In 1962 a Japanese journalist, Senda Kako, came across a wartime photo of two women accompanied by a Japanese soldier crossing the Yellow River. His interest was kindled by this photo and he began to make inquiries as to just who these women were. Little did he know that this would be the beginning of the uncovering of one of the most tragic and at the same time officially denied stories to come out of World War II—the story of the comfort women. In his book The Comfort Women, George Hicks chronicles the development of this story from its beginning in 1938 up to the present. It is not a pleasant story; it is a story of betrayal, rape, prostitution, duplicity, denial, and broken lives. Yet it is a story that must be told if we are to ever come to terms with the full horror of war.

Hicks begins with a brief but insightful overview of what he calls the relationship between Mars and Venus during wartime. Soldiers and sex have always gone together and the Japanese were not the first to officially sanction and support prostitution for the troops. The Romans had a similar system in their empire as did Spain in the sixteenth century, and both the British in the nineteenth century and the Americans in the twentieth have made certain that the sexual needs of the troops were cared for although usually not with official government sanction.

With the expansion of the Japanese Empire in the 1930s and the deployment of troops overseas, it became obvious that something needed to be done. Incidents of rape were so common that in 1932 one general opened a comfort station for his troops in Shanghai. The majority of the women were ethnic Koreans taken from mining communities on Kyushu. It was not until 1938, however, after the Rape of Nanking, that the Japanese government became alarmed and took official action to put the system of comfort stations into place. The first government-sanctioned comfort station opened in Shanghai and served as a model for comfort stations in virtually all areas of the Empire.

Technically these comfort stations were operated by civilians with the military providing transportation and medical support. Women were recruited from virtually all ethnic groups, including Japanese, but the vast majority were Koreans. Hicks provides full details of the system interspersed with personal interviews by surviving comfort women. Drawing upon official military and government documents he offers irrefutable evidence that as many as 139,000 women were hired, deceived, or kidnapped and forced into prostitution between 1938 and the end of the war in 1945. Yet it was not until July of 1992 that the Japanese government
finally admitted its role in this sordid affair. Even now the issue has not been resolved. Estimates are that as many as 116,000 comfort women survived the war and that there could possibly be as many as 58,000 of these women still living today. In 1991 several of these women sued the Japanese government demanding financial compensation. Hick points out that at the rate the trial is progressing it could take up to twenty years for the verdict to be decided. By that time of course, most if not all of the surviving comfort women will be dead. Even now there are influential Japanese who deny that such a system ever existed. Writing in The Japan Times on 26 November 1995, one former government official praised the government of China for breaking up a Beijing “news conference on the issue of the ‘comfort women’ who were supposed to have been forced into sexual servitude during World War II.” Fortunately, numerous NGOs, including church-related women’s groups, are keeping the issue of the comfort women before the public eye, both in Korea and Japan and at the United Nations. Although the Batavia Military Tribunal in 1948 sought and received compensation for Dutch women who were forced to serve as comfort women, it has not been until the 1990s that Asian women have been willing to come forward. This has been due to two major factors. First, most Asian governments have been under military rule and public protests of any kind were forbidden. As Hicks points out so well, there is a politics of sex, which involves covering up the past in exchange for economic benefits in the present. Secondly, most Asian cultures, and certainly Korea, are strictly patriarchal and women who had served as comfort women would most certainly not want their past to become public knowledge. The shame and social criticism would be too great. In the late 1980s and 1990s, however, things in much of Asia began to change. Democratically elected governments began to take root and the women’s movement gained prominence. These changes provided the impetus for more and more women to step forward and to demand both a sincere public apology and financial compensation from the Japanese government. Hicks tells the story of these women from their years of sexual servitude, through their years of socially enforced silence, up to the ongoing struggle for justice. He tells the story well with both objectivity and passion. While Hicks focuses on the history and organization of the system of comfort stations and the continuing legal struggles of the surviving comfort women, Keith Howard lets the women tell their own stories in True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women. Howard’s book is an English translation of the personal stories of nineteen comfort women compiled by the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan. In virtually all of the cases the story is the same—being forced into prostitution by outright kidnapping, trickery, or false job offers on the part of the Japanese; or treachery and deceit by Koreans in the employ of the Japanese. Most of the women were from poor families, relatively uneducated (some were illiterate), and from rural areas in the southern part of Korea. Many came from families which were so impoverished that virtually any offer for economic betterment was accepted. Several of the women were, as young girls, forbidden to attend school by their fathers or brothers and they were forcibly taken out of the classroom and their school books burned. Their only value was as wage earners for the family or to be married out and thus relieve the family of an unwanted economic burden. Such naive young girls became easy prey for the smooth-talking traffickers in women. Their stories tell of unspeakable treatment in the comfort stations. For most there was literally no one they could trust. Helpful doctors demanded sex in return as did...
officers who sometimes showed compassion. Only rarely did a soldier show kindness and understanding and not demand sexual favors in return. Most women were never paid; they were physically and sexually abused, and suffered from disease and chronic illness. Many attempted suicide as an escape from their ordeal.

Following the end of the war these women returned to Korea only to face a life of suffering. Many never married and those who did marry usually entered into unhappy marriages to poor men, older widowers with children, men who were already married but initially kept that fact hidden, or men who were drunkards and physically abusive. The women themselves frequently ended up as alcoholics or drug addicts, suffered from mental derangement, and sought treatment for chronic illnesses resulting from venereal disease, malaria, and gynecological disorders. Today most are living either alone or with relatives and depend upon some form of public assistance for their livelihood.

These are the untold stories of the war, stories that not only affirm the dictum that "war is hell" but also tell us something of the position of women in Asia. But most significantly, these are stories that many in high places deny ever happened and these are women who, according to some government officials, do not exist. It is the NGOs and church organizations and journalists such as George Hicks and Keith Howard who are keeping the issue of these women before the world. These two books tell the story of one of the darker sides of World War II, a side that has remained hidden for far too long.

Two major issues emerge from the story of the comfort women. The first is the conspiracy of silence on the part not only of the Japanese government, but also the governments of other Asian countries affected by the comfort women issue. Economic benefits are clearly at stake here, and the understanding is that nothing is to hinder the economic development of the region. It is highly significant that it has been NGOs, women's organizations, and church-related organizations that have spoken out on the comfort women issue. If nothing else, the story of the comfort women clearly demonstrates the crucial importance of a strong and persistent Christian voice in public affairs. Governments cannot be relied upon to speak with integrity nor do they always seek justice, even for their own citizens.

The second issue concerns the position of women in Asia today. It is no secret that foreign women are still lured to Japan with lucrative job offers, only to find themselves sold into prostitution with no means of escape. Horror stories are told of women who escape to the local police station only to find themselves handed back to the very people from whom they had run away. And in Korea women are still kidnapped off the streets and delivered to brothels while police and other officials look the other way and give the excuse "We can do nothing." The thriving sex industry in many Asian countries has become an international scandal and yet nothing is done even though AIDS is devastating large sectors of the population. At the root of this tragedy lies the low position of women, a position that is characterized by extreme poverty, lack of education, limited employment opportunities, sexual discrimination, and the persistent view that women are commodities to be bought and sold. Here too, it is the NGOs and women's organizations that have been at the forefront for the rights of women.

Unfortunately the churches have sometimes been only lukewarm and on occasion downright hostile to raising the status of women in Asian societies. And yet it is here that the solution to the issue of the comfort women is to be found. When women and men are both understood to be fully created in the image of God and when this understanding is reflected in society and culture,
then and only then will things began to change. This is not to say that the churches have not made significant contributions in this area, especially in providing educational opportunities for women, but considerably more must be done. The comfort women and their stories serve as a tragic example of what can happen when women are treated as less than fully human and when political ideology, cultural traditions, and economic interests are allowed to obscure the God in whose image we have all been created.

**Toward a Theology of Struggle**
Eleazar S. Fernandez
vi, 193 pp.

Reviewed by Casilda E. Luzares,
Doshisha University, Kyoto

I hesitated to accept the invitation to write a review of this book for two reasons. First, I am not a theologian nor am I a theologically-trained layperson. Secondly, I am suspicious of titles that begin with the word “Toward” or with the word “On” (as in “On Jane Austen,” which promises everything but commits itself to nothing). However, curiosity got the better of me and after reading the first few pages I could hardly put the book down—I was committed.

