

TAKEDA KIYOKO: A TWENTIETH-CENTURY JAPANESE CHRISTIAN INTELLECTUAL

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This biographical essay offers a brief introduction to the career, scholarship and intellectual activities of Chō Takeda Kiyoko (1917–).² My intention is to introduce Takeda Kiyoko as a public intellectual and Christian thinker, whose contribution to post-WWII Japanese intellectual life deserves attention. The essay provides an overview of this contribution, rather than an in-depth study of Takeda's ideas. It highlights the lifelong engagement with global Christian ecumenical movements which informed her intellectual stance; particularly her commitment to human development, international understanding and world peace through person-to-person links. After considering an important lacuna in recent English-language scholarship on post-World War II Japanese intellectual life—the contribution of female intellectuals and Christian thinkers such as Takeda—I sketch Takeda's upbringing, education, connection with Christianity, and the phases of her intellectual career. I then outline three aspects of Takeda's intellectual and scholarly activity in the early post-war years: her role in forging links within the Asian Christian community; her contribution to intellectual culture through the Science of Thought Research Group and through her promotion of the pacifist philosophy of Reinhold Niebuhr; and her academic career at the International Christian University. The resulting portrait is of a deeply committed and socially engaged intellectual, whose quiet contribution to intellectual and scholarly life has not only resulted in a substantial body of

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² This essay draws on a presentation given at the New Zealand Asian Studies Society Conference (2005). It is part of an ongoing study of the career, scholarship and intellectual activities of Chō Takeda Kiyoko. For the sake of consistency, in this essay, I refer to Takeda by her maiden name, rather than her married name Chō Takeda Kiyoko (see footnotes 48 and 62).

scholarship, but also an inspired vision of an Asian community connected by universal human values.

Looking for Takeda Kiyoko in Japanese Intellectual History

Despite international recognition as a Christian leader and a distinguished academic, the contribution of Takeda Kiyoko has been largely overlooked in the literature on post-war Japanese intellectual life. She is perhaps best known to Western scholars as the author of a monograph on the post-war emperor system, revised and translated into English as *The Dual Image of the Japanese Emperor*. Takeda's other publications, such as her articles and monographs on the history of Japanese thought, and her contributions to the intellectual journal *Shisō no kagaku*, have received little notice from scholars writing in English.³

The English-language literature on the early post-war, intellectual community has focussed on prominent male intellectuals. The scholarship of Andrew E. Barshay and Laura Hein, for example, has focussed on male social scientists active in the public sphere. Barshay's intellectual history of Marxian and Modernist discursive traditions in Japan highlights the nexus between social science and the conceptions of the modern nation in Japan.⁴ Hein's account of an influential and close-knit group of economists further suggests the dominance of male social scientists.⁵ The literature on post-war intellectual culture that privileges the social sciences has also tended to neglect the influence of Christian thinkers. There are English-language portraits of the non-Church Christian scholar-educators Uchimura Kanzō and Yanaihara Tadao, but these focus on their activities in imperial Japan, rather than their contribution to intellectual life in post-war Japan.⁶ Like the legacies of these Christian intellectuals, Takeda Kiyoko's contribution to post-war intellectual culture deserves attention.

³ An exception is in the field of 'Christianity in Japan.' Carlo Caldarola includes several of Takeda's texts in the bibliography of *Christianity: The Japanese Way* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979). Mark R. Mullin draws upon Takeda's monograph *Dochaku to Haikyō* [Indigenization and Apostasy] (1967) in *Christianity Made in Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).

⁴ *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan: The Marxian and Modernist Traditions* (University of California Press, 2004).

⁵ *Reasonable Men, Powerful Words: Political Culture and Expertise in Twentieth-Century Japan* (University of California Press, 2004). Rikki Kersten's *Democracy in Postwar Japan: Maruyama Masao and the Search for Autonomy* (Routledge, 1996), one of the few studies of the thought of an individual post-war intellectual, also contributes to this image. See also Kersten's article-length study, *Diverging Discourses: Shimizu Ikutarō, Maruyama Masao, and Postwar Tenkō* (Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies, 1994).

⁶ On Uchimura Kanzō, see John F. Howes' *Japan's Enigma: The Young Uchimura Kanzō* (University Microfilms International, 1995). On Yanaihara Tadao, see Susan C. Townsend's *Yanaihara Tadao and Japanese Colonial Policy* (Curzon, 2000).

The preoccupations and priorities of mainstream intellectuals in the late 1940s and 1950s continue to dominate writing about post-war intellectual culture, specifically: the values of social science (rationality and secularity) and issues of national political importance including, for example, Japan's post-war settlement. The public profile of prominent intellectuals was enhanced by their shared, élite, educational background—the majority were graduates of imperial universities—and their high-profile advocacy of an alternative direction for the post-war nation in their regular contributions to major daily newspapers and popular opinion journals. In this scene, there was little room for intellectual groups and individuals whose educational background and intellectual concerns or approaches were neither rooted in pre-war discursive traditions nor linked to established academic lineages. Moreover, under the sustained influence of Modernist social science discourses, in particular Marxism, religious faith was dismissed as 'feudal' and retrograde or irrational, and intellectuals who took seriously the influence of religious thought tended to be discredited. As a result, the work of Christian progressive intellectuals, such as Takeda Kiyoko, received little serious attention in mainstream intellectual circles.

The themes that characterise Takeda Kiyoko's career contrast with those which dominated post-WWII, mainstream, intellectual culture. Intellectuals in the late 1940s and 1950s paid little attention to the practical human consequences of the war in Asia, such as the legacy of Japanese imperialism, or the impact of this legacy on Japan's relations with Asia. While progressive scholars such as Tsurumi Shunsuke and Maruyama Masao began to broach such issues in the context of intellectuals' war responsibility in the second half of the 1950s, their discussion was often complicated by a focus on establishing their own subjectivity, and rarely engaged directly with the suffering of Asian peoples.⁷ In this regard, Takeda's early concern to communicate regret for the suffering caused under Japanese imperialism, and her practical efforts to forge links between Christians in Asia and to promote mutual understanding between people of different parts of Asia, were path-breaking.

