Comparative Socioreligious Studies:

The Relationship Between the Charismata and the Socioreligious Situations Focus on the Emperor Hirohito, Malcolm X, and Mahatma Gandhi

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I．Introduction

The emperor Hirohito, who succeeded to the throne in 1926 and died in 1989, was the longest reigning monarch in the world. The awakened Japanese national spirit and the territorial expansion of the Meiji era (1868-1912) had far-reaching effects beyond the Taisho era (1912-1926) and well into the Showa era (1926-1988) of emperor Hirohito. In the process of the Japanese modernization, the need for raw materials and markets for the growing industrial machine led to wars with China in 1894 and 1937; the former resulted in the ceding of Taiwan to Japanese control. Korea was invaded in 1910, providing the foundation for national antipathy towards Japan that persists to this day.

The worldwide economic depression of the 1930s gave the military the ability to expand its control over the country, resulting in conquests of many Asian countries. It led, however, to the ultimate disaster of the Second World War, which brought not only the destruction of almost all Japanese major cities by fire and explosive bombing, but also the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki which were the first and only cities ever to be atom-bombed in the world. It was also the first time in its recorded history that Japan had ever been conquered.

The primary purpose of this paper will be to research the relationship between Hirohito’s charisma and the prewar socioreligious situation of Japan which led the country to open war against its surrounding enemies. This paper will also pursue some comparative studies of Malcolm X and of Mahatma Gandhi and in his society, in order to gain profound understanding of socioreligious phenomena. Furthermore, some comparative methods concerning Max Weber’s charismatic theory were
utilized in this work.

II. History of Rising the Imperial Power in Japan

Japan, at the time of Hirohito’s birth in 1901, was a country that had encountered an incredible change in the previous 50 years after centuries of isolation. The opening of Japan and its modernization juxtaposed a time warp form the 17th century to the late 19th century. This great alternation took place under the Meiji emperor, who was Hirohito’s grandfather and Japan’s first modern ruler. Although there has been a time in the distant past when Japanese emperors ruled as well as reigned, for a thousand years or more before the Meiji era they did no more than preside over a government that was openly controlled by aristocrats or feudal lords.1)

During the Tokugawa era (1603–1867), for example, for over 260 years the Japanese emperors had been powerless figureheads, virtual prisoners of the shoguns, and merely hereditary overlords; however, at the same time they were real rulers of Japan.2) The position of the emperor at that time can be explained neither by the western sense of a king nor that of a pope. Even the Japanese people in the end of the Tokugawa era could not fully understand the emperors’ status. 3) Therefore, before the Meiji era, the emperors in Japan played a very unique role and were unclear figures as rulers.


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From the beginning of the Meiji era, however, the emperor was officially recognized as the highest Japanese authority by the Meiji Constitution.\(^4\) The aim of establishing the constitution was to shift the collapsed feudal system into a new imperial system by creating the absolute authority of the emperor in order to unite and manipulate the Japanese citizens and the scattered local powers of the samurai families. New modern governors of Meiji knew that the Japanese would follow and obey whatever was ordered in the name of the particular ruler, just as they did to their former local samurai rulers.\(^5\) Under the influence from the East Asian cosmological myth of Confucian and Buddhist antecedents, the Japanese owe filial piety to their parents and loyalty to their ruler.\(^6\)

### III. The Meiji Constitution and the Japanese Ethos

It is no exaggeration to state that obligation to a ruler, at that time, was a Japanese ethos, and was even a living purpose especially for the samurai warriors. Robert Bellah, for example, articulates from the words of a Japanese samurai: “because the young lord was dead, there was no one to whom I could offer my life, and this was the essence of my loneliness. To

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\(^4\) Kawahara, ix.

\(^5\) Shiba, 158.