After reading the book, however, I concluded that a more appropriate title would probably have been *Theologizing the Filipino Struggle* since much of the discussion is not really about the Filipino theology of struggle itself. The book also includes the author’s critique of dominant (Western) theologies and ideologies, and much of it is devoted to the author’s theological construction, taking the context of the suffering and struggling people, not only in the Philippines but also in other settings where oppressive conditions and structures exist.

I think that the publication of the book is timely. There is a growing dissatisfaction with Western models of thinking, seeing, and being and new indigenous models are being developed. I hope that every seminary in the Philippines will make the book a required reading. Then, hopefully, our pulpits will become more relevant and our churches escape the judgment of the church of Laodicea.

The Jesus that the Western missionaries brought to our shores was a conquering Jesus, a friend of the rich and the powerful. Thus began the exploitation, oppression and cultural alienation of the Filipinos. Fernandez quotes a poem that sums up what he calls the “Filipino malady”:

We are a brown race with white gods and whitened soul. We are aliens in our land hostage by our past.

The churches have emphasized a kind of spirituality which the Filipino Bishop Labayen describes as “individualistic and vertical, historical, dichotomized and inadequate in terms of understanding human beings”—a spirituality that “legitimizes oppression.” (Franklin Jayakumar Balasundaram, “The Theology of Bishop Julio Xavier Labayen, O.C.D.” *CTC Bulletin* 11/2-3 (May–December, 1992, p. 55). Thus the development of a “people’s theology” becomes necessary not only in reflecting the struggle that is part of the everyday reality of the people, but also in reconciling the people with their own cultural roots and historical past and in inspiring the struggle itself. To this, Fernandez says, “the act of struggle itself as an experience is an experience of God’s presence, a foretaste of liberation in the making..., a new spiritual experience.”
Fernandez calls what he does in this book a theological journey or a theological navigation and it is precisely that. There are times when one is not sure where one is heading, but one thing is sure—the journey is filled with exciting discoveries and is never dull. Fernandez's use of language shows his passion and his enthusiasm.

The most exciting part of the book are the chapters that constitute Fernandez's theological construction, although these are also the parts that are most difficult to read. His vision of the new church, not as an institution, but as a "prophetico-critical movement," engaged in the "exercise of prophetic criticism, prophetic vision and prophetic solidarity"—is surely the kind of church that Jesus had in mind.

From the impressive list of references, one can conclude that a lot of research went into the writing of this book, which is based on the doctoral dissertation of the author. However, I wish a bibliography had been included for the easy and quick reference of the reader. Also, the style used for reference citations is clumsy and inconvenient. For example, on page 16, footnote 39: Kilusan, p.11. It took me a lot of time to find the full reference—no wonder because it is "buried" in footnote 15!


Reviewed by Aasulv Lande, Lund University, Sweden

One's first impression of this work is that it is an attractive and solid missiological contribution, rooted in a Dutch scholarly tradition that lends a distinct identity to its pronounced ecumenical perspective.

The twenty-one contributors, of whom two are women, constitute an ecumenically diverse group of missiologists, most of whom have a Dutch background or at least are closely connected with Dutch missiological milieus. A good third of the writers had, by the time of publication, retired from their previous positions and a few have passed away. The remaining two-thirds of the contributors represent the contemporary scholarly, missiological establishment. The book reflects a wide range of experience in Africa, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Americas and the Middle East. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that four of the writers had their missiological experience in Indonesia, a Dutch perspective is clearly evident.

This work is thus not the product of Third World theologians. Outlining the academic achievements of Western missions since the Second World War, it is a monument to the Western missiology of that period. A question to be considered is the appropriateness of a dominant Western perspective on global Christianity in the twilight of the second millennium.

The reader does not find an "objective" description of missiology in the book: "The movement of Christianity in the world is studied on the basis of a specific interest arising from (a Christian) faith perspective....That tradition views 'all the generations of the earth' as the object of God's redemptive will and plan of salvation. Or, in New Testament language, it regards the message of God's 'kingdom' made known in Jesus Christ, as intended for 'all nations'."(pp. 3ff.) As this quotation shows, this ecumenical missiology is clearly concerned with questions of systematic theology.

Such a dogmatically well-defined starting point might, however, invite a number of questions. The editors are, nevertheless, keen to counter possible charges of aprior-
istic and dogmatic coloring by stating their intention of remaining "ecumenical." They want to be open to processes of change and deliberately employ a variety of academic and ecumenical perspectives while maintaining a broad critical attitude over and against a variety of views and faith pronouncements.

The book is divided into five main sections. In Part I which portrays "The Diversity of Global Christianity," the Christian experiences of six regional contexts are surveyed in chronological order: The Middle East, Western Europe (The Netherlands), The People's Republic of China, Ghana in West Africa, Indonesia and Brazil.

I want to take a closer look at the treatment of the Chinese region since it is a context bordering on the Japanese. One notices that China occupies the third position in this chronological arrangement owing to the timeframe of the initial mission in the area. This refers, of course, to the advent of the Nestorian mission to China in 635. Basic and balanced information on the Franciscans (1294-1347), Jesuit and other missionary orders (1582-1800) is provided. However, the author concedes that "Despite the important gains in this period, great opportunities were missed...because of the rites controversy and other internal disputes." The period 1800-49 is considered from the perspective of the Unequal Treaties and boldly interpreted as a burden for Christian presence in China, Catholic and Protestant, up to today, Chinese history is followed to 1994 with a brief description of Christian involvement in political events such as the Taiping uprising (1850-64), the Fourth of May Movement (1919), and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Camps nevertheless sounds an optimistic note in his conclusion, mentioning improved relations between Roman Catholics and the People's Republic and pointing to deepened inculturation among Protestants as well as among Catholics. He estimates the number of Christians in People's Republic of China at about 20 million, equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. In keeping with the book's ecumenical concern, Camps calls for "further steps toward unity" among Chinese Christians.

Part II, titled "Word, Mission and Church," suggests an ecumenical unity within the diversity of Christian expression described above. Against this background of contextual diversity, the editors stress the increasingly important feature of a single, common, global context. Such unity is, however, not found in "an overall perspective on 'mission' naively from one perspective, and certainly not from a Western perspective." The editors propose another understanding: "This unity will have to be defined 'missionarily': It will have to be defined on the basis of an understanding of the journey of Christianity in the world as a journey with a starting point (Jerusalem) and a point of reference (the kingdom of God). And it will have to be defined in terms of the 'real presence' of that starting point and the focus on the common point of reference becoming visible in all the (contextual) ramifications of the journey." The editors are convinced that all imperialist associations with this "victory march" can safely be stripped away. The reference point is beyond all imperialist implications and actual political situations; it is given in "the completion and redemption of human existence."

This approach uses the traditional division of positions in the Theology of Religions: christocentric exclusivity, christocentric inclusivity and theocentric pluralism. The author of that particular chapter, J.van Lin, describes and discusses, but does not explicitly side with one of the three positions. He actually claims that whatever the starting point, "It becomes clear that the outworking thereof is always decisively guided by one's outspoken but underlying understanding of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, the Christ." From this statement,
one cannot reach any conclusion for the entire range of thought concerning “unity in diversity.” The standpoints are plural. It does indicate, however, that this rather tightly knit group of missiological scholars leans towards a christocentric inclusivity when trying to offer a basis for Christian unity.

Part III focuses on “The Missionary Movement in History,” that is, the history of missions originating from the Western world from the time of Columbus. Comprising only fifty pages, this section is about half the size of the other two. The editors indicate that mission actually emerged prior to and outside the Western, colonialist, missionary initiatives. Rather than simply chart the history of Roman Catholic and Protestant missions, the four authors who present the materials under this section pay attention to the motivating forces underlying mission, attempting to outline a type of “mentality history” for post-Colombian missions. Roman Catholic as well as Protestant mission history are located approximately between the years 1789 and 1962-63. These “perspectives from above” are subsequently balanced by a “perspective from below.” Reflecting the authors’ keen awareness of the need for this perspective, the last contribution in this section is called “The History of the Missionary Movement from the Perspective of the Third World.” The chapter is based on materials from the Third World. The role of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) is given a central place and a Latin American view of Christian history is offered under the heading “History from the Perspective of the Poor.” A church history perspective from India, entitled “History of Christianity in India” is also introduced. The writer states that this Indian Church history will not focus on prominent figures, but primarily on people’s experience. Also, African contributions are noted in the section called “Attention to its Own Missionary Initiative.”