The work of the Science of Thought Research Group, which Takeda co-founded, received some attention several years ago, with scholars such as Tessa Morris-Suzuki noting that the indefinite suspension of its journal in

⁷ See, for example, the discussion in Shisō no kagaku kenkyūkai (ed.), *Tenkō* [3 vols], Heibonsha, 1959–1962. More recently, this failure has begun to be addressed by a new generation of historians, and there has been increasing acknowledgement of the suffering caused to people in Asia. The efforts of Yoshimi Yoshiaki and others to expose the suffering of the so-called 'comfort women' can be cited in this context. See, for example, Yoshimi Yoshiaki (trans. Suzanne O'Brien), *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II* (Columbia University Press, 2002); also, Tanaka Yuki, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution During World War II and the US Occupation* (Routledge, 2002).

1996 was a small, but telling, sign of a shift in Japan's end-of-century intellectual landscape.⁸ A Japanese retrospective of the journal's fifty years situates the activities of the Research Group firmly within the context of the 'post-war.'⁹ Neither Morris-Suzuki, in her notice, nor the Research Group, in its retrospective, pay particular attention to the role of individual female members, such as Takeda. Both emphasise the end of an era, and remind us of the relative longevity of the Research Group; most other intellectual groups formed in the immediate post-war years around single issues or around a political agenda were short-lived, either dissolving or merging with other organisations (the significance of the Peace Problems Discussion Group, for example, faded after the early 1950s). Such evaluations also raise questions about what distinguished the Research Group from other intellectual projects launched in the immediate post-war years, drawing attention to the relative neglect of non-mainstream intellectual groups and their principal participants in the literature on post-war intellectual life, and suggesting scope for further research.¹⁰

Discovering the World

At twenty years old, Takeda left her home village in Hyōgo prefecture to enrol in a Christian missionary college in Kobe. Born into an established landlord household,¹¹ she had grown up in a strongly patriarchal atmosphere, but also under the moderating influence of her mother—a strong and independent woman who assumed responsibility for the household after her husband's death. She imbued in Takeda humility and concern for the welfare of others, as well as a love of learning, and supported her daughter's desire for further education.¹² The move to Kobe College (Kobe Jogakuin) was a

⁸ See Tessa Morris-Suzuki (trans. by Sylvie Gamier), 'Un paysage intellectuel en profonde mutation', *Le Monde des Débats - le nouvel observateur* (juillet-août 2001), pp. 20-21.

⁹ Tsurumi Shunsuke and Shisō no kagaku gojū nen shi no kai (eds.), *Genryū kara e—Shisō no kagaku gojū nen shi*, Shisō no kagakusha, 2005.

¹⁰ The issue of the Science of Thought Research Group's distinctiveness is beyond the scope of this particular essay. A recent Japanese compilation of the proceedings of four symposia conducted to commemorate the Research Group's fifty year history suggests, however, the value of addressing the issue. In the introduction, Yasuda Tsuneo notes that, in the ten years since the publication of the last issue of its journal, former members of the Science of Thought Research Group have attempted to contextualise, and thus identify, the significance of the Research Group's contribution to post-war intellectual culture. (See Shisō no kagaku kenkyūkai (ed.), *Shisō no kagaku 59nen no kaisō: chiiki to keiken o tsunagu*, Shuppan nyūsusha, 2006.) One of the outcomes of this project was the publication of a complete index of the Research Group's journal, *Shisō no kagaku: Shisō no kagaku sōsakuin: 1946–1996* (Shisō no kagakusha, 1999).

¹¹ Takeda's family owned land and leased it to tenant farmers.

¹² See Amano Masako, Takeda Kiyoko, *et al.*, 'Seikatsu to shisō', *Shisō no kagaku* (December 1995), pp. 4-20, pp. 8-13.

turning point in Takeda's life. It opened her world both spiritually and in more tangible ways. She converted to Christianity in February 1938 (her baptism took place at the Kobe Protestant Church) and joined the Japan Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA).

A second auspicious moment came in early 1939, when Takeda was selected to be an international exchange student and a member of the YWCA's delegation to the First World Conference of Christian Youth in Amsterdam. Two years after leaving her home village, she departed Kobe for the United States of America, where she enrolled at Olivet College, Kobe College's sister school in Michigan. This was followed by almost three years of study, including two years at Columbia University and the Union Theological Seminary,¹³ where she read Christian ethics, religious philosophy and intellectual history under the tutelage of influential theologians Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich.¹⁴ This was a formative time, filled with intellectually and personally challenging experiences. For Takeda, being the target of Americans' hatred of Japan was an intensely lonely, but ultimately very useful, experience. She made the task of seeking solutions to improved international understanding a personal challenge; one that would underpin her work for decades to come.¹⁵ The outbreak of the Pacific War and the subsequent repatriation of Japanese temporary residents in America cut short her graduate study.¹⁶ It would be several years before Takeda was able fully to embrace and build upon the opportunities presented to her in the late 1930s.

¹³ Takeda's move to New York was facilitated by her tutor at Olivet College, M. Holmes Hartshorne. Approached by Hartshorne, who had been a favourite student of Reinhold Niebuhr, Niebuhr and his wife took particular care of Takeda, acting as her guarantors so that she could continue her studies after war broke out. (Takeda Kiyoko, "'Hitobito no tetsugaku' o saguru' in Yasuda Tsuneo and Amano Masako (eds.), *Sengo "Keimō" no Shisō no nokoshita mono: fukkokuban "Shisō no kagaku", "Me" bekkkan* (Kyūzansha, 1992), pp. 181-191.)

¹⁴ She had first encountered Niebuhr when he gave a keynote address at the World Conference of Christian Youth in Amsterdam (see below). (Takeda Kiyoko, "'Hitobito no tetsugaku' o saguru'.')

¹⁵ Takeda Kiyoko, "'Hitobito no tetsugaku' o saguru.'

¹⁶ In early June 1942, Takeda received notice from the Japanese Government instructing her to return to Japan on the first exchange ship. Despite encouragement from university faculty and staff and fellow graduate students to stay, Takeda felt uncomfortable with the prospect of being an enemy alien and, determined to experience Japan's inevitable defeat with the Japanese people, chose to return to Japan. This was an acknowledgement of her identity as Japanese, not an expression of patriotism (See Takeda Kiyoko, 'Senchū no omoide', *Kawari no kai dayori* 100 (August 2005), pp. 15-17, p. 15). In August 1942, she arrived in Yokohama on an International Red Cross exchange ship that was repatriating Japanese temporary residents from the United States. For an account of this first Japan-American "exchange ship" focussing on the recollections of one of its passengers and a co-founder of the Science of Thought Research Group, Tsurumi Shunsuke, see Tsurumi Shunsuke, Katō Norihiro and Kurokawa Sō, *Nichibei kōkansen*, Shinchōsha, 2006. For Takeda's contribution, see pp. 460-465.

