Before the nation, the people are in absolute obedience. This is because the nation has a personality, and that personality is what reveals its fundamental righteousness. It is only on the basis of the nation that the development process of history is revealed, and only by being nourished by that history can the people acquire a personality. Also, Hegel holds that history is God because God is eternal life and exists only as a process (Kihira, 1928, p. 221). Therefore, it is only in history that God can be taken as an object of thought. The reason why the Japanese emperor must be dedicated as a saint is because he is viewed as Japanese history, not because he is viewed from an individualistic standpoint, and individualism is a mistake (Kihira, 1930, p. 276). Only by cultivating a mind of obedience and devotion to that which is higher and more radiant in life, can one abandon the small ego and live in the great life (Kihira, 1942, April, p. 114). Self-realization is the perfection of the personality and the way to live forever as a member of Japanese history as a unifying principle within the coming great personality (Kihira, 1916, December, p. 341). In this way, the Japanese national character has the function of eternity (Kihira, 1931, p. 26). Eternity is the spirit of the Japanese samurai, who was born seven times as a human being and died in order to fulfill his duty to avenge his country's enemies. The fact that the Japanese imperial lineage has continued uninterrupted for 3,000 years is the essence of the national polity,

and it will continue forever without dying out. Kihira's vision of an emperor is one whose main duty would be to worship the ancestors of the Imperial Family (Kihira, 1941, p. 142). Japanese people would assist this festival with a higher sense of Self, and the rituals and administration would be in accord with each other.

In light of the above, Kihira Tadayoshi's literature supports this thesis's contention that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the basis for Japanese ultranationalism. Individual life is a service to the nation, death is a positive link to life, and if one dies honorably, he or she will be honored as a god and live forever with the eternal great life that is Japan. Furthermore, the Japanese people should absolutely submit themselves before the nation of Japan, which is a divine nation, and avenge the national pirates even if they are born again as human beings seven times.

Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945)

Miyake Setsurei was born in Ishikawa in 1860, graduated from the faculty of literature of the University of Tokyo in 1883, and became an associate professor and editor of the faculty of literature at the same time as being appointed to the general affairs official of the Imperial Household in the University of Tokyo, where he was engaged in editing the history of Buddhism in Japan. In 1886, he moved to the Editing Bureau of the Ministry of Education and worked as an assistant in editing Japanese literature. In 1887, Miyake resigned from the Ministry of Education. In 1888, he founded Seikyōsha with Shiga Shigetaka and others, and published the first volume of "Nihonjin" (The Japanese People), advocating nationalism. He strongly supported the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. In 1913, his eldest daughter Tami married Nakano

Seigō, a reporter for the Asahi Shimbun newspaper. In 1937, Miyake was asked to become Minister of Education in the cabinet of Hayashi Senjūrō, but declined the offer. In 1943, he was awarded the Order of Cultural Merit. In July, his wife died. In October, his son-in-law, Nakano committed suicide after criticizing the Tōjō Hideki's Cabinet. Miyake died in November 1945.

Miyake imagined the nation as an organism. When people come together, they form a nation. As soon as it is enlightened, the minute seedling sprouts, leaves open, stems and trunks lengthen, branches increase, leaves grow, flowers bloom and fruits appear, and the nation develops into a pure organic body (Miyake, 1891, p. 4). The nation is not an organic body without knowledge and learning like a tree, but it possesses consciousness throughout its entirety, and forms a superior organism that is more majestic and magnificent than animals and humankind. With commerce, industry, religion, arts and sciences, and government as its institutions, the nation is a greater organism than mankind itself. What is more, Miyake believed that since the cells of an organism can be said to come together to form a microcosm, that is, the universe itself is a large organism (Miyake, 1909, p. 97, 108).