Part IV, “Missionary Vitality in Contemporary Christianity,” follows missionary initiatives in different regions of the world. These initiatives reflect regional variety and analysis. Africa is thus seen in a tension between cultural rootedness and liberation. Also, the perspective of black theology is raised. As for Asia, an article by A. G. Honig looks at the “Search for Identity as a Source of Renewal,” offering a wide range of perspectives from Min Jung theology to a discussion on the cosmic meaning of Christ in Sri Lanka, India and Taiwan. The Philippines is considered a place where theology is threatened, and Indonesia a locus of emerging grassroots theology. Japan enters this chapter via the mention of the internationally known missiologists Masao Takenaka (God is Rice) and Kosuke Koyama (Mount Sinai and Mount Fuji).

The concluding section, “Mission, Ecumenicity, and Missiology,” sums up basic missiological developments and reiterates the concern for the unity of the missionary movement. An interesting perspective here is a return to the concept of eschatology. The editors conclude, “...missiology must give attention to the ways in which the spirituality of expectation is alive in all the different parts of Christianity, that is to the different eschatological paradigms employed among Christians. These paradigms are at the root of the polarization that has afflicted Christianity in the second half of the twentieth century. A thorough joint study precisely of the content and the manner of these forms of expectation may enable missiology to test critically the variety of intermediate goals pursued by the mission movement and to work in such a way as to promote the unity of the mission movement.”

Clearly this textbook is an achievement filled with well balanced, ecclesiastically oriented presentations of missiology. Valuable
and updated bibliographies are provided. Somehow the book finds its position between the one-person-presentations of the previous generation (Verkuil is an example) and the various "readers" or collections of missiological essays, so common today. The book lies between these two types because the strong, effective leadership of the editors and the tight affinity of this group of scholars provide a unity rarely seen in a collection of essays.

This strong unity may, however, create certain disadvantages as well. To make my point clear, the book is absolutely not Western in any of the rude senses of that word. The Dutch scholars know that the missiological initiative now rests with the Third World. They leave the reader with a sympathetic impression of open mindedness and serious academic commitment and they introduce the situation of the Third World and the reflection which goes on there. Nevertheless, the selection of the contributors points out some of the limitations of the work. The perspectives of women and the Third World are missing.

It may be helpful to relate the ideas of this book to two features of the contemporary spiritual climate: postmodernism and the new spirituality. Postmodern ideas have broken down the unity of the world in the minds of a great many missiologists. David Bosch probably gave the most reflective expression of this insight in his book *Transforming Missions: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. Basic to Bosch’s thought is the interpretation of our time as one of plural understandings of mission. Calling this situation a paradigm in its own right, he provides unity to what actually is a dissolved and pluralized unity. In the book under review here, Verstraelen and his team of scholars work with a similar problem and try to provide models which show a concern for the *oikumene* as well as for appropriate contextualization. Their concern is for unity, and their model of Christian unity, a missionary journey from Jerusalem to the end of time, combined with an open interpretation of the Christological confession, is an intriguing and thought-provoking solution.

Nevertheless, I am not convinced that a unity within the universe of Christian mission is really reestablished, or whether this serious attempt at a universal solution of the missionary problem hits the mark. I miss, for example, the concern for the world. The book is too Christocentric to me. I also wonder whether or not the academic terminology is taken too far. Can we speak so clearly as the book does about the aims of God, the purpose of mission and the unity of the Christian community? I am inclined to side with the more open plurality of Bosch or with the *theologia crucis* of Kosuke Koyama. In my view, the latter models provide God with more options, more openness and a somehow deeper agnosticism. Do we really know so much?

Also, I also fear that the book underestimates the power of charismatic spirituality with its theology of success and happiness. One may or may not like it, but charismatic spirituality is clearly a dominant force in contemporary mission. Does this book, which is in many ways so impressive and convincing, reveal an insufficient understanding of contemporary pluralism?

If the ambitions of the book were scaled down to suggest one perspective out of many possible ones within the cosmos of contemporary missiological options, I would express my sincere appreciation. Looking at the book in that way, I see no fatal problem in its lack of representation or its attempt to find a unified theology. Seen from this perspective, the unified, ecumenical and Western contour of this book is a good match for other, more Third World-based perspectives published by others. A wealth of knowledge, wisdom and concern is gathered by the authors; a missionary pil-
Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World
Kwok Pui-lan
Paper.

Reviewed by Mayumi Mori Tabuchi,
Hyogo University, Kakogawa

It was in the summer of 1995 that I took Kwok Pui-lan's seminar on "Asian Women's Biblical Reflections and Theology," as a part of the six-week summer term for candidates for the Doctor of Ministry degree at San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo. My first impression of her in the orientation session where teachers and students gathered together, was of a soft-spoken woman, whose English had a Chinese accent and intonation, and a strong and delightful way of encouraging women's active participation in the course. She even raised her fist above her head, and everyone present (about half were women) spontaneously responded with applause and cheers. Watching all of this, I was quite fascinated and proud of her presence, expecting great wonders to happen in the class. Naturally, one of the texts for that course was this book, Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World, which had just been published.

The first three chapters deal with the unique position of Asian Christians in the history of reading the Bible. Along with the biblical tradition, Kwok treasures the religious traditions as well as the social biographies of Asian peoples. She calls for the necessity of "demythologizing" the sacred authority of the Bible, and seeks to "demystify" the ways the Bible has been used in the past. It is the Bible itself and its interpretations as well that we should examine critically with the help of other traditions. Thus, she offers an image of the Bible as a "talking book" which welcomes multicultural dialogues in Asia to liberate ourselves from a hierarchical model of truth. She uses a "correlative logic" based on Chinese philosophy as a means of bringing the pragmatic into clearer focus. Instead of seeking after absolute truth, Kwok insists on searching for wisdom in everyday living which allows for more room for dialogue, difference and multiplicity.

In chapters 4 and 5, Kwok, as an Asian woman theologian, suggests oral and multifaith biblical hermeneutics. In the Bible, as well as in the Asian traditions, the actual voices of women did not survive in the writing process. The majority of Asian Christian women still pass on the Biblical stories orally to those they come into contact with daily. She suggests some ways in which an oral hermeneutic may give voice to the women in the Bible, help reframe the discourse and reconstruct the dialogue and blend different narratives as if weaving a tapestry.

Kwok's multifaith hermeneutic suggests an answer to the question of the relation of the Gospel and culture. Any faith tradition, including the Biblical tradition, is not monolithic and influences peoples of different races, classes and genders. "In many Asian traditions, the knower, the known, and the knowledge are not clearly separated.... Hermeneutics has to do with much more than the study of a given text; it includes the perception of truth behind the text and the relation of the text to the ethos and practice of the religious community" (p. 68). Asian women theologians are more conscious than their male colleagues of the tendency for male dominance in Asian religious traditions. Together with a critical observation of the androcentric elements in the Bible, "Multifaith hermeneutic for women, therefore, is not characterized by a hermeneutics of consent to the Biblical
story and the Asian story but rather a process of double hermeneutics of suspicion and reclamation” (p. 70).

Through chapters 6 and 7, Kwok raises some sharp issues in regard to colonial oppression. Focusing on the gentile woman’s story in Mark 7:24-30, she seeks a postcolonial interpretation which might overcome anti-Semitism, sexism and colonialism. After raising these issues as an Asian woman, being in solidarity with Third World and minority women, she asks one of the most radical questions about studying the Bible with integrity: “What price have you paid in your study of the Bible?”

I was literally moved to tears by the prologue and the epilogue, both of which were sermons. In these sermons, she talked about the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989, because of which she said her Bible study would never be the same.

Kwok is a compassionate preacher as well as an uplifting teacher in the classroom who enables us to transform our narrow and one-sided perspectives into multidimensional ones based on all the cultures and faiths of our suffering world and shared history. This is a powerful book for English-speaking readers or bilingual speakers who are interested in cross-cultural education and interfaith dialogue, as well as feminist theology.