From late 1942 to the end of the war, Takeda worked with the Japanese YWCA as the director of its student division.¹⁷ Despite material impoverishment, the immediate post-defeat era provided many opportunities for re-establishing links with the Asian Christian community. For Takeda, participation in Christian Student Federation meetings, and travel in Asia in the late 1940s and early 1950s, marked the beginning of her active engagement in the international ecumenical movement and person-to-person contacts with a broad range of individuals, including leaders of newly independent Asian countries and civilian victims of Japanese imperialism. In both these instances, common Christian faith was key to overcoming suspicion of her nationality.

The Allied Occupation of Japan (1945–1952) brought freedom of expression and association that led to Takeda's involvement in Tokyo's resurgent intellectual culture. She co-founded the Science of Thought Research Group (*Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai*) in 1946, and actively contributed to debates around the post-war peace settlement and foreign policy in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Takeda supplemented her essays and journalistic articles of this period with more scholarly publications, after she joined the International Christian University in 1953. Her service to the University lasted over thirty years and encompassed a range of different positions; from tutor, to dean of graduate studies, to director of a research institute (I consider her tenure at the International Christian University in more detail below). Also in the 1950s, the focus of Takeda's work with the international ecumenical movement shifted from student organisations to the World Council of Churches; where she would serve as one of the presidents between 1971 and 1975, gaining international recognition as a Christian leader.

Forging links with Asia

Takeda's interest in Asia was first prompted by her journey to Amsterdam in 1939. She would later attribute her enduring interest in Asian societies to her interactions with Asian people in the course of her early travels overseas.¹⁸

Takeda's experiences while travelling to and from the Amsterdam conference, en route to the United States, exposed her for the first time to the harsh realm of international relations, the realities of Japan's war of invasion, and outsiders' perceptions of Japan. After departing from Japan, the delegation's first port of call was Shanghai, where it was shown around a city devastated by Japanese aerial bombardment. This lesson in the brutality of

¹⁷ For an account of this period in Takeda's life, see Amano Masako, Takeda Kiyoko *et al.*, 'Seikatsu to shisō', pp. 18–20.

¹⁸ These sometimes formed the basis of enduring friendships. Personal communication (3 November 2007).

the Japanese military was reinforced by witnessing the suffering and misery caused by European colonialism at stop offs in French Indochina, British Hong Kong, Singapore and Ceylon. In Shanghai and the later ports of call, members of the delegation faced sharp questions about Japan's foreign policy. The director of the Youth Section of the Chinese YWCA told Takeda in no uncertain terms that, 'if Japanese Christians felt any friendship towards Chinese Christians, then they would dedicate themselves to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China.'¹⁹ In Amsterdam, Takeda's friendly approaches were rejected by a leader of the Chinese Christian movement who declared: 'Even if we were to become friends here, the problems between us would not be resolved. If you really want to become friends with me, you must first return to Japan and work to have Japanese troops withdrawn from China.'²⁰

The World Conference of Christian Youth, held in July, was the last major international ecumenical event before the war broke out in Europe. The tension of impending conflict pervaded every session, with delegates bidding each other farewell, 'until we meet in the trenches.'²¹ Following the conference, the Japanese delegation travelled through Europe to London, where they witnessed preparations for war, and where Takeda was delayed for over a month awaiting onward passage to the United States.



The Japanese delegation to the Amsterdam conference on the return voyage to Japan.²²

¹⁹ Chō Takeda Kiyoko. 'Sensō no kiki semaru naka de no Amurusuterudamy kaigi kataritsugu YWCA no rekishi', *YWCA* 3 (1982), cited in *Nihon YWCA 100 nen shi hensan i'inkai* (ed.), *Nihon YWCA 100 nen shi: Josei no jiritsu o motomete 1905-2005*, Nihon kirisutokyō joshi seinenkai, 2005.

²⁰ Cited in Takeda Kiyoko, *Watashitachi to sekai, hito o shiri kuni o shiru*, Iwanami shoten, 1983, p. 8.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 16. Takeda encountered the speaker, whom she identifies simply as 'K-san', again at the Union Theological College in New York, where the two became close friends.

²² Reproduced with permission from *Nihon YWCA 100 nen shi hensan i'inkai* (ed.), *Nihon YWCA 100 nen shi*. Takeda was one of eleven YWCA members in the delegation and, at just twenty-two years old, was the youngest national representative among more than two thousand delegates at the conference.

During World War II, overseas contact was virtually impossible, but Takeda still managed to forge links with non-Japanese through Christian organisations such as the YWCA. Soon after her repatriation in 1942, she was appointed national director of the YWCA's youth division and made responsible for co-ordinating the Christian movement in universities and technical schools. She joined with other young women in reading and discussion meetings, offering special support to the Chinese students who attended. Her work with young Chinese women aroused the suspicion of the authorities and led to her detention.²³ Later in the war, she provided encouragement and moral support to mobilised female students who were far from their native villages, working alongside them and sharing the harsh conditions in the factories. This experience involved neither unbearable labour nor hardship—she was accustomed to sparse conditions²⁴—nor was it wasted on the young scholar. She would later reflect on the behaviour of the mobilised students in these exceptional circumstances in a scholarly article on human types and modes of interaction.²⁵

After the war, as national director of the YWCA student division (a position in which she served until 1953), Takeda was charged with rebuilding the Christian student movement on university campuses. Under the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers' (SCAP) guarantee of freedom of thought and belief, she also sought to resume her involvement in international ecumenical organisations. In early 1947, however, SCAP's refusal of travel permission prevented her from attending the Second World Conference of Christian Youth in Oslo, and her paper was presented by a colleague. Permission for members of Japan YWCA to travel to Hangzhou, China, to attend the Second World YWCA Conference in 1947 was also denied.

The Oslo conference would have been a precious opportunity for contact with other young Christians, including leaders of student movements, who bore similar responsibilities. The chance to read the conference proceedings and receive visits from many of the foreign delegates went some way to relieving Takeda's disappointment at not being able to attend. Moreover, she was able to meet and form friendships with students from various Asian countries—including India, China, the Philippines, and

²³ 'Senchū no omoide', pp. 16-17. For an account of the wartime activities of the Tokyo YWCA and Takeda's arrest, see Nihon YWCA 100 nen shi hensan i'inkai (ed.), *Nihon YWCA 100 nen shi*, p. 43; also Chō Takeda Kiyoko, 'Shisōshi ni manabu: Saishū kōgi', *Ajia bunka kenkyū* 2 (November 1988), pp. 3-18, p. 6.