\(^6\) Robert N. Bellah, Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditionalist World (California: University of California Press, 1970), 102. Bellah explains that the East Asian cosmological myth bestows the view that the individual is seen as receiving an endless flow of blessings from his parents, his ruler, and ultimately, from heaven and earth. Therefore, people owe debts of service to all from whom they have received. Then the people ethically have to show their obedience to their ruler.
whom could I offer my life after this? Therefore, without having a specific ruler, the Japanese could neither experience meaningful lives, nor function as human beings. In order to bestow a vigorous spirit to new Japanese modern society, the state had to establish the official recognition of imperial authority as the symbolic ruler of the Japanese. Thus, Bellah states that “this [the Meiji emperor system] was an attempt to rephrase the old presuppositions in a new way and to fit them to the modern context.”

The Meiji Constitution called emperor Tenno, the heavenly ruler, and gave legitimacy to the document by reference to the emperor’s divine descent from the sun goddess, Amaterasu, and categorized this myth into Japanese folk religion, Shintoism. Since the Japanese idea of gods and faiths was based on a multiplicity and was syncretistic, this myth for renovating the divine emperor cult fit with their ethos and contrived to give a strong impact into the Japanese minds and society.

Bellah, therefore, notes that the Japanese traditional cosmological symbolism was reformulated by the Meiji Constitution “especially around the person of the emperor, who was by no means so central in the tradition itself, in order to provide a religious legitimating for the new Japanese state.”

Although the Japanese citizens followed the direction of the constitution and called emperor Arahitogamei, a living god, and worshipped him, the

7) Ibid., 105.
8) Ibid., 106.
9) Kawahara, ix.
imperialism utilized by the Meiji government was merely a strategy of the social reform from the collapsed feudalism.\(^\text{12)}\) Hence, Toshiaki Kawahara reports that:

Against that [the highest authority], he [emperor] was not provided with any mechanism by which to intervene in the day-to-day running of the state. He did not preside over the cabinet, for example. Ordinances issued in his name had to be countersigned by a minister. As a result, his role became by convention that of responding to the recommendations of the powerful men who composed the executive branch of government. If they were agreed on what to recommend, it was assumed that he would approve it.\(^\text{13)}\) Therefore, the emperor was used merely as a tool of a Japanese political reform and national solidarity. This Meiji emperor system was successful to modernize the country and helped to develop democratic tendencies in a number of areas until around 1930.\(^\text{14)}\)

Nevertheless, in the period between the beginning of Hirohito’s reign and the end of the Pacific War, especially after the Manchurian Incident of 1931, the balance of power within the Japanese elite gradually shifted toward the military\(^\text{15)}\) since the rise of the ultranationalist movement supported the military concept: a “purified” political structure under the


\(^{13)}\ Kawahara, x.

\(^{14)}\ Bellah, 108.

\(^{15)}\ Iritani, 19.
emperor.\textsuperscript{16} The dramatic development of anti-Westernism and anti-modernism was conveyed by nationalists who believed the concept kunmin itchi (emperor and people as one) would renew and rescue Japan from its difficulties.\textsuperscript{17} Military leaders acquired political power and could act independently from the civilian government.\textsuperscript{18} This movement finally led the Japanese people to the absolute disaster of World War II.\textsuperscript{19}

IV. Directional Change and Socioreligious Reactions

Numerous historians call the time between the Manchurian Incident and the end of W.W.II “the 15-Year War Period”\textsuperscript{20}, and they try to explain why such a rapid change occurred in a few years. Toshio Iritani assumes that there were two specific reasons for the rising of the military and of the ultranationalists. One was an economic crisis which was caused by the Wall Street Crash at the end of 1929.\textsuperscript{21} The other was a territorial crisis in Manchuria and China which was threatened by European countries.\textsuperscript{22} Those domestic and external crises created conditions which were precipitous to those among the military who plotted to take political power and bring Japan under military control. The reason why nationalists supported the military control was that the Japanese Army

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Kawahara, x.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Iritani, 19.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Bellah, 108.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Iritani, 20.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 21.
\end{itemize}
and Navy were under the emperor’s direct control which was addressed by the Meiji Constitution.\(^{23}\) Therefore, there existed among them a sense of being the emperor’s private army and the belief that the military was quite independent of the modernized Japanese state.\(^{24}\)