Miyake claimed that the Japanese people should all be organically integrated, and each should be at ease in his/her respective role (Miyake, 1910, p. 117). The people should live publicly, and it is small-minded to think about one's own happiness or misfortune (Miyake, 1927, p. 280). Only by worrying about the happiness and misfortune of the nation under heaven can one lead an honorable and meaningful life. Miyake classified ego into small ego and large ego, and said that if those among the people who

have some knowledge sit quietly and meditate, the small ego and the large ego will merge, and thus the Self and the universe will be able to unite (Miyake, 1909, p. 109).

Miyake's vision of life was that the body is no more than a part, while the name is eternal. There are two theories regarding the enjoyment of eternal life in the present, apart from the immortality of the spirit after death. One is that the body should continue to exist in a certain way, and the other is that the person should leave behind his or her achievements to be remembered by future generations (Miyake, 1934, p. 308). A man only lives for a generation, but his name lives forever. From ancient times to the present, the heroes who sacrificed their lives for the nation have lived forever in their names, forsaking the life of their bodies. They lived for their name of the generations to come. The part of his body may die, but the whole of his name will live forever, and will inspire all future generations (Miyake, 1927, p. 278). To use an analogy, shaving one's beard is a partial death. However, from the perspective of the whole person, it is a new life in that it has become clean.

In light of the above, Miyake Setsurei's literature supports this thesis's argument that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the source of Japan's ultranationalism. He argued that only when the small ego merges with the big ego can people lead meaningful lives. For this purpose, he recommended that people live forever in name by abandoning their bodies as sacrifices for the state. Based on this belief, Miyake strongly supported the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, and continued to spread ultranationalism.

Takakusu Junjirō (1866-1945)

Takakusu Junjirō was born in Hiroshima in 1866, founded Chūō Kōron (a monthly Japanese literary magazine) in 1887, and graduated from Ryūkyō University in 1889. He received a master's degree from Oxford University in 1894 and a doctorate from Leipzig University in 1896, returning to Japan in 1897. He then taught at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Tokyo. Takakusu was a devout follower of the Shinshū sect of Buddhism, and he studied Upanishads and Pali Canon. He was also involved in the establishment and management of many institutions of higher education, many of which have developed into universities today, such as Chūō Gakuin University and Musashino University. He was awarded the Order of Culture in 1944 and died in June 1945.

Takakusu imagined the nation and society as the same thing. Unlike the divided civilization of the West, the nation and society are the same in Japan (Takakusu, 1942, p. 129). The nation is a group of families, and the title “ōyake (public)” is given to the grand head of the whole family. If we use a metaphor of a proton and an electron, it is the proton that gives form, organization, guidance, and order, and this is the emperor who stands above. The electrons, which form the content and mass of the halo, are the people below. What emerges in our joint action is society, the nation, civilization, and the universe. Of these, the idea of the nation as a single organism makes sense because the people are its constituent elements.

Takakusu imagined society as an organism. Our society is one living personality, one large organism (Takakusu, 1924, September, p. 75). Society, like our body, has a coherent organization. We have cells in our body, and these cells were single when we

were first conceived in our mother's womb. It gradually divides to become a man and a woman, and after dividing into thousands and millions cells, it forms a hand, a foot, and a head, and thus has a shape. Every one of these cells competes with each other for survival. This is for the sake of self-preservation. However, once an obstacle comes in from elsewhere, they join together to prevent external forces. When they fight off external enemies, they provide mutual support. Just as the cells of the human body function in both competition for survival and mutual support, the cells of society, which is a large personality, function in both of these ways. Society is a large personality, a macrocosm, and we are a small personality, a microcosm. The Organic State Theory is gaining more and more momentum, and the social division of labor and social solidarity theories are also derived from this theory. If society is an organism, each system of the body, like our personality, is related to all of its parts, and each organ is related to each other, so that the decline of one organ may finally result in the death of the whole. Therefore, just as each cell competes with one another for survival for the sake of self-preservation, but at the same time, for the sake of the whole, they are mutually supporting each other, so each individual, a member of the social system, must strive for the healthy existence of society by covering his or her natural ability. On the contrary, the idea that society is a stage has gradually disappeared. Society is a living organism, a personality just like us (Takakusu, 1933, p. 75).