²⁴ On the influence in her later life of Takeda's frugal upbringing, the ethic of hard work instilled in her as a child, and the inspiration of the American puritans, see Amano Masako, Takeda Kiyoko *et al.*, 'Seikatsu to shisō', pp. 8-13.

²⁵ 'Kōjo ni mita uso to kaigara ningenzō', *Shisō no kagaku* 1:8 (July 1953), later reproduced in Shisō no kagaku kenkyūkai (ed.), *Gendai tetsugaku dokuhon* (Kawade shinsho, 1954).

Burma—the following December, when she was permitted to travel to the World Student Christian Federation’s first Asia Leadership Training Conference in Kandy, Sri Lanka. On route, passengers transited at Shanghai, where they were caught-up in fighting between nationalist and communist forces.²⁶ For Takeda, the ten-day delay became a chance to hear the stories of university students eagerly anticipating the revolution, and offered her an insight into the direction of contemporary Chinese society. It was also a rare opportunity to interact with Chinese Christians, and form friendships that deepened in Kandy.²⁷

With the end of the Occupation of Japan, travel permission was no longer a barrier to participation in major international gatherings. Takeda freely interacted with Asian Christian students at the Third World Conference of Christian Youth, held in December 1952 in Kottayam, India. With meetings such as this, Takeda demonstrated the value of person-to-person contact that was at the heart of Christian fellowship. She was particularly concerned to develop links among East Asian Christian students. Frank Engels, secretary of the New Zealand Student Christian Movement, attested to this concern in the early 1950s:

When I spoke with Kiyo Takeda [...] of the legacy of hatred against the Japanese and especially of that left in Korea by 35 years of occupation, she asked me to say to Korean students “Japanese Christian students are very sorry for the past bad relationships between our two countries and hope for a better one in future. We should like to do something to help you at the present time. Would you please tell us in what ways we might help?” She also asked whether I could take a parcel of books from her own congregation to a church in Pusan.²⁸

This concern was not limited to relations with Japan’s former colonial subjects; Takeda’s developing interest in the politics of international relations also led to meetings with statesmen and national leaders. While in India in January and February 1949, Takeda lectured at Madras Christian University and Allahabad Agricultural University. Through contact with the Indian

²⁶ Nationalist Army officers fleeing southward ejected passengers from the aeroplane, forcing them to wait for outside assistance, and assumed their seats for themselves.

²⁷ Takeda relates these experiences in ICU Sotsugyōsei ‘Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu’ kankōkai (ed.), *Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu*, ICU Sotsugyōsei, ‘Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu’ kankōkai, 2003, pp.18-19.

²⁸ Engels met with Takeda on a stopover in Tokyo en route to South Korea in late 1953. He shared her concern for Japan-Korea reconciliation, and agreed to convey the message of student members of Japan YWCA and YMCA to Korean Christian students. Frank Engels, ‘Appendix IV: From a Travel Diary’ in *Living in a World Community: an East Asian experience of the World Student Christian Federation 1931-1961*, World Student Christian Federation, Asia-Pacific Region, 1994, pp. 68-69, p. 69.

YWCA and the wife of the Indian Finance Minister, she learned of the plight of post-partition refugees and received an invitation to lunch with Prime Minister Nehru at his New Delhi residence. Takeda recalled that Nehru asked incisive questions about the political situation in Japan, particularly about women in parliament and the communist movement.²⁹ Her reflections on this meeting were widely publicised in Japan and brought Nehru's views on such issues as Pan-Asian fellowship and Asian solidarity to the attention of Japanese intellectuals.³⁰ It was one of many instances when her engagement with international society contributed to broadening the perspective of Japanese intellectual life.

Takeda's first visit to post-revolution China provided a similar opportunity. An invitation from a Chinese Christian friend led to a month-long sojourn in May-June 1956, during which she observed conditions for Christians under Communism and met with Xu Guangping (1898–1968), a prominent figure in Chinese women's organizations and head of the Chinese People's Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.³¹ She later recorded her discussion with Xu Guangping about Xu's husband, the writer Lu Xun, and contemporary Chinese society, for the October 1956 issue of *Sekai*, the leading intellectual journal of the day.

Takeda's experiences in Asia and her personal contacts in the Asian Christian community were pivotal to her pacifist views. The sight of war-torn Western Europe witnessed en route to London, after attending WSCF meetings in Berlin and Geneva in 1951, and new experiences in Manila on the homeward journey, further impressed upon her the evils of imperialism and the importance of peace. During a ten-day delay in Manila, representatives of Philippines Protestant Church took Takeda into their care; diplomatic relations had not yet been restored and there was concern for Takeda's safety in the midst of continued deep resentment towards the Japanese. She was taken to visit several members of the congregation, who

²⁹ Takeda Kiyoko, personal communication (3 November 2005). She formed an immediate bond with Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi, who was the same age as her and then living with her father. Takeda had another opportunity to meet with Nehru and Gandhi on their visit to Japan in October 1957. In their discussion on this occasion, Nehru expressed his admiration of the Japanese, whose 'self-discipline' he perceived was behind the nation's post-war recovery. The conversation, which was broadcast live on national television, also covered topics such as the roots of individualism and collectivism in India and Japan. Takeda Kiyoko, 'Kirisutokyō to Nihon bunka' in ICU Sotsugyōsei 'Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu' kankōkai (ed.), *Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu*, pp. 11–48, pp. 19–20.

³⁰ Takeda's own account of their meeting, 'Indo no chichi—Nēru kaikenki', appeared in the May 1949 issue of the opinion journal *Sekai hyōron* (Vol. 4, number 5). Other essays and articles on her experiences in South Asia from this time were published in *Asahi hyōron* (April 1949, Vol. 4, number 4) and *Kaitakusha* (June 1949, Vol. 43, number 6).