The nationalists saw the influences from the modern West as a “spiritual breakdown,” and they tried to overcome it through the power of the “Japanese spirit.”\(^{25}\) The center of the “Japanese spirit” was the person of the divine emperor, Hirohito, because the Japanese understood that the emperor and the people were united in the sacred country of Japan (Shinkoku).\(^{26}\) Kawahara identifies the nationalist movement as the heart of Japan’s prewar ills caused by an emperor system.\(^{27}\) From my point of view, however, this movement was not such a national illness, but an inescapable reaction from “a great social–psychological revolution”\(^{28}\) caused by the modernization from the West. In other words, the nationalist movement was a remedy for Japan’s ills which were caused by modernization.

In the end of the Tokugawa period, the vast majority of Japanese aimed at temporary relief from the chaotic situation, and then the Meiji

\(^{23}\) Ibid.

\(^{24}\) Ibid.

\(^{25}\) Bellah, 64–65.

\(^{26}\) Sims, 211. Sims explains that the unique relationship between emperor and people is signified by the words tenno no kokumin, kokumin no tenno (the emperor’s people, the people’s emperor). Both approaches drew on the late Tokugawa view of Japan as shinkoku (the sacred country) and on the kazoku kokka (family state) myth which had been officially propagated in the Meiji period.

\(^{27}\) Kawahara, x.

\(^{28}\) Bellah, 66.
Restoration occurred. However, this longing of the Restoration did not signify that the people aimed at a permanent structural change at the beginning of the Meiji era. They merely desired a change from an unstable life condition to a stable life condition, but not a social or structural change. However, the modern West brought various ideological and social discontinuities into the Japanese culture, and those changes became profound dissatisfactions of the modern culture and society for the Japanese. Bellah illustrates the difficulties of the cultural alternation as follows:

The notion that conscious directional change is a primary human responsibility presents enormous problems for social as well as psychic and perhaps even biological balance. It seems to violate one of the cardinal requirements for organized action of any sort, namely the need for continuity, for stability of orientation -- in a ward, for identity. We must not forget that in all the great traditional civilizations the notion of change was charged with horror and fear and was contrasted with that which is eternal, which does not change, and which alone is of value, as in the Christian idea of God.

The nationalist movement was simply held by those who longed to return the Meiji values which were lost in the process of modernization and to restore the political system to what the Meiji oligarchs had intended it to be, since the modernization had weakened the nation state as a source of

29) Davis, 137.
30) Sims, 208.
31) Bellah, 67.
32) Sims, 212.
Japanese identity. The aforementioned domestic and external crises were merely triggered by a reaction to the modern West. Therefore, the Japanese nationalist movement was an earlier example of a return to the roots phenomenon which is currently occurring among numerous non-Western civilizations.\(^{33}\)

V. A Comparative Study of the Roots Back Phenomenon

The nationalist movement in India could be the best and most identical model of such a phenomenon which began earlier than that of Japan, though India did not respond by force as Japan did. Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the nonviolent movement, finally led India to national independence from the British government. In the process of his campaign, Gandhi stressed the concept that India was a nation with a special “spiritual” vocation which signified living simply in self-sufficient villages.\(^{34}\) Accordingly, Gandhi’s scheme was to reject the industrialization and the ideological influences from the modern West. In Gandhi’s newspaper *Indian Opinion*, for example, he strongly condemned the modern civilization.\(^{35}\) Gandhi identified all of Western civilization as immoral and non-religious and warned against imitating the modern West.\(^{36}\) In the depth of Gandhi’s nonviolent movement, there was a

36) Ibid.
particular aim that was to reconstruct Indian civilization on the simple ethical and religious truths found in the tradition of India.\textsuperscript{37)}

Those who return to the roots phenomena can be found even within a Western country, such as America, in which there is obvious sociocultural dichotomy between white and non-white. The life of Malcolm X itself can be understood as a socioreligious level of the roots phenomenon. After struggling with the racial chasm, Malcolm first attempted to imitate whites.\textsuperscript{38)} However, Malcolm realized that multitudes of black people in America are brainwashed into believing that the black people are inferior and that white people are superior and that this is why black people in America try to follow white standards in their living.\textsuperscript{39)}