Living Mission: Challenges in Evangelization Today
James H Kroeger

Reviewed by Brendan Kelleher,
Nanzan Kokusai High School, Nagoya

The provenance of a book can sometimes raise one’s expectations higher than is appropriate or warranted. Coming from the hand of a member of the Maryknoll Society’s General Council (Kroeger is Asia-Pacific Assistant), I had hoped for a balanced and coherent study of the themes presented. Perhaps I should have been forewarned by the foreword of the book, written by scripture scholar Eugene LaVerdiere. All in all the book is best approached as leaves taken from the author’s attempts to share his own personal philosophy, or better perhaps, elements of his spirituality for mission.

Let us briefly look at the shape and contents of the book. One indicator of the nature of the book is that, though it is a relatively slim volume of just over 160 pages, one is surprised to see that it has no less than seventeen chapter headings. Longer and more substantial chapters are mixed with brief notes of no more than a couple of pages. Contrast chapter 3 with twenty pages or chapter 19 with nineteen pages and chapter 15 with less than two pages or chapter 13 also just two pages. Only two chapters (3 and 8) contain either footnotes or references, and in the case of chapter 3, five out of thirteen references are to writings of Kroeger himself.

Part 1, “Overviews of Mission,” has two chapters of commentary, the first on Pope John Paul II’s encyclical on mission, Redemptoris Missio and then on the document Dialogue and Proclamation, which is subtitled “Reflections and Orientations on Interreligious Dialogue and the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ,” and was brought out by the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue in collaboration with the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples. Further comments on these two documents will be given below.

Part 2, “Theological Foundations,” may prove for readers the most rewarding part of the book, and comprises four chapters. Chapter 3 concerns itself with the missionary as one sent, as one who participates in the mission of the Trinity. Chapters 5 and 6
are concerned more with the pneumatological aspects of mission but are sadly lacking in depth.

Part 3, "Life and Mission Today," contains six chapters, of which chapter 9 is an overview of mission in Asia from a Maryknoll perspective. The section on Japan is adequate, but needs amending in the light of the whole Aum Shinrikyō incident and other scandals caused by religious organizations in recent years. One suspects that it had its origins in a report prepared by Kroeger in his role as Asia-Pacific Assistant. This should not detract from the many valuable reflections offered in the chapter.

Other chapters include chapter 8 on popular religiosity, and chapter 12 on knowing our neighbors, focusing specifically on the Muslim communities among whom Kroeger worked both in Bangladesh and the Philippines. While both chapters encourage reflection, a certain lack of substance and depth means they may not suffice to even whet the appetite of some readers.

Part 4, "Reflective Vignettes," has three chapters of which one, chapter 15, "Becoming Eucharist" is just four brief prayer-poems on the topic. One would like to know a little of their origin, and whether they were ever actually used in community worship. Chapter 14, "Bridging Muslims and Christians," focuses on the role of Mary in dialogue. When made aware that by the year 2000, now just over four years away, Muslims will outnumber Catholic Christians, the urgency of dialogue with Islam is even more evident.

Part 5, "Resources for Mission," contains summaries of the two major papal documents on mission published since Vatican II, Paul VI's Apostolic Exhortation, Evangelii Nuntiandi (1975) and John Paul II's encyclical Redemptoris Missio (1990). Given the rather turgid and torturous prose that marks all of the present Pope's writings, one can only be grateful for a most competent summary of the content of the latter. It is also with thanks that one recalls the gift that Paul VI was to the Catholic Church in the years immediately after Vatican II and the catholicity of his vision. (On this point see either Peter Hebblethwaite's magisterial biography of Paul VI, or Annibale Bugnini's indispensable The Reform of the Liturgy 1948-1975.) At the same time one cannot but regret that Kroeger didn't offer a comparative commentary on the two documents, noting both the points of continuity, and those areas where there is a shift of emphasis. For example, the vision of Paul VI is that of the People of God in Mission, whereas ultimately John Paul II's vision is more institutional and clerical in its emphasis.

To return to the two documents Redemptoris Missio and Dialogue and Proclamation, commentaries on which open the book, officially the encyclical preceded the document from the Pontifical Council, being dated December 12, 1990, and was written we are told to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of Vatican II's decree on the missions Ad Gentes (December 7, 1965), a fact not averred to by Kroeger. In its turn, Dialogue and Proclamation finally saw the light of day on Pentecost Sunday, May 19, 1991.

However there are indications that the Pontifical Council, in collaboration with the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples had completed their document, the product of some five years' gestation and careful study and dialogue, sometime before the encyclical.

Further it was initially only available in the pages of the Vatican daily L'Osservatore Romano, with no other official translations provided. Whereas, in contrast, the encyclical was, as has become customary, made immediately available in all the major languages.

In addition, while ostensibly the work of John Paul II, it is reported to be heavily influenced by the writings of, if not chiefly written by one of the few members of the
department of missiology at the Gregorian University who still advocates a theology of mission as implantation as distinct from a more contextual approach to theology.

Here one wonders whether it may be possible to detect the hand of Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith who has consistently expressed reservations regarding the idea of evangelization understood as inculturation. If nothing else, in comparing the two documents, particularly if Dialogue and Proclamation is coupled with the 1984 document Dialogue and Mission (produced by the Secretariat for Non-Christians) one is made aware that there are two competing, and not always complementary theologies of mission currently circulating in the Catholic Church.

Kroeger could have served us well had he gone into depth on these questions, and this lacuna is only to be regretted. It is certainly a topic that deserves more attention in the latter half of a decade that John Paul II himself has called for to be marked by a "New Evangelization."

Though there are sections of the book where we are offered matters of substance that can only serve to stimulate systematic theological reflection on the topics taken up, the book is best approached as noted above as a resource in the spirituality of mission. Even on that level, however, the book leaves one wanting more, such as we find, for instance, in books like Michael Reilly Collins, SJ, Spirituality for Mission (Orbis Books, New York, 1975), or more recently Michael Amaladoss, SJ, Mission Today: Reflections from an Ignatian Perspective (Centrum Ignatianum Spirituali, Rome and Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand, India, 1989). Ultimately one cannot help wonder whether Orbis Books, an activity of the Maryknoll Society, published the book as an act of filial piety rather than for its innate merit.

BOOK REVIEWS

Roland Allen: Pioneer, Priest, and Prophet
Hubert J. B. Allen
Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995

Reviewed by Gordon Laman,
Tokyo Union Theological Seminary

The subtitle says it well. Roland was all of those and more. As is well documented in this book by his grandson, this churchman, missionary, and missiologist was often so incisive, so far-seeing, and so blunt in his speaking and writing that he offended many, and his theological ideas and missiological insights were often not well received in his time. However, the validity of his creative work has been repeatedly confirmed in the church’s life and mission history.

Known in missiology circles primarily for two books, Missionary Methods: St. Paul or Ours and The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It, he actually published no less than thirty-six articles, books and pamphlets. Drawing on Allen’s personal papers and interviews with family members, as well as his writings, the present book is a superb record of the development of Allen’s unique role and contributions. Out of his early years as a missionary in China, his pastorate in the Church of England, and his years as a kind of roving advocate for his missiological ideas in Africa, India, Canada and elsewhere came challenging positions that were radical in his time but are now taken for granted on the role of the church professional and voluntary clergy, the centrality of the Eucharist, the scandal of Christian disunity and the necessity of the freedom and independence of the younger churches resulting from missionary endeavors. Allen viewed the Holy Spirit as central to mis-
vision. As Lesslie Newbigin writes in the foreword, “Allen’s insistence that mission is not one of the tasks of the Church, but rather the very being of the Church itself, is misunderstood if the experience of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit is not constitutive of churchmanship.”

Allen was an incorrigible missionary, always challenging the status quo of the church, relentlessly pursuing the realization of integrity in the church and its mission enterprise. We may not agree with him in every respect, but cannot resist being stimulated in the direction of honest reflection and creative thinking concerning the mission of the church in the reading of this book.