³¹ Takeda had long been interested in communism in Asia, and in China specifically, penning two early essays on the topic in *Shisō no kagaku* (July 1949), and *Tenbō* (August 1949).

narrated accounts of atrocities committed by Japanese troops and the suffering caused during Japanese occupation. The desire of her interlocutors to be relieved of the burden of hatred towards Japanese, and their eventual mutual understanding formed on the basis of shared Christian faith, caused Takeda not only to reflect further on the nature of war, but also to learn more about the history of the Philippines and its relations with Japan.³²

Takeda would later draw on these experiences to offer lessons for a younger generation of Japanese students. Writing for a young audience in 1983, Takeda reflected upon the importance of personal knowledge of the world as follows:

As the proverb “a picture is worth a thousand words” suggests, for us to visit other countries and have contact with people from other countries is extremely important. These encounters constantly provoke us to think about the issues facing nations and peoples and also the relationship between other countries and our own. They prompt in us the desire to learn more about the culture and history of other countries, leading us to further study, and throwing up a century’s worth of questions.³³

In the same work, she also outlined the particular importance for Japanese of person-to-person engagement in Asia:

Even though Japan is an Asian nation, there is still only a very weak sense of solidarity with the rest of Asia. Our interests have mostly been directed at the cultures, politics and economies of advanced Western nations, and we have a tendency to be overly obsequious towards Westerners. By contrast, we tend to unjustly harbour a sense of superiority towards our Asian neighbours.³⁴

In this text, Takeda’s interest in other people and places, and her facility for forming genuine relationships came to the fore. Here, and in many other writings, her reflection on her own experiences enabled her to draw out the broader significance of relations between individuals for relationships between nations.

³² For Takeda’s reflections on Japan-Philippine relations and her account of her experiences in Manila, see *Watashitachi to sekai, hito o shiri kuni o shiru*, pp. 54-72.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

The Science of Thought Research Group

Among the other Japanese on the International Red Cross exchange ship that returned Takeda to Japan in August 1942, were the young Harvard-trained economist, Tsuru Shigeto, and the Tsurumi siblings Kazuko and Shunsuke; philosophy students at Columbia and Harvard respectively. In the course of the sixty-day voyage, the four formed a friendship that, in early 1946, saw them found the journal *Shisō no kagaku*. They became the core of what came to be known as the Science of Thought Research Group (Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai).³⁵

These young scholars shared a desire for a forum for interdisciplinary dialogue and collaborative research on ‘thought’ and its manifestations in society. Their aim was to ‘counter the tendency to excessive academic specialization by promoting a broad comprehensive outlook on human problems as a whole.’³⁶ This approach was manifest in the particular attention given to the thought of everyday people, which they considered to be as valid a subject of research as that of philosophers.

The Research Group distinguished itself from other intellectual groups with its receptiveness towards methodological pluralism and its diversity of outlook and ideology.³⁷ Its core membership consisted predominantly of moderate progressive scholars (from all branches of the social sciences, the natural sciences, the humanities and the arts), critics, and writers, but also included members of the Communist Party and staunch Marxists. In addition to its conscious efforts to distance itself from dominant, exclusivist, discursive traditions, the distinctive profile of many of the Research Group’s representative figures—in terms of a cosmopolitan or pro-American inclination, religious faith, and gender, for example—was significant in setting the group apart from mainstream intellectual culture and the intellectual establishment.

The projects undertaken by the Research Group reflect what later emerged as one of Takeda’s main areas of scholarly interest: thought formation. From the outset, there was a consistent thread to the Research

³⁵ There were seven founding members; the other three were historian Maruyama Masao and physical scientists Taketani Mitsuo and Watanabe Satoshi. The seven had previously met at the ‘America Office’ in The Institute of the Pacific (Taiheiyō Kyōkai), a forum established in 1938 by the Anglophile diplomat and father of Kazuko and Shunsuke, Tsurumi Yusuke.

³⁶ R.P. Dore, ‘The Tokyo Institute for the Science of Thought’, *Far Eastern Quarterly* 13:1 (November 1953), pp. 23-36, p. 24.

³⁷ Among the most prominent and representative contemporary intellectual groups at the time were the Peace Problem Discussion Group (Heiwa Mondai Danwakai), discussed below; and the Association of Democratic Scientists (Minshushugi Kakagusha Kyōkai), a staunchly leftist umbrella organisation which flourished during the second half of the 1940s, but fell victim to ideological politics in the early 1950s and was dissolved in 1957.

Group's agenda in its attention to the activities and attitudes of ordinary people, accessed through survey methodology and participant observation. This was exemplified in the Research Group's first major project, which was given the rubric 'the philosophy of the common man'³⁸ ('hitobito no tetsugaku'). This aimed at exploring thought, not as a reified abstract set of ideas, but as manifested in the everyday consciousness, thinking (*shisō*) and behaviour (*kōdō*) of ordinary individuals, and as expressed in popular novels, arts and entertainment.³⁹ Takeda was one of many participants in this project. It reflected her interest in the lives and values of individuals as they negotiated their way in society, and her steadfast commitment to revitalising the human element in Japanese society.⁴⁰ This commitment to ordinary people continued in 'Japan's Groundwater'; a column focussed on the everyday experiences of ordinary Japanese that first appeared in the monthly opinion journal *Chūō Kōron* and, from January 1960, in the pages of *Shisō no kagaku*.⁴¹

Research was often collaborative, building on the strengths of more than one scholar, and conducted by study circles that were open to ordinary, interested citizens. This was the case with the Research Group's engagement with the related issues of war experience (*sensō taiken*) and war responsibility (*sensō sekinin*).⁴² Contributors to *Shisō no kagaku* were

³⁸ Dore's translation of the Japanese in 'The Tokyo Institute for the Science of Thought.'

³⁹ An interim report on this research appeared in the *Shisō no kagaku* in two instalments in February and March 1948, and an entire issue of the journal was dedicated to the project in May 1949. Preliminary findings were announced in 'Taishū shosetsu no kenkyū' ('Research on popular novels') (February 1948), 'Eiga kenkyū no hōhō' ('Directions in research on films') (July 1948), and 'Shinbun shosetsu no bunseki to hihan' ('Analysis and criticism of newspaper novels') (March 1949).

⁴⁰ The project was referred to as 'hitobito no tetsugaku' [The People's Philosophy]. Of the ten articles Takeda contributed to the journal between 1946 and 1960, three articles related to this project. The project continued in *Chuo kōron*'s 'Nihon no chikasu' ['Japan's Groundwater'] column between April 1956–October 1959, which Takeda co-authored with Sekine Hiroshi and Tsurumi Shunsuke, and then in *Shisō no kagaku* (January 1960–September 1964).