Through his experiences of being a target of racism from white Christians, his abhorrence of white people and of Christianity increased.\textsuperscript{40)} In prison, Malcolm became a Black Muslim, because Elijah Muhammad’s teaching of “the white people as devils” met with his animosity toward whites.\textsuperscript{41)} After his release from prison, Malcolm became a powerful preacher in the Nation of Islam, proclaiming the revelation of Elijah Muhammad to make black people realize the evil of white Christians and to have a specific identity as a black nation.\textsuperscript{42)} The most important element found in Malcolm’s roots phenomenon is that he completely rejected Christianity itself since he saw that Christianity was twisted by evil white

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{37)} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{39)} Ibid., 54.
\item \textsuperscript{40)} Ibid., 12, 27, 36, and many other places.
\item \textsuperscript{41)} Ibid., 164-8, 174.
\item \textsuperscript{42)} Ibid., 211-2.
\end{itemize}
people in order to brainwash black people.\footnote{Ibid., 162–3, 200.} Since Malcolm believed that Christianity belonged to the whites, he identified the twisted Christianity itself as the enemy of the black people, just as Gandhi and the Japanese people rejected entire ideologies and cultures of the modern West.

While the responses are different between the Japanese nation, the Indian nation, and the American black nation, the attitudes of reconstructing or acquiring racial identity through rejecting sociocultural and socioreligious manipulators are distinctive analogous points as a return to the roots phenomenon.

Iritani notes that a feature of the foundation of patriotic nationalism is “the possession of a common tradition and a common memory of sufferings endured and victories won which is often expressed in song and legend.”\footnote{Iritani, 23–24.} This simple statement will be understood as a properly defined feature of the psychological foundation of the nationalism movement when we examine the above three nationalism movements. In particular, it is obvious in the case of Gandhi and Malcolm, that those two models of national movements exposed intensely similar situations in terms of racism from whites. Although the Japanese did not have a common experience of racism, the existence of European colonies in Asia would be a common memory of fear. Those common experiences were one of the reasons which caused the return to the roots phenomenon and to raise a national movement in each country.

\textbf{VI. A Comparative Study on the Methods of Rejection to the Modern West}

There is a remarkable difference between the nationalist movement of
India and that of Japan regarding the way of rejection to the modern West. The former acted against the British government through the nonviolent movement under the guidance of Gandhi; on the other hand, the latter opened war against other Asian countries and the U.S. under the leadership of Hirohito. The Japanese reaction to the modern West was very similar to that of Malcolm’s angry, bitter, and racist denunciations. While Gandhi did denounce entire modern influences, his separatism never went as far as that of Malcolm and of the Japanese.  

45) It was true that Gandhi’s emphasis on nonviolence rescued numerous people from acting against the British government by force.  

46) The opposite way of rejection between Gandhi and Japan was also the result of tremendous political and circumstantial differences between the two countries: India was a British colony; Japan was not a colonial country, but had just opened the country about 50 years previous to the 15-Year War Period. In addition to the above differences, there are a lot of socioreligious diversities between the above countries.

A. Malcolm and His Followers

In terms of Malcolm X and his people, the myth of Yacub played distinctive role for rising the black power movement in the U.S.  

47) This myth encouraged to increase abhorrence of white people in the minds of black-Americans, and created quite different reaction to their oppressors from Indians did. Elijah Muhammad’s teaching of “the white people as devils” deeply touched those who experienced racial discrimination from whites and led the Nation of Islam a conflict religion with Christianity.

45) Dalton, 173.
46) Ibid.
47) Alex Haley and Malcolm X, 168.
For the Black Muslims, the black power movement was, in a sense, the revivalism of the black authority which they believe that they used to have. Accordingly, the destruction of the white power is the only way for Malcolm and his followers to attain their living in security.