Nitobe Inazo: Japan’s Bridge Across the Pacific
John F. Howes, editor

Reviewed by Helen Ballhatchet,
Keio University, Tokyo

It seems fitting that this book on Nitobe Inazo should appear fifty years after the end of the war which he tried so hard to prevent, in a year which saw a fair degree of tension and open disagreement between the two countries which he tried so hard to link. Despite the importance of his self-appointed task and its continued relevance, Nitobe is not nearly as well known in present-day Japan as his fame during his lifetime would lead one to expect or his presence on the ¥5,000 note would suggest. Moreover, even though John Howes and George Oshiro surely exaggerate when they claim that “A student will seek in vain reference to him in standard sources” (is the Nihon Kindaishi Jiten, to name but one, not a standard source?), and even that “study of Nitobe has been a taboo topic since 1945” (p.4), it is true that Nitobe has not received the scholarly attention enjoyed by his classmate Uchimura Kanzō. It is also true that one of the main reasons for this is the fact that while Uchimura chose silence, and died before the Manchurian Incident, Nitobe remained alive until 1933 but never abandoned his efforts to explain the Japanese position to the United States. This volume, which contains twelve essays originally presented at the Nitobe-Ohira Memorial Conference in 1984, with introductory and concluding chapters, goes some way to explain the reasons behind Nitobe’s persistence in what must have seemed an increasingly impossible mission.

The book is divided into four sections. In the first, “Maturation,” Howes emphasizes the extent to which Nitobe was motivated by a need to fulfill the expectations of his mother and match the achievements of his immediate male ancestors. Furuya Jun then draws an intriguing contrast between Nitobe as a postgraduate student at Johns Hopkins, withdrawn and lacking in self-confidence, and the same Nitobe within the Philadelphia Quaker community, as an outgoing and self-assured public speaker. The second section, “Cultural Identity,” has three essays looking at different aspects of Bushido and one, by Douglas Roden, on Nitobe’s ideas about character development and what happened when he tried to implement them at Ichiko.

The last two sections, “Japan in the World” and “Evaluation” confront the controversy surrounding Nitobe, the nationalist internationalist. Miwa Kimitada examines Nitobe’s views on colonialism, comparing them with the views of his contemporaries, and pointing out his stress on Japan’s need to ensure national security and the importance of benevolent rule of inferior races. Thomas Burkman looks at Nitobe’s time at the League of Nations and his international activities after his resignation. Both essays show the extent to which Nitobe was a
product (prisoner?) of his country and time. His negative attitude to China and emphasis on East Asia as Japan’s exclusive sphere of influence reveal a worldview radically different from that accepted in contemporary Western circles. Burkman also conveys the image of someone who tended to concentrate on human relationships, building bridges through personal charm and the suppression of differences of outlook, and avoiding hard-hitting discussions of economic and political points at issue. Ota Yūzō’s essay, the most thought-provoking and the most openly critical of Nitobe, also highlights his “fuzziness” as a cultural mediator, revealing the superficiality of his actual knowledge of Japan and his tendency to tailor his message to fit his audience.

The painful final years are approached from various angles. Satō Masahiro, in a rather hagiological essay, reveals some contributions to the English Osaka Mainichi which were omitted from posthumous republications of Nitobe’s works. George Oshiro shows the extent of the pressure to which he was subjected by ultranationalists in Japan and suggests that his controversial trip to America in 1932 to explain the Japanese point of view was made at the instigation of the Japanese government. In the conclusion, Howes recognizes the validity of Ota’s doubts regarding Nitobe’s sincerity, but decides that it is not yet possible to judge conclusively whether Nitobe betrayed his internationalist ideals. On the other hand, he is able to end on an upbeat note by pointing out how Nitobe’s bridge-building bore fruit in the postwar years.

The book does not, therefore, remove the element of controversy from Nitobe’s reputation, although it shows the magnitude of the dilemma which he faced. A chapter linking his international activities with his Christianity might have helped to clarify matters since it would have given further evidence of how Nitobe behaved when his national loyalties clashed with his international ideals. For example, he must have been aware of the involvement of Korean Christians in anti-Japanese activities, and the persecution which they faced as a consequence. He must also have had some contacts with international Christian bodies such as the World Missionary Conference Continuation Committee, which took up the case of the Korean Conspiracy Trials of 1912. I would also have welcomed a chapter on the role of his wife.

While Howes sees Nitobe “as a model for all those who regularly deal with people of other cultures” (p.ix), Ota writes more cautiously that, “His case may serve as a lesson” for cultural mediators (p.250). Whatever our opinion of Nitobe, and whatever conclusion other writers may draw in the future, it is clear that all those interested in promoting good international relations have much to learn from his experiences, and from this book.

Reviewed by Mitani Takayasu, Matsuyama Shinonome Junior College, Matsuyama

According to “America’s Best Colleges 1994,” published annually by U.S. News & World Report, Amherst College is rated first in the top ten among 164 national liberal arts colleges. It is indeed an excellent school.

Last year 43,770 Japanese crossed the Pacific to study in the United States (The Almanac of Higher Education, 1995). It is very popular now for Japanese students to study in America. The above figure indicates only those going for full-time study. If
one also included the number of students who travel to the United States for short-term language study (now conducted by nearly all Japanese colleges and universities), the number of students who travel to America to study in some fashion or other would easily exceed 100,000. Despite such widespread contact with American colleges and universities, it is still the Ivy league or well-known universities in the West whose names are known. The best liberal arts colleges are still not properly appreciated for what they are by the Japanese. Amherst College is still not as well known in Japan as Harvard, Columbia, UCLA or USC.

In the context of the history of Christianity in Japan, post-Meiji modern education and even the history of Japanese-American relations, Amherst College has indeed played a surprisingly major role. Amherst College is the alma mater of many prominent American Board missionaries. The college also educated William S. Clark, first president of Sapporo Agricultural College (now Hokkaido University), Uchimura Kanzô, leader of the Mukyokai (non-church) movement and Niijima Jô, founder of Dōshisha University. Among these three, Niijima, also known as Joseph Hardy Neesima which is the rendering of his surname employed by Kitagaki, is undoubtedly the one with the strongest connection to Amherst College.

Composed of twenty-eight chapters, this book is a compendium of research and lectures between 1966 and 1995, including Kitagaki's articles, lectures and writings about Niijima as well as those about Amherst College and Amherst House—the tangible architectural manifestation of the relationship between Amherst and Dōshisha which stands on the Dōshisha University campus. The author's perspective and approach in his writings reflect the changes in the times. How the author proceeded in his research is also of great interest, for Kitagaki's own life as a scholar is intimately connected to the content of the book.

Kitagaki graduated from Dōshisha University in 1952, earned his master's degree in 1954, then taught English literature there for thirty-six years. He earned his doctorate in 1981. Since 1991, when he became president of the newly established Keiwa Gakuen College, he has devoted his energies to this new Christian college in Niigata Prefecture. While teaching at Dōshisha, he succeeded his mentor Otis Cary, then professor of Amherst College and Dōshisha University, as director of Amherst House and has striven for the restoration of Amherst House as a viable residential and educational facility.

In addition, Kitagaki has translated into Japanese Joseph Hardy Neesima (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1905) by Jerome D. Davis and Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1891) by A. S. Hardy. Through all the research, translations and lectures and from his background, it is clear that Kitagaki has devoted his life and enthusiasm to this topic.

The most problematic aspect of studying Niijima is that, unlike Fukuzawa Yukichi (founder of Keio University) and Okuma Shigenobu (founder of Waseda University), Niijima did not leave his philosophy, thought and experiences in any organized fashion for posterity. For many years, research on Niijima has meant formulating a biography by tracing his tumultuous life from his short autobiography and poetry. Or, it has meant reconstructing his personality from fiction as most readily seen in Tokutomi Roka's Black Eyes and Brown Eyes. Niijima's philosophy has no secure position in the history of Japanese thought.

The result of further study in more recent years, however, has provided new perspectives overcoming these earlier limitations. It has involved delving into
Niijima's character through his personal letters and memos, letters of friends, classmates and those who are thought to have influenced Niijima.

In one sense, there may be a parallel here to the approach of New Testament scholars studying Jesus' thought. New sources have brought to the surface heretofore unknown aspects of Niijima. One excellent example in this volume is Kitagaki's discovery of William Jacob Holland's documents. Holland roomed with Niijima at Amherst College and later in life became president of what is now the University of Pittsburgh. He was "by far the most important" (p. 223) of Niijima's three roommates during his years at Amherst. Holland's letters home are filled with expressions of high respect and deep trust of Niijima and through these letters, we can grasp the personality of this man.