⁴¹ Takeda was responsible for co-ordinating the column with Sekine Hiroshi and Tsurumi Shunsuke, between April 1956 and September 1964. She describes her personal response to the project as follows: 'I learned the importance of not being tied to or restricted by the work of particular researchers written on the basis of particular perspectives, theories or ideologies, but rather of gaining direct insight into the values, ways of thinking and lifestyles of ordinary people through such raw material as anecdotes' (See Takeda Kiyoko *et al.*, 'Seikatsu to shisō', *Shisō no kagaku*, (December 1995), pp. 4-20, p. 18, author's translation).

⁴² In its inaugural statement, *Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai* declared that its 'first priority is to focus on the meaning of defeat (*haisen*) and deeply to reflect upon its lessons.' Cited in Suzuki Tadashi, 'Shisō no kagaku shoshin ni tsuite', *Shisō no kagaku* 70 (December 1967), pp. 5-15, p. 5. Special issues of *Shisō no kagaku* were devoted to war experiences in August 1953, August 1959 and August 1960. The August 1953 issue of *Shisō no kagaku* featured one of the first discussions of war responsibility by prominent intellectuals.

especially concerned with how different groups and individuals experienced the war. Takeda's particular engagement in this theme was informed by her own wartime experiences, living and working alongside mobilised female students, and resulted in, *inter alia*, an article on the attitudes and "human types" she encountered in the factory.⁴³ The results of the Research Group's projects were usually published in its journal, but some projects, such as one on the phenomenon on ideological conversion, led to major publications sponsored by reputable publishers.⁴⁴

Takeda's early writings in *Shisō no kagaku* contributed to another of the journal's early foci: the critical evaluation of new American publications in the humanities and social sciences. This was a logical focus, in view of the background of the core members. Her second article, in August 1946, was a review of her mentor Reinhold Niebuhr's essay 'The Illusion of World Government.' Her review of Niebuhr's *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (1948) appeared in the following issue.

Introducing New Ideas

In the midst of early post-war debate between proponents of American-style democracy and Marxists over the correct form that Japanese democracy should take, Takeda's translation of *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* was widely read in intellectual circles, and prompted invitations to participate in group discussions (*zadankai*) on the work, and requests for further commentary on Niebuhr's thought. Takeda also promoted Niebuhr to Japanese readers through other translations; her own 1953 monograph-length study of his views on humanity, society and history; and critical essays which appeared in prominent opinion journals such as *Riron* and *Sekai*, as well as in *Shisō no kagaku*. With such publications, she not only explicated the ideas of a controversial and prominent American, Christian theorist, but also contributed a new dimension to intellectual discourse on the problems of world peace.

While she became the foremost interpreter of Niebuhr's Christian realism and political analysis, Takeda was by no means a mere mouthpiece

Participants included Maruyama Masao, Ienaga Saburō, Ara Masato, Kuno Osamu, Murakami Hyōe, Ibukata Naokichi, Takeuchi Yoshimi, Hidaka Rokurō, Minami Hiroshi, Tsurumi Shunsuke and Tsurumi Kazuko. According to Utsumi Aiko, these individuals 'played a leading role in the post-war debate on war responsibility' ('Changing Japanese views of the allied occupation of Japan and the war crimes trials', *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 30 (April 1997), at <http://www.awm.gov.au/journal/j30/>.

⁴³ See 'Kōjo ni mita uzo to kaigara ningen zō', *Shisō no kagaku* (August 1953).

⁴⁴ The Research Group's study of ideological conversion in pre-war, wartime and post-war Japan, was published as *Kyōdō kenkyū tenkō* in three volumes between 1959 and 1962. Heibonsha, the publisher, issued a revised and extended edition in 1978 and again in 2000.

for his ideas. Recalling her thoughts on the return voyage to Japan in 1942, she observed:

When I returned to Japan I wanted to study the mutual impact of Christianity and Japanese culture. I didn't want to just rehash Western ideas. I wanted to study Japan. [...] I had studied under Niebuhr but I knew that I mustn't be a mere spokesman. Rather I felt strongly that I wanted to take what I had learned from Niebuhr and Tillich and find my own particular research within the intellectual environment in which I found myself.⁴⁵

Nor was she uncritical of Niebuhr's ideas. Her analysis of Niebuhr's critique of American pacifism in the December 1950 issue of *Sekai* weighed his views on American foreign policy against the Quakers' peace project, and highlighted the virtues of the latter. Niebuhr was highly sceptical of the value of neutrality and uncertain as to whether or not, in the context of tensions between the two Cold War powers, there existed a neutral position that could guarantee Japan's security. Just as he had rejected isolationism as a credible response to Nazism in WWII, Niebuhr argued that it was irresponsible to advocate absolute pacifism or world government as a response to the evil of communism,⁴⁶ and blind arrogance to imagine that the righteousness of America alone could prevent war. Pacifism not only failed to recognise the reality of history; history showed, he insisted, that the only way that Christians could combat communism was to target its moral basis and simultaneously support military preparedness.⁴⁷ While Takeda demurred in relation to Niebuhr's position on pacifism, she wholeheartedly supported his call for greater humility on the part of Christians and concurred with his characterisation of the role of humility in forging a sense of community.

Takeda also drew on her American experience and acquaintances for an exploration of the Western tradition of conscientious objection, for which she found an audience in the anti-war sentiment of student activists. A commission from the Publishing Department of the University of Tokyo Student Cooperative resulted in a chapter on American university students for *Rekishi o tsukuru gakuseitachi* [Students Making History] (1947).⁴⁸ Three

⁴⁵ Takeda Kiyoko, 'Nībā no Shisō—ningen to rekishi e no dōsatsu', *Seigakuin daigaku sōgō kenkyū kiyō* (February 1995), pp. 81-82, quoted in Kawamoto Takashi, 'Takeda Kiyoko to Rainhōrudo Nībā', *Shisō no kagaku* (December 1995), pp. 28-35, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁶ 'Why is Communism So Evil?' in *Christian Realism and Political Problems*, Faber & Faber, 1954, pp. 39-47.

⁴⁷ 'The Illusion of World Government' in *Christian Realism and Political Problems*, Faber & Faber, 1954, pp. 24-38 (originally published in *Foreign Affairs* 3 (April 1949), pp. 379-388).

⁴⁸ The student from the University of Tokyo who visited Takeda with the commission was Chō Yukio, her future husband. Takeda's relationship with Chō Yukio caused

years later, as the Cold War reached Japan, Takeda again recalled her American experience in a chapter on the 1942 debate between Quaker conscientious objectors and “realists,” which had coincided with her graduate study in New York and absorbed many of her teachers and classmates.⁴⁹ The accusation of irresponsibility levelled at the Quakers in 1942 seemed to echo contemporary criticism of proponents of peaceful co-existence.