From my point of view, since most black Americans did not have a specific identity as a black nation, they desired to obtain their solidarity with a religion other than a religion for the white, such as Christianity. For the Black Muslims, separating themselves from Christianity signified an independence from the Caucasian-centered American society. This attitude of the Nation of Islam fitted with the ethos of American-blacks: a hatred of whites. Therefore, joining the Nation of Islam in order to gain a black power was the easiest reaction for most blacks in America.

B. Gandhi and His Followers

Compared to Malcolm, Gandhi firmly believed in the unique power of nonviolent resistance in order to attain righteous political ends, since it was the only path to combine a Indian tradition with socioreligious agendas. Although ethically, there was a distinction between the martial races and the non-martial races in the Hindu caste structure and culture, the non-martial races mainly produced nationalism. Rudolph notes that “not to retreat, to suffer pain without retaliation, to stay and suffer more in order to master a hostile or stubborn human reality — these expressions captured important elements of what Gandhi asked of India.” This teaching of tapasha (self-suffering) courage touched the

48) Rudolphs, 11-12. Rudolph writes that “it had accumulated ethical and historical meaning in Hindu caste structure and culture, which inculcated a non-violent perspective in some castes and an aggressive one in others.”
49) Ibid., 31.
idea of the Indian nationalists, since the traditional Hindu believed that people's capacity for self-control enhanced their capacity to control their environment.\(^{50}\)

Gandhi also stressed the word *swaraj*, which is synonymous with *moksha*, since it had roots of Indian tradition.\(^{51}\) According to Hindu traditional belief, the corollary goal of all creatures is called *moksha*, which signifies the liberation from the finitude that restricts people from the limitless being, consciousness, and bliss their hearts' desires.\(^{52}\) Unless people attained *moksha*, they have to be continually involved in never ending life rebirth cycle, such as *samsara*.\(^{53}\) The form of each *samsara* is determined by *karma* (deeds) of each creature in previous lives. Equally, the present *karma* of each creature relates to determination of its future experiences. Although the literal meaning of *karma* is work, it signifies the moral law of cause and effect in a doctrinal sense.\(^{54}\) Furthermore, since each individual's moral life (*karma*) determines he or her future life, each of them has to have entire responsibility for his or her own future

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 15 and 32. Rudolphs explains that "self-suffering courage is susceptible of two rather different moral emphases, one that is quite as aggressive in spirit, if not in form, as violence, and one without much overtones. As the traditional weapon of the Brahman, whose protest against oppressive rule was often fasting, self-injury, or even suicide, which would draw upon the oppressor the supernatural sanctions of having caused the death of a Brahman, it substituted spiritual violence for physical."

\(^{51}\) Dalton, 34.


\(^{53}\) Ibid., 63.

\(^{54}\) Ibid., 64.
life. Therefore, Gandhi’s nonviolent resistance and Gandhi’s remark of 
swaraj deeply touched the people in India.

Most Indians honored such traditional Hindu beliefs and viewed the 
traditional consensual way as moral and the modern adversarial way as 
evil; however, they could not act because of the self-interested rule of a 
dominant caste. However, Gandhi manifested himself as the true 
exemplar of the Indian tradition by his deeds, though “he never became a 
great speaker.” Appealing to shared expectations and recognitions, 
Gandhi was able to revitalize tradition while simultaneously breaking with 
some of its entrenched values, practices, and interests. Thus, most of 
Gandhi’s followers in the nationalist movement accepted his political 
leadership even while rejecting or not hearing his message of religious 
commitment and social reform.

Gandhi was a true type of a charismatic holder in the light of Weber’s 
understanding of a charismatic character. Weber states that “charisma 
knows only inner determination and inner restraint. The holder of 
charisma seizes the task that is adequate for him and demands obedience 
and a following by virtue of his mission.” Gandhi’s charismatic claim was 
recognized by those to whom he felt he had been sent.