The Japanese people, as imagined by Takakusu, are beings with small ego and small will. We should abandon our small will and follow the large will of others (Takakusu, 1909, p. 107). This is the central idea that makes a family and a nation prosper. We must abandon the will of the individual and follow the will of the nobles,

abandon the will of the nobles and follow the will of the patriarch, the representative of the nobles, and abandon the will of the patriarch and follow the will of the prince. The reason for abandoning all minor wills is to finally fulfill the small will through the large will. This spirit is the Japanese national character. In our personal life, the desire of the senses is the small will, and the will that satisfies our fundamental nature is the large will. In national life, the will of an individual or a family is the small will, while the will of the sovereign is the large will.

We can also attain eternal life by following the large will and becoming one with the large ego. The true source of our personal form is the ego. The word “ego,” however, is used in a variety of ways. First, there are three kinds of ego: the self ego, which refers to the self; the heavenly ego, which refers to the body of the universe; and the simple ego, which refers to our egotism. Of these, the heavenly ego is Brahman, the God who rules the universe, and is therefore the large ego. On the other hand, the ego that seeks within is the small ego. The Upanishadic philosophy holds that this small ego is a cell of the large ego. In other words, that Brahman and ego are indivisible (Takakusu, 1928, p. 20). In this way, there is Brahman, the body of the universe, and the ego, the body of individuality (Takakusu, 1931, p. 17). The ego which was discovered subjectively is the individual ego and therefore the small ego. On the other hand, the ego which was discovered objectively is the cosmic ego and therefore the big ego. Since these are ultimately the same reality, Brahman is the same as the ego. The reason why Buddhism denies the existence of the individual ego is because, after all, everything is ego. Since the universe is entirely ego, the ideal of no-ego in philosophical terms, and the ideal of the great personality of no-ego in logical terms, is to be perfected in order to realize the personality at the level of

universe. The ego that is selfless is the universal ego, and the true universal ego, or cosmic ego, is the one that is present in the cosmic personality (Takakusu, 1924, June, p. 46). In other words, the no-ego is the large ego, which is the Buddha (Takakusu, 1931, p. 125). The Buddha has neither ego nor family, but instead attains eternal life. People demand life, and the origin of religion is to make this life long and to sustain it forever. The religion ends when people attain eternal life (Takakusu, 1915, p. 12).

The life imagined by Takakusu consists of the small life of each individual and the large life of the universe. Buddhism is about abandoning the small desire and giving rise to the large desire, denying the small will and cultivating the large will, abandoning the small ego and small life and acquiring the large ego and large life, and finally attaining eternal life. This does not mean that we should renounce our will and resign from the human race. It is to attain the large life and to give the absolute ideal. We appear as living beings, but in the end, we will return to the main body of the universe, the large ego (Takakusu, 1931, p. 237). The large ego of the universe is one, and each of us has a small ego. We are not satisfied with selfishness because the large ego of the universe is working from within. We are satisfied when we work for the good of others and the public, so that we can unite with the large ego. And finally, the small ego unites with the large ego. The large life of the universe is the void or the heavenly river, and the small life unites with it after death. Or, to put it another way, the large life becomes omnipresent and fills our bodies, which are small lives.

In Indian thought, the body of the universe is Brahman, and the body of our individuality is the ego (Takasu, 1924, June, p. 8). Brahman is the large ego, and our ego is the small ego. The small ego comes from the big ego, and when it dies, it returns to the