Takeda’s self-identification as a pacifist also inspired her involvement in the Peace Problem Discussion Group (Heiwa Mondai Danwakai), the leading proponent of opposition to rearmament and to the US-Japan security alliance. As a member of the Tokyo sub-group, she signed her name to the Discussion Group’s high profile statements on peace in 1949–1950. Collectively, these statements argued for peaceful co-existence between the Communist Bloc and the so-called “free world”; for a comprehensive peace settlement between Japan and its wartime enemies; and expressed support for the principle of unarmed neutrality and for the role of the United Nations in ensuring world peace. Takeda was also a frequent contributor to the journal *Sekai*, which was the principal forum for intellectual exchange on contemporary political issues in the 1950s. In an article that appeared alongside the Discussion Group’s third peace statement, Takeda related Niebuhr’s response to the group’s first peace statement from her correspondence with him.⁵⁰ The Peace Problems Discussion Group and *Sekai* also provided a platform for Takeda to articulate her conviction that, as far as Japan was concerned, pacifism began with better relations within Asia.⁵¹

considerable disquiet both within Takeda’s family and her church—Yukio was seven years Takeda’s junior and, though Christian, was not baptised. However, they formed a supportive and co-operative partnership. Yukio embraced the idealistic spirit and progressive thinking of contemporary university graduates. He believed that equality for men and women was essential to a more human society, and shared house-keeping and child-raising tasks (Personal communication, 3 November 2005). This enabled Takeda to fulfil her academic duties at ICU and to travel overseas. In 1954, she represented the World Council of Churches in an international delegation lobbying for the release of political prisoners in the Philippines; and, in 1956, she undertook a trip to the PRC when her son was still only eight months old.

⁴⁹ ‘Zettai heiwashugi to genjitsushugi’ in *Sensō to heiwa ni tsuite* (Shinkyō shuppansha, 1950). For Takeda’s more recent account of the thought of progressive anti-war activists in the United States and the American anti-war movement, see ‘Ryōshinteki hansen undō’ in *Watashitachi to sekai, hito o shiri kuni o shiru*, pp. 33–51.

⁵⁰ The Peace Problems Discussion Group’s first statement is reproduced in Livingston, J. et al. (eds.), *Postwar Japan, 1945 to the Present*, (Pantheon Books, 1973, pp. 250–253). John Dower discusses the third statement in ‘Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict’ in Gordon, A. (ed.), *Postwar Japan as History*, pp. 3–33, pp. 9–10. For a discussion of the Discussion Group’s three statements, see Ward, Vanessa B., ‘Intellectuals and Publishing: Communicating Ideas in Postwar Japan’ (unpublished PhD thesis), ANU 2005.

⁵¹ Parts of *The United States and the Soviet Union, Some Quaker Proposals for Peace* (Yale University Press, 1947), which had been sent to Takeda by her contacts among Quaker pacifists, made their way into the draft of the Peace Problem Discussion Group’s

Scholar and Academic

The establishment of the International Christian University (ICU) in 1953 was the realisation of the shared vision of Japanese and American Christian leaders. It was envisioned as an institution to ‘nurture new human resources for the democratization of Japan and world peace and as a symbol of reconciliation,’ and to nurture ‘individuals who can open doorways to “co-existence” among people from varied cultural dimensions, and with diverse ways of thinking and living.’⁵²

Although there was considerable unease within the Japanese Christian community at this experimental ‘colonial university,’ Takeda was drawn by the possibility that such a new institution might foster new spirits capable of building a human society, as well as serve as an academic and cultural mediator between East and West. The early research focus of ICU’s Committee on Asian Studies—the affinity and conflict between traditional Asian and rival Christian concepts of man, history, and society—advanced this aspiration by facilitating research into Asian societies.⁵³ For Takeda, the ICU was also a conduit for forging academic and institutional links between Japan and the rest of Asia.

The University’s emphasis on general education complemented Takeda’s conviction that specialist education alone could not show the meaning of human existence. She was committed to its focus on liberal education and interdisciplinarity: liberal education was something that liberated one from oneself, that expanded one’s capacity to relate to others, to empathise with them, and to be receptive to other cultures. She also

third statement. Takeda’s most vivid memory of participating in Discussion Group meetings is the applause she received when she argued that more attention should be paid to restoring peaceful and constructive relations between Japan and the rest of Asia; she distinctly remembers the enthusiasm of the Discussion Group’s co-organiser and *Sekai* editor, Yoshino Genzaburō (Personal communication, 3 November 2005).

⁵² Kiyoko Takeda (trans. Jeffrey Bayliss and Stephen Covell), *Higher Education for Tomorrow*, pp. 255, 9. Takeda joined the ICU as a part-time instructor in 1953, and was soon promoted to the full-time faculty. She was promoted to assistant professor in 1955 and full professor in 1961, the same year that she was awarded a doctorate by the University of Tokyo for her dissertation on ‘Christianity and Human Formation in Modern Japan.’ See Kiyoko Takeda (trans. Jeffrey Bayliss and Stephen Covell), *Higher Education for Tomorrow*, pp. 176–181. Takeda’s scholarship was recognised internationally and, before her retirement in 1988, she spent periods as a guest researcher at Princeton University (September 1965–June 1966) and Harvard University (September 1966–March 1967), and as a visiting fellow at Oxford University (St Anthony’s College, September 1974–April 1976).

⁵³ Takeda was instrumental in the formation of the Committee on Asian Studies in 1958, the forerunner to the Institute, and served as its director 1971–1983. In November 1988, the Institute commemorated Takeda’s retirement with a special issue of its journal *Asian Cultural Studies*, subtitled ‘Tradition and Modernization.’

concurred with one of ICU's guiding principles: that good scholarship was founded on a balance between specialisation and generalisation (*sōgōka*).⁵⁴

The ICU provided a receptive environment in which Takeda could pursue her research into the history of modern Japanese thought. Her principle focus was the history of the Japanese encounter with Christianity.⁵⁵ Takeda examined this in terms of 'the continuity or discontinuity of traditional indigenous values when they undergo dynamic interaction with a different religious, cultural and intellectual tradition.'⁵⁶

In particular, she sought to elucidate the ways in which the Christian gospel shaped indigenous values and thought patterns, and confronted modern political ideologies, such as the emperor system. She explored the thought of prominent figures in Meiji Japan, whose encounter with Christianity transformed not only their inner lives, but also their views on individualism, democracy, and the proper relationship between the individual and authority; and ultimately informed their pacifist stance.⁵⁷ Among her many publications in this field are essay-length studies of the social theory, criticism, and philosophy of individual Japanese Christians; an extended study of the relationship between orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Japan; and a monograph on Niihama Jō, the founder of the Christian college, later a university, Dōshisha. Her analysis of the patterns and processes by which the Christian gospel 'became rooted in the spiritual soil of the Japanese people' revealed the dynamic processes involved when any foreign ideology, not just Christianity, attempted 'to penetrate traditional Japanese patterns of thought and belief.'⁵⁸

This scholarly interest corresponded with Takeda's practical belief that, in Japan and other non-Western societies, the indigenisation of Christianity had the potential to act as a 'catalyst for revolution generated from within—a power capable of changing the value consciousness of the people.'⁵⁹ As such, it could be a powerful force for positive social and political change.