55) Ibid.
56) Rudolphs., 5 and 34-36. Rudolph states that “the authenticity with which he 
[Gandhi] sought virtue and the highest religious goals through self-control, 
truth, and non-violence re-enacted a familiar but rarely realized cultural 
model, that of the saintly man.”
57) Ibid., 5.
58) Ibid., 62.
60) Ibid.
Gandhi’s charismatic domination was the very opposite of bureaucratic domination.\(^61\) Therefore, Gandhi acquired his charismatic authority through his gifted character and the voluntary response of others, and the Indian society accepted him as the leader of the nationalism movement. Then, the Indian socioreligious solidarity which was fostered under the power of Gandhi’s charismatic leadership led to the non-violence movement which finally made India independent from the British government.

**C. Hirohito and His People**

The question of why the nationalist movement in Japan grew rapidly after the 1930s has produced numerous debates among Japanese historians. As I mentioned previously, the economic crisis and the territorial crisis caused a return to the roots phenomenon. These domestic and external crises were certainly a part of the reasons for return since those problems were a matter of national emergency for the Japanese at that time. However, a question arises. Why did Hirohito and the emperor system become the center for the ideology of nationalism and imperialism, and a “ready made starting point,”\(^62\) even though in the beginning of the Meiji Restoration the emperor was merely a political tool for national solidarity?

There are some potential reasons for this question, and those reasons are related to the Japanese value patterns which Bellah listed in his essay “Values and Social Change in Modern Japan.”\(^63\) Bellah’s list of the

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61) Ibid., 247.
62) Bellah, 108.
63) Ibid., 114–44.
Japanese value patterns are as follows:

1. Value is realized in groups that are thought of as natural entities. The community is the locus of value. 2. These groups are thought to be integrated with the structure of reality and thus are endowed with a sacred quality. 3. There is a divine-human continuity in which the symbolic heads of groups have and especially important place, being especially endowed with a sacred quality. One of their functions is to relate the group to the divine ancestors and protective deities. This pattern applies at many levels, e.g., family (and its ancestor worship), village (and local deity, *ujigami*), and ultimately the whole country at whose head is the emperor (and above him the imperial ancestors). 4. Individuals exist because of a continuous flow of blessings from spirits and ancestors through the symbolic heads of groups. The individual is obligated to work in order to repay in small measure the blessings he has received and to sacrifice himself for the group if necessary. . . .

One of the reasons for the question was the ingrained Shintoism in Japanese minds in which the emperor myth was combined through the Meiji Constitution. During the Tokugawa era, Shintoism consisted of numerous local groups (parish), called *ujiko*, which have been regarded as inclusive territorial units composed of families having rights and obligations in the cult of the local tutelary deity: *ujigami* or *chinjugami*. Throughout life, members of each local group felt a responsibility and

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64) Ibid., 116-7.
65) Davis, 20.
loyalty to their particular *ujigami* and *ujiko*. Moreover, since each local parish was a representative of a local community, withdrawal from membership signified isolation from the community.66)

Because the ancestors of the imperial family were venerated as Shinto deities through the myth of the constitution, Shinto parishes throughout the Japanese land were enrolled to serve as outposts of the government’s nationalistic and militaristic propaganda. Japanese morality traditionally had been measured by the degree of honor or shame that the individual brought upon the ancestors of his family. By spreading the worship of the imperial ancestors to the ancestors of all of the Japanese, the obligations that individuals owed to their families and to the local Shinto gods were sublimated and transformed into loyalty to the state. Thus, by grafting its ideology into the traditional folk practices of Shinto and ancestor worship, the government manipulated the people’s primitive and national feelings of pride, guilt, and conscience, making these the emotional base for a new civil religion.67) In other words, the person of the emperor became the center of Japanese tradition and the religious symbol itself for each local group through the Meiji Constitution.

The other reason for the aforementioned question was that the emperor gained charismatic kingship, which could be explained by a sense of Weber’s “war lord,”68) through the legend of the kamikaze (divine wind).69) The legend was invented far before the Meiji era derived from the Mongolia-Japan Wars in 1274 and 1281. When Japan was almost invaded during the war with Mongolian fleets, a huge tempest blew and

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66) Ibid., 21.
67) Ibid.
69) Iritani, 24.
sank all the Mongolian ships. This huge mysterious wind protected Japan and brought Japan victory. Moreover, this same incident occurred twice in wars against Mongolia. Therefore, the Japanese at that time believed that the Japanese gods used huge winds and protected the country from a foreign enemy and that Japan was never defeated because the gods were with the Japanese nation. This story is the basis for the legend of the kamikaze and had been passed down over generations. Even in the time of Hirohito, the legend gave rise to the superstition that in the event of an enemy invasion the kamikaze would blow up to defend Japan, and to defend the sense of the national superiority for the Japanese.