big ego again, so the small ego itself is the big ego, which is attributed to the Brahman-Atman Advaita Theory. We can live eternally from the present to the present, not from the past to the future (Takakusu, 1926, p. 189). Then it is an indisputable fact that we have eternal life. The idea is that although there are waves of life and death, we will continue to exist forever. Biologists believe that our lives flow eternally from one heredity to the next, but this idea can only partially satisfy the desire for life, because even if we have many children and grandchildren, we still have another life. Moreover, sacrificing one's own life for the sake of one's nation is also a passive satisfaction, and it does not satisfy the true desire for life. The Amitabha means eternal life. No living being is willing to spare his or her life. Eternal life is the name of the Buddha, and it is the ideal that all beings should aspire to. This eternal life is possessed by every living being. No faculty can end the cycle of life. For what is living must inevitably die, and what is dead must inevitably be born. Just as the mind and body must fulfill the life of the individual, so must the character and intellect fulfill the life of society. Otherwise, the eternity of the nation cannot be preserved, and humanity will not reach its final perfection.

In light of the above, Takakusu Junjirō's literature supports this thesis's argument that the cognition of subordinate Self and the desire for collective immortality was the source of Japan's ultranationalism. This is because it is said that one should abandon the small will of the individual and follow the large will of the sovereign, and that one can attain eternal life by abandoning one's own small life and attaining the large life. Takakusu taught that familism and the patriarchal system were the life of the Japanese nation and the spirit of the Japanese people (Takakusu, 1909, p. 101). If we use a metaphor of a proton and an electron, a society and a nation built on the basis of only the

electron, which operates on individualism based on the principle of individuality, is a falsely planned society, and that nation is not a natural one, but one that mankind has contrived on its own (Takakusu, 1942, p. 112). On the other hand, Japan is the only nation that is guided by a single proton. Aristotle examined 278 nations and found that a nation like Japan, which stands on the basis of a family, is the most natural and perfect. The Way of Japan is the oneness of sovereign and vassal, the oneness of up and down, the oneness of loyalty and filial piety, the heart of the sovereign being the heart of the people, and the heart of the people being the heart of the sovereign (Takakusu, 1943, p. 247). Spiritually, it preserves the national spirit of one land, one lineage, and one sovereign, which have been the great ideal of the Founders of the Imperial Family.

Chapter V.

Conclusions and Limitations

This thesis concludes that Japanese ultranationalism arose after the belief of subordinate Self and collective immortality. All of the nine thinkers from different backgrounds shared the idea of subordinate Self and collective immortality as a premise for their respective arguments. Historiology of Japanese ultranationalism has focused on special groups of people within the Japanese society to create a clearer picture of ultranationalism. Namely, they were the emperor, the military personnels, Shintōists, and terrorists. This thesis builds on these previous studies to find the underpinning idea common throughout the Japanese society regardless of their social status.

This thesis presents a historical lesson to the scholars of nationalism today. If people's belief in subordinate Self and collective immortality is the source of ultranationalism, then ultranationalism is not necessarily a legacy of the past. Even today, people believe that they are a part of his/her nation and its long-standing history. This is not unique to Japan or Asia, and Anderson (2001, p. 31) argues that it makes no sense to divide nationalism between the West and the East.

The implication for scholars of international relations is the rise of nationalism in China and India. Greenfeld (2019, pp. 119-122) argues that the world consists of three civilizations: the monotheistic civilization, the Chinese civilization, and the Indian civilization. She argues that the Japanese case is the first importation of nationalism from

one civilization to another, and that this is going to be the model for rises of nationalism in China and India.

Finally, the implication for Japan is to learn the lessons of how to improve nationalism and gain the cooperation of its people in an increasingly difficult international environment. While Russia and China are targeting Japanese citizens through disinformation in the cognitive domain, Japanese government needs significant public cooperation to achieve civilian resilience. A deeper understanding of ultranationalism will provide insight on how to reach out to the public, as well as a better understanding of how China will conduct cognitive warfare.

If a researcher were to investigate deeper into the questions posed in thesis, they should study the period from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars in 1894 and 1904. If Japanese people believed in subordinate Self and collective immortality during the period, it might be the inherent characteristics of Japanese nationalism and not necessarily the source of ultranationalism. If that is the case, the researcher may further counterargue that the belief in subordinate Self and collective immortality might have lasted after 1945, and it is driving Japanese people even today.

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