In the second and third chapters of the book, Kitagaki employs sound scholarly methods to portray Niijima with the help of this new material. His greatest interest lies in Niijima's years in America. It is not surprising for Kitagaki, a scholar of English literature, to focus on New England. Utilizing his expert knowledge and English-language skills, Kitagaki searched many English sources pertaining to Niijima, and has provided solid corroborative evidence contributing greatly to the study of Niijima's life. The wide-ranging insight and knowledge Kitagaki has brought to this study go beyond a biographical character study; it is indeed a work of high quality in American studies.

The fourth chapter is made up of various articles relating to Amherst College. Interspersing his own experiences in the United States during the Vietnam war years, Kitagaki relates Amherst's history and its relationship with Doshisha. This material is of great interest for one gets a sense of Amherst's atmosphere and student attitudes and behavior.

The last chapter deals with Amherst House at Doshisha and its history, the author's own irreplaceably poignant reactions as a former student resident, later as a closely involved alumnus and finally as its director. As a concrete manifestation of the interrelationship of Amherst College and Doshisha University, Amherst House has been a focal point for educational and international exchange. Since its founding in 1932 when it was first opened to students as a dormitory, it has offered much as a truly unique facility even among the many universities of Japan. Amherst House was designed and built by William Merrell Vories in a tasteful New England, Georgian style. Over the years, supported by both tangible and intangible aid from Amherst College, Amherst House resident students have gone out into the world equipped with an international sense.

Due to changes in student attitudes and temperament or deficiencies in the university administration, the original purpose of Amherst House was changed beyond repair. After Otis Cary, who served as director for thirty-two years of its history resigned in disappointment, Kitagaki succeeded to that post. We can appreciate his inner feelings as he wrote the fifty-year history of Amherst House.

Through 625 pages, we see the fruits of Kitagaki's research as well as a rendering of part of his own life and studies into concrete form. This work is indeed a prime source for the study of Niijima as well as for American Studies. Moreover, in its cross-sectional portrayal of an exemplary American liberal arts college, Kitagaki's book serves as a very helpful guide on which to base our thinking about higher education in Japan.
The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan

Ikegami Eiko
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995

Reviewed by M. William Steele, International Christian University, Tokyo

This book is a sociological study of the changing roles played by the samurai class for nearly 700 years of Japanese history, from the Kamakura period up to the end of the nineteenth century. Ikegami Eiko, Associate Professor of Sociology at Yale University, is interested in values, particularly honor, and tries to poke holes in a number of established views of Japanese society. She is particularly dissatisfied with the notion that Japan is a consensus "group" society and points instead to a long-standing tradition of "heroic individualism" associated with the samurai. Moreover, her samurai do not meekly seek to preserve the status quo; they offer dynamic resistance to the establishment and emerge as sources of innovation.


On the one hand, "the refocusing of the culture of honor supplied an indigenous moral resource that was subsequently fully utilized for promoting organizational soli-

The strength of Ikegami's book is her concern with historical change. When dealing with values, it is tempting to ascribe them to culture and it is doubly tempting to assume that culture does not change. Thus, there arose the argument that Japan has always been a group society in which values such as harmony and consensus are given priority. Ikegami rejects this facile view and traces tensions between individualist aspirations and normative standards of conformity throughout seven centuries of Japanese history. Her attempt to "historize" Japanese culture is to be applauded.

A major theme of the book is its look at the samurai contribution to the process of state formation in the Tokugawa period. Taking hints from Max Weber, Ikegami notes that the formation of a state hinges on the ability of the state to monopolize the use of legitimate violence—the state as "organized crime." Private resort to violence is considered illegitimate, whereas the state's use of violence (warfare/executions) is not. A new culture of honor emerged during the long peace of the Tokugawa era: honor that was less associated with violence and more with virtuous self-discipline; honor that was less personal and more organizational; honor that was less concerned with performance and more with status.

Ikegami defines this new construct as "honorific individualism" and it is here that she finds Japan's indigenous cultural resource for individualism and the means
which would allow/propel the individual to go against prevailing currents in society (p. 350).

Ikegami’s thesis is interesting. The focus on the samurai’s cultural evolution obviously has much to tell readers about the nature of honor, individuality, and selfishness in contemporary Japanese society. The samurai passion for independence and their painful attempt to reconcile it with a collective identity certainly resonates with a dilemma confronted by many modern Japanese. No wonder the samurai remains an important cultural symbol at the end of the twentieth century.

Ikegami’s book is a work of historical sociology. It is important to keep this in mind as some readers, especially historians, may be surprised at her attempt to cover the evolution of samurai values in 300 pages. She is forced to remain on the surface; theory predominates over historical insight. Moreover, the texts are familiar: stories from the Konjaku, Confucian thought of Yamaga Sokō and Arai Hakuseki, stories by Saikaku, the tale of the forty-seven ronin, Hagakure and the cult of death, and so on. And she relies heavily on secondary literature. Some historians may even question her endeavor to use the past to explain the present. Ikegami wants to see how samurai values contributed to “the making of modern Japan.”

This presupposes a meta-narrative that some may dispute. Why not understand samurai values in the context of their own day or some other non-linear format? These, of course, are criticisms by historians; sociologists and those unfamiliar with literature on the samurai, may draw very different conclusions. Taken on its own terms, as any book should be, The Taming of the Samurai is an important text for understanding the origins and transformation of cultural values informing self and society and how they may relate to the various tensions between individualism and collectivism in modern Japan.

**Shapers of Japanese Buddhism**
Kashiwahara Yusen and Sonoda Koyu, eds.
viii. 379pp.

*Reviewed by Paul L. Swanson, Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, Nagoya*

This handy volume contains twenty “major biographies” and seventy-five “brief biographies” of important figures in the history of Japanese Buddhism. It is a translation of a work originally published in Japanese, and the translators and editors are to be commended for producing a book that reads smoothly and successfully, providing basic information in an appealing fashion. Its usefulness is enhanced by the inclusion of many pages of photographs, maps, a chronological guide, glossary, list of primary sources (“documents”), suggested readings, and index.

The selection of who should “make the list” in such a work as this is a tricky matter. The twenty major biographies include the obvious choices such as Kūkai, Saichō, Hōnen, Shinran, Dōgen, Nichiren, and so forth, but also refreshingy include four modern figures: Shimaji Mokurai, Shaku Soen, Kiyozawa Manshi, and Suzuki Daisetz.

I was surprised to find that the collection did not open with Prince Shōtoku, with which most Japanese accounts would begin, but he is given sufficient treatment in the brief biographies. One might also wonder why Hakuin was relegated to a brief biography, while the lesser-known (and certainly less influential) Gessho (1813-1858) is given major attention.
The major biographies, though too short to give much indepth analysis of the figures, does provide more than the basic encyclopedia entry. The approach is balanced and the contents informative, though sometimes the attempt to end the article on an upbeat note tends to become a bit maudlin (e.g., the chapter on Saichō ends with an appeal to the image of "the Japanese cedars on [Mt. Hiei]...shrouded in mist," while "the lamp of the dharma...will never be extinguished").

One section that I found particularly informative and touching was the final section of the chapter on Suzuki Daisetz, which takes up the young Umehara Takeshi’s criticism of Suzuki’s work on Japanese culture. The brief account is a sensitive and balanced treatment that raises important questions without resorting to unnecessary attack on Suzuki’s character.

Finally, the seventy-five brief biographies give basic, encyclopedia-like information on numerous figures that could not be given longer treatment. As with the major biographies, this section includes many modern and contemporary figures (e.g., Inoue Enryū, Nanjō Bun'yō, Murakami Senshō) that are probably overlooked in general histories of Japanese Buddhism. Since the work takes the traditional “lives of great men” approach, it does not provide analysis of the broader flow of development of Buddhism in Japan. It may not serve well on its own as a textbook for an introductory course, though I find it quite handy for checking information or for a quick reading while preparing for lectures on Japanese Buddhism. Students should also find it useful for gaining an overview of the major figures of Japanese Buddhism. In short, this is a reliable and informative work that should serve well both as an introductory work for beginners and a source of reference for the teacher.

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Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism


Reviewed by Joseph O’Leary, Sophia University, Tokyo

The Kyoto Zen Symposium, funded by the Taniguchi Foundation, brings together annually a score of scholars for a week of intensive debate. As a participant in the thirteenth symposium, on "The Challenge of Modernity to Religious Doctrine," I was impressed by the authenticity with which each speaker presented his own tradition’s response and by the philosophical openness of the discussions. The present work, based on the proceedings of the eleventh symposium, held in Santa Fe, is marked by the same spirit of frank and courteous inquiry. The topic it deals with is an explosive one, but there are no voices raised in shrill indignation, despite a great difference of emphasis between most of the Japanese contributors and most of the Western ones.