Takeda also published extensively on pre-war political history; women's history (along with Christianity, she identified women as a major

⁵⁴ Amano Masako, Takeda Kiyoko *et al.*, 'Seikatsu to shisō to', *Shisō no kagaku* (December 1995), pp. 4-20, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁵ Takeda, Kiyoko (trans. Jeffrey Bayliss and Stephen Covell), *Higher Education for Tomorrow: International Christian University and Postwar Japan*, International Christian University, 2003, p. 179.

⁵⁶ Takeda, Kiyoko (trans. J. Victor Koschmann), 'Apostacy: A Japanese Pattern', *The Japan Interpreter, a Journal of Social and Political Ideas* 12:2 (Spring 1978), pp. 171-200, p. 174.

⁵⁷ Among those she examined were the prominent theologian and Protestant Church leader Uemura Masahisa (1857–1925), the writer and pioneer of pacifism in Japan Kitamura Tōkoku (1868–1894), and the pacifist and Christian reformer Kagawa Toyohiko (1888–1960).

⁵⁸ Takeda, Kiyoko (trans. J. Victor Koschmann), 'Apostacy: A Japanese Pattern', p. 177.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

source of Asian indigenous cultural energy); collective behaviour; and the Japanese emperor system (which she identified as one of the foremost obstacles to the development of universal humanist values in Japan).⁶⁰ This impressive body of scholarship was underpinned by a present-focussed commitment to humanism and international understanding. Ordinary Japanese, Takeda argued, needed to understand the origins of Japanese thinking about the world and their country's history, in order to build harmonious relations with other peoples, and particularly with their Asian neighbours.⁶¹

An International Leader

Neither marriage and family nor increasing responsibilities at ICU meant an end to Takeda's work with the international ecumenical movement.⁶² As with many other Christian leaders, involvement with the World Student Christian Federation led to involvement with the World Council of Churches. Following two decades of service, she was elected to be one of the Council's presidents (1971–1975), a post which saw her spend extended periods at the WCC secretariat in Geneva.

Continuing her particular interest with Asia, between 1974–1979 Takeda also sat on the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. The aim of this international organisation was to strengthen public universities through faculty-development and institution-building grants and activities, and to promote collaboration and exchange in Asia and the West.



Takeda Kiyoko, as one of the Presidents of the World Council of Churches (c. 1970).⁶³

⁶⁰ See the select bibliography below.

⁶¹ See 'Shisōshi ni manabu', pp. 4-5, *passim*.

⁶² Takeda married Chō Yukio in March 1953 and their son, Kōhei, was born in September 1955 (see footnote 46).

⁶³ Reproduced with permission, World Council of Churches, Archives.

Concluding Remarks

The Japanese Christian intellectual Takeda Kiyoko's career spans five crucial decades of the twentieth century, which saw Japan engage with the world first as an imperial power, then as a rehabilitated democratic nation, and lastly as an economic superpower. It took Takeda from a small rural village in western Japan to the major international cities of the world, and from a modest college for girls to an internationally-recognised university. For much of this period, she was at the forefront of the intellectual community's engagement with the outside world, and particularly with the global Christian community, especially within Asia.

This brief introduction to Takeda Kiyoko's career has revealed the impressive contribution of one Christian intellectual and scholar to post-war Japanese intellectual life. This contribution is remarkable not only because Takeda was a woman in a male-dominated milieu, but also because her social critique reflected a commitment to a Christian-humanist worldview. Takeda's Christian-humanism permeated her exploration of how Christianity became rooted in Japanese thought. Influenced by the political realism of her teacher Reinhold Niebuhr, and informed by her experiences in Asia, she engaged with the ethical, practical and political implications of Christianity in contemporary society. While she shared the concerns of progressive Japanese intellectuals in the 1950s, her engagement with contemporary issues stood out because it was inflected with religious beliefs. These found practical manifestation in her efforts to develop person-to-person contacts between Christians, and to forge reconciliation between the peoples of Japan and Asia. Takeda Kiyoko's commitment to the vision of ecumenical, internationally-oriented Christian organisations, the pluralist ethos of the Science of Thought Research Group, and the principles and ideals of the International Christian University shaped a remarkable career and influenced the fellow faithful, intellectuals and several generations of students.⁶⁴ This biographical essay suggests that an appreciation of the contribution of figures such as Takeda

⁶⁴ Takeda's former students are responsible for production of Takeda Kiyoko's bibliography: ICU Sotsugyōsei 'Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu' kankōkai (ed.), *Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu*, ICU Sotsugyōsei 'Takeda Kiyoko chosaku nenpu' kankōkai, 2003. In this essay, I draw on the essays accompanying this bibliography, Takeda's own biographical accounts, including: "'Hitobito no tetsugaku' o saguru' in Yasuda Tsuneo and Amano Masako (eds.), *Sengo "Keimō" no Shisō no nokoshita mono: fukkōkuban "Shisō no kagaku", "Me" bekkai* (Kyūzansha, 1992), pp. 181-191; with Amano Masako et al., 'Seikatsu to shisō', *Shisō no kagaku* (December 1995), pp. 4-20; 'Senchū no omoide', *Kawari no kai dayori* 100 (August 2005), pp. 15-17; 'Shisōshi ni manabu' *Ajia bunka kenkyū* [bessatsu 2] (November 1988, pp. 3-18); and an interview I conducted with her on 3 November 2005.

Kiyoko can, by recognising the diversity of philosophical beliefs, educational backgrounds, and life experiences of contemporary intellectuals, enrich our understanding and appreciation of the complexity and variety of early, post-war, Japanese intellectual life.

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