After the formation of modern national forces in the early period of the Meiji era, Japan had obtained the victory from both the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. The victory of the tiny Japanese country against the massive Russian country in particular bestowed upon the Japanese a sense of confidence and national status as a world power and as the most progressive nation in Asia. Furthermore, in 1914 Japan entered the First World War taking the side of the Allies, France, England, and the U.S. Japan avoided any actual fighting, and thus she remained almost unscathed as a victorious nation.

Those memories of victory confirmed the concept of the kamikaze legend that no foreign power could overcome the sacred country Japan, and fostered a national spirit which was centered on the person of the emperor. From my point of view, most Japanese at the time of the 15-Year War Period believed that there was an inevitable continuation between the gods in the legend of the kamikaze and the person of Hirohito.

70) Ibid.
71) Ibid., 25.
in the light of the Japanese value pattern. Since Hirohito was thought of as the living god and the head of the sacred Japanese country, the Japanese believed that he had a direct relationship with the divine ancestors and protective deities.\textsuperscript{72) }

In terms of the Japanese faith in relation between Hirohito and Japanese protective deities, Hirohito’s charisma had a magical dimension.\textsuperscript{73) } However, this charisma was subordinate to a broader and more essential dimension, namely that of a war lord.\textsuperscript{74) } Neither was there any specific hero who was appropriate in the sense of Weber’s war lord in the history of the Japanese emperors, nor was Hirohito the chieftain of war. Only through legend did Hirohito become the holder of the war lord charismatic power in Japan. Hirohito’s supernatural power told by the kamikaze legend associated with the Japanese value patterns of the continuity between a god and a human became the main object of Japanese faith.

When Japan experienced a national crisis from the outside, this faith was mixed with the Japanese ethos: obligation to the ruler. Then, the 15-Year War Period began to protect their sacred country for the sake of Hirohito. Since the Japanese believed that Japan was the sacred country of the gods, working for the country signified proof of the obligation to Hirohito. Moreover, throughout the Japanese samurai history, dying for the sake of a ruler in a territorial battle was very common. This samurai type of the Japanese ethos and socioreligious phenomenon of Hirohito’s charismatic rulership motivated an open war against the surrounding enemies of Japan.

\textsuperscript{72) } Bellah, 116.  
\textsuperscript{74) } Ibid., From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 251.
VII. Conclusion

Directional changes caused a “back to the roots” phenomenon in the Japanese nation, the Indian nation, and the American blacks. Fear of losing identity and ideological gaps were the turning points to raise nationalism movements: the domestic and the internal crises awoke the Japanese; a long time suffering from the British colonial manipulation motivated India; attacks by racism stimulated the black Americans. These three cases show that the nationalism movement is a product of socioreligious reactions to social and ideological alternations.

However, diverse socioreligious backgrounds promote different reactions in each country: Japan opened war against the West; India promoted the non-violence movement; black Americans established the Nation of Islam to act against white Christianity. Such diverse backgrounds also formulated prominent charismatic leaders in each country: Hirohito, Gandhi, and Malcolm. Each charismatic leader bestowed tremendous influences and vigorous national spirits upon their people and society.

In particular, Hirohito had a unique and complex type of charisma. Because of the Japanese ethos, one particular ruler to whom the Japanese owed obedience had to be established. As the Showa emperor, Hirohito gained his charisma by no self effort, but through the national ethos, the Shinto myth in the Meiji Constitution, and the kamikaze legend. Under the name of Hirohito, the Japanese nation fell into the ultimate disaster of W.W.II and the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hirohito’s very name is a reminder of Japan’s extraordinary rise, fall, and resurrection.
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