The complicity of Zen and the Kyoto School in "a Japanese nationalism whose practical adventures brought untold suffering to other countries in Asia and was ultimately catastrophic for Japan itself" (p. 235) is discussed fairly and calmly, with a constant effort to retain respect for honored teachers and predecessors. This forms an instructive contrast to the tone of the Heidegger controversy in Europe and the U.S.A., often marked by opportunistic sensationalism, self-righteous political correctness, a readiness to interpret every detail in the worst possible sense, and philistinism towards Heidegger’s thought and philosophy in general.
The present volume has, however, the faults of its virtues. It juxtaposes contradictory viewpoints with no effort to provide an overview, either in a preface or an epilogue. If each paper were followed by a critical response, the points of discord might have emerged more clearly. The low-key tone of the discussion may arouse suspicions that what is going on here is a subtle edulcoration of the painful questions which are robbed of their sting by being taken aboard in a display of disinterested reflection. The Japanese contributors gravitate towards apologia and show little awareness of what Japan’s imperialist ideology meant in practice. Most of the contributors base their views on close reading of the Kyoto philosophers’ texts, without a sufficient background in historical and political analysis. Politics is not as easy to think about as philosophers and Zen monks tend to imagine. To decipher the true political sense of an event or a speech may require the dialectical versatility of Hegel and Marx, the psychological acumen of Freud and Lacan, and the lawyer’s or the detective’s eye for significant detail. Common sense can show up the blind spots of the Kyoto philosophers, but a thorough understanding of how these delusions arose or how they functioned within the play of the political interests of the time would require a skill in historical analysis which few possess.

Yet the unease which this book generates adds to its thought-provoking quality. A more conclusive work might have short-circuited the process of judgment; a more cautious one would have robbed us of a vivid picture of Japanese attitudes to a troubling heritage. The very fact that critics and apologists meet within the covers of one book is a major step towards confronting that murky past, and allaying the fear expressed by one contributor: “Given the apparent reluctance of the Zen tradition to look squarely at the issue of war responsibility, the possibility of its being ‘doomed to repeat’ past mistakes is not insignificant” (p. 29).

The Kyoto school philosophers had a facility in spinning dialectical webs with abstract concepts which gave them the illusion that they had provided a rational basis for Japan’s wartime activities. Infatuated with Hegel, they lacked Hegel’s political canniness and his ability to recognize brutality and tragedy in human affairs. As if in the grip of some cunning dialectic, their claims to a lofty universalism constantly flopped over into imperialistic chauvinism. They saw the emperor as supreme mediation of the absolute, and envisaged a postwar role for him as a “symbol of Absolute Nothingness” (p. 303). They saw Japan as a unique and superior country, the foremost agent of world ethics. Thus Nishitani Keiji wrote in 1942: “There is no country other than Japan where Eastern religiosity has been so closely bound to national ethics as to become the cornerstone of the nation and tap its primal energies….In our country today the moral energy that is the driving force of national ethics must at the same time directly energize a world ethic” (p. 219).

Abbot Hirata Seiko asks why Zen monks failed to speak out on the Buddhist ideal of nonbelligerence and instead lent their active support to the war effort. Ichikawa Hakugen’s suggestion that the Zen detachment from ethical reasoning might be to blame is met with an ad hominem riposte: “Ichikawa became involved in a somewhat radical movement in Japan against the war in Vietnam. As the protests led to violent clashes with authority, some from the Buddhist world questioned Ichikawa’s collaboration in the movement on the grounds that anything which provokes violence is opposed to Buddhism.” It rather sounds as if the Buddhist world was straining out gnats while swallowing camels. Hirata concludes that Zen is basically concerned with the self and its freedom, not with politics. Such a disjunction of spiritual enlightenment and political deludedness seems highly problematic.
Christopher Ives expounds Ichikawa’s critique more sympathetically, pointing out that he was virtually the only Japanese Buddhist to examine critically Zen’s role in Japan’s Fifteen-Year War. The Zen attitude of inner freedom and indifference in regard to all circumstances translated in practice into accommodation with fascism. Imagining themselves to be masters of external circumstances, almost all Zen figures became opportunistic in their adjustment to them. In Nishida’s philosophy, a glorification of actuality undermines the critical freedom required for ethical thought. Though Nishida was “trying to steer his country away from destructive imperialism and hence was not a nationalist in any narrow or bellicose sense” (p. 32), he still deserves censure for (1) absolutizing present actualities in an unethical way; (2) seeing the state as source and embodiment of moral value; (3) promoting the divine emperor myth; (4) advocating submission to the state and fusion with the emperor; (5) lacking economic analysis; (6) a bias toward harmony and unity, which caused him to confuse the realities of politics with personal longings for serenity; and (7) an espousal of Japan’s taking the lead in Asia at a time when this meant military aggression and colonial rule (p. 32).

Ueda Shizuteru, a major Kyoto school figure, notes that in his advice to the Army in 1943 on the “new world order,” Nishida urged respect for the autonomy of individual nations, accusing Army leaders of creating a coercion sphere rather than a co-prosperity sphere. Nishida engaged in a semantic struggle, trying to give an acceptable content to such slogans as “the Imperial Way,” and warning against those who “would turn the Imperial Way into an imperialism” (p. 93). When Nishida calls the imperial family “a self-identity of contradictions, a being of non-being,” the important point is that he does not say an “absolute self-identity of contradictions” (p. 94). Ueda concludes that the entire debate about Nishida’s complicity in the war effort is unfounded, since there was no such complicity. But the impression remains that Nishida’s rhetoric lent itself easily enough to misinterpretation as the philosophical foundation of the war effort, and that to break that identification a far bolder critique of the war government’s policies would have been required.

Horio Tsutomu deals with the notorious Chûkôron discussions of 1941–42. He seems to believe that this notoriety is entirely due to the “unrepentant bias and partiality” of critics who have refused to assess the debate “for its value as thought” (p. 291). He sees the Greater East Asia War as “an attempt by the nations of Asia to create a new pluralistic world order in which the hegemony of modern Western culture and its values would be overthrown” (p. 292). The Kyoto thinkers “put logical order into the three pillars of wartime thought: ‘all-out war,’ ‘eternal war,’ and ‘the founding ideals of the nation.’... They did not produce an apology for fascism and the war. All they did was formulate public ideas, or perhaps we should say interpret them” (p. 294). They interpreted all-out war as a “philosophical war” mediating a change in worldview, “a unique mode of war hitherto unseen,” “a war to overcome modernity,” “a war that has welled up from the deepest recesses of history, superseding the distinction between peacetime and wartime” (p. 311). Their talk of “Japanizing the Koreans” shows “an excess in the aim of realizing a ‘co-prosperous’ autonomy and independence for the peoples of East Asia through a show of strength against the imperialist countries of the West” (p. 315).

In contrast, Jan Van Bragt describes the Chûkôron debates as follows:

Here we see a group of intellectuals stumbling about in a kind of euphoric haze, groggy with the excitement of a war and its coming adventures. In their
Van Bragt probes behind such Kyoto school nationalism to an entrenched Japanese particularism rooted in “the preponderance of the social nexus over the individuals and over the transcendent” (p. 237). He claims that “the nationalistic-sounding pronouncements of Nishida, Tanabe, and Nishitani are not simply turns of phrase or idle thoughts without any organic link to the body of their philosophical thinking” (p. 245). They saw their philosophical ideals as already embodied in Japanese culture and the Japanese state; even their sincere criticisms of totalitarianism lacked a solid anchor in their philosophy, because they had no conception of transcendence that could warrant “the refusal to identify the Absolute with anything this-worldly and with it the ‘absolute’ grounding of the individual” (p. 251). Here Van Bragt seems to be putting Mahayana Buddhism on trial.

John Maraldo singles out the most offensive themes in the Chūkōron debate: (1) Japan’s unique mission to uplift the peoples of East Asia; (2) the identification of Britain and America, not Germany or Japan, as the oppressors; (3) the justification of Japan’s role by a claim to superior historical consciousness and achievement. He goes on to recontextualize this jingoistic rhetoric by drawing an analogy with contemporary America’s sense of having a unique world mission: “wartime Japanese rationalizations have something in common with current American ideals” (p. 355). America has not yet reached the point of even considering an apology for its aggressions in Latin America and Southeast Asia.

Mori Tetsuri accepts Nishitani’s postwar account of his role: “I tried to explain the position of the nation in the world for the intellectual standers-by, and at the same time to open up a path in thought that might overcome from within the ideas of ultranationalism that were taking control at the time” (p. 316). The phrase “intellectual standers-by” refers to the ongoing “failure of the Japanese intelligentsia to participate in society and develop a sense of history.” But it is directed especially against leftist “critics who have not suffered” and who “no longer know what it is to write out of a sense of historical necessity” (p. 317) in contrast to Nishitani himself. Certainly, facile scapegoating of wartime rightists is not a historically deep strategy, but Nishitani’s method of turning the table on the scapegoaters does not argue a profound self-critique on his own part. Mori defends Nishitani’s wartime writings as “unequivocally clear” and “astonishingly consistent” in their projection of a philosophical ideal of global universality wherein each nation would practice self-negation. “It is in Nishitani’s critics that one finds a deliberately ideological agenda, not in Nishitani himself” (p. 323).

But even if Nishitani’s ideas were put forward in resistance to state absolutism, they could easily be coopted by it as its own propaganda, as Kevin Doak shows (p. 186). Nishitani may have intended his agenda as purely philosophical (if one can credit him with such naivete) but in practice it bathes in an ideological atmosphere. Andrew Feenberg points to the influence of German reactionary modernism (Ernst Junger), which enthused about the aesthetics of total mobilization and a fusion of moralische Energie and technological prowess (p. 153).
Rude Awakenings is an extremely valuable contribution to our understanding of Japanese political thought in the war period and its ongoing echoes today. It throws a harsh light on the ideological failure of the Kyoto School. But, as in the case of Heidegger, this should not lead us to devalue the abiding philosophical achievement of these thinkers, their synthesis of Mahayana spirituality with Western dialectics to create a new kind of thinking from the standpoint of emptiness or Absolute Nothingness. No thinker is above ideological suspicion, but neither can any critic claim the high moral ground of utter innocence. That there is a transmission of wisdom, despite the crookedness of history in which we are all involved, is the wager on which philosophical and religious tradition rests.

A Broader Vision: Perspectives on the Buddha and the Christ
Richard Henry Drummond

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Professor Drummond's vision is "broader" in the sense of "There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy." His seventeen years as a missionary in Japan have given him a wide ecumenical tolerance towards the preternatural or miraculous dimensions of religion. When he speaks of treating lightly subordinate critical issues in order "to delineate more clearly and emphatically the larger picture" (p. xi), what he means is the picture of a full-blooded supernatural universe, in which such phenomena as levitation, psychometry (p. 169), and miraculous creation of matter have their rightful place.

Well-versed in New Testament exegesis, versatile in argument, exuding moral and spiritual wholesomeness, Drummond subjects one's rationalistic prejudices to a severe buffeting. In contrast to exegetes who reduce the empirical facts of the resurrection to pneumatic events along the lines of Paul's conversion experience (cf. I Cor 15:5-8), he takes seriously "the combination of bilocational tangibility and the eating of food" and seeks comparisons with other "out-of-the-body events" (p. 150). The miracles of Jesus, an obligatory accompaniment of prophetic claims, are paralleled by preternatural phenomena in the careers of such figures as St. Joseph of Cupertino, Padre Pio, Therese Neumann, and Sathya Sai Baba ("reported to have performed operations after having materialized the instruments," p. 275). The problem, however, is not to get people to admit that such events occur, but to convince them that they are significant and not merely embarrassing. Some theologians talk of outgrowing the huge concessions the Gospels make to popular religiosity, and point to gospel texts that tone down the significance of miracles.

The most controversial aspect of Drummond's work is the role he ascribes to psychics in the substantiation of Christian claims. Thus we learn of "supportive evidence from clairvoyant sources for the historic Christian belief in the virgin birth of Jesus" (p. 271) and of Rudolf Steiner's "clairvoyant perception of events of the life of Jesus and of their cosmic significance" (p. 160). Steiner taught that "the Buddha 'in sending down influences from the spiritual worlds' has been a cooperator with the risen Christ and from the beginning of the Christian movement has contributed and continues to contribute to the activity that we call Christian" (p. 178).

Drummond's publishers are devoted to spreading the teachings of Edgar Cayce (1877-1945), "the American Protestant seer best known for his phenomenally accurate
clairvoyant medical diagnoses and wide-ranging methodologies of healing" (p. 25). Katharina Emmerich (1774–1824), the stigmatist whose fantastical life of Jesus once enjoyed such a vogue, receives equal credence. Drummond airily refers to "methodologies quite other than those of academic historiography but still meaningful, if tested in turn by the methodologies of other disciplines in the context of religious faith" (p. 245). Common sense must insist that visions have no standing as sources of historical information, and Christian faith must reject the spooky and repellent atmosphere they generate when stretched beyond the value for piety they may once have had. I saw last summer that the site of the Blessed Virgin’s house above Ephesus, identified on the strength of Emmerich’s Leben Jesu Forschung, is currently adorned with a saccharine poster inviting us to Jesus’s 200th birthday celebrations. Critical biblical scholarship has taught us to breathe a purer air. At one point I felt that Drummond had strayed into the world of Mrs. Nancy Reagan: "Are we not able to interpret also with religious meanings the prognostications of professional geologists regarding certain possible, not to say probable, events of this kind [cataclysms] within the North American continent?" (p. 171).

By seeking personalist traits in Buddhism and the law of karma in Christianity, Drummond brings the two religions closer. He sees the Buddhist doctrine of non-self as a later scholastic theory, not supported by the Buddha’s own teaching (pp. 52-3, 180). He finds the expression "posed-of-self" in Sutta-Nipata 477; in contrast Saddhatissa translates: “He does not see himself in terms of the self; poised, upright, firm…” (Yo attana attanaam nanupassati; samahito…). Drummond refers to Majjhima-Nikaya 1, 138 in support of the statement: “Actually the self in the true sense and what belongs to it ‘although actually existing are incomprehensible’”; yet the text as translated by Nanamoli merely insists that "since a self and what belongs to a self are not apprehended as true and established" views based on self and minelessness are "utterly and completely foolish."

Drummond asks if “the Buddha thought of Dharma or Nirvana in personalist terms, comparable to the ascription of personal aspects to the Deity in the Judaico-Christian tradition” and suggests that the Buddha would have regarded such a question as merely speculative (p. 56). He laments the absence of grace in early Buddhism: “A taking of initiative toward human beings is never ascribed by the Buddha in any of the early texts to either Dharma or Nirvana. Language precisely akin to Francis Thompson’s “The Hound of Heaven” is not to be found in the early texts as descriptive of the activity of Dharma or Nirvana. But as I have suggested above, the Buddha comes close to such language” (p. 57). It seems to me misguided to speak of Dharma or Nirvana as “acting” or to see Dharma as the “dynamic manifestation” (p. 44) of Nirvana. A more careful reflection on the culture-bound, phenomenological, and relative status of all such religious terminologies could halt such desultory comparisons. Viewed in terms of a traditional Augustinian conception of original sin and grace, Buddhism appears cheerfully Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian. But if we think of grace more concretely as the creation of a space of freedom and as a communal event rather than an invisible interior medicine, then the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha may well be experienced as such enabling events.

The Buddhist law of karma, or “principle of compensation,” prompts Drummond to see hell as a state of temporary punishment proportionate to the sin (p. 125) and the "kindness and severity of God as constituting two sides of the same coin (Rom 11:22), a principle far from the semi-magical notions of grace and faith with which the history of the Christian church in every major tradition
abounds” (pp. 133-4). This seems in tension with the Christian confession of undeserved grace and the forgiveness of sins. However, Drummond does point out that the atonement can overcome the otherwise inevitable law of karma (p. 166), by bringing about the objectively necessary “righting of wrong” on a cosmic scale; redemption cannot be understood without this karmic background.

This book can be recommended as a courageous, intelligent and instructive effort to bring Christianity and Buddhism into a comprehensive, spiritually vibrant perspective.