

The Re-adoption of Asianism in Postwar Hong Kong and Japan, 1945-57: A Comparison between Ch'ien Mu and Ōta Kōzō

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The Re-adoption of Asianism in Postwar Hong Kong and Japan, 1945-57: A Comparison between Ch'ien Mu and Ōta Kōzō

This paper discusses how a refugee scholar in colonial Hong Kong Ch'ien Mu and a politician turned educator Ōta Kōzō survived in the new political arena of postwar Asia. This paper argues by adopting Asianism, both Ch'ien and Ōta became successful in founding New Asia College in Hong Kong and Asia University in Japan respectively. It is interesting to pinpoint in this paper by what strategies Ch'ien and Ōta Kōzō solved the political, economic, social and cultural challenges they encountered. This paper highlights not only the similarities of the way of Ch'ien and Ōta Kōzō's adoption of Asianism but also the differences in their interpretation of it.

Keywords: Ch'ien Mu, Ōta Kōzō, Asiansim, New Asia College (Hong Kong), Asia University (Japan)

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I. Postwar Hong Kong and Japan

After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the political landscape in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan changed drastically. Chinese politicians, capitalists and intellectuals who did not find themselves welcomed by the new socialist regime fled to Hong Kong. They usually stayed in Hong Kong for a while and then decided the next destination to move to.¹ The Korean War in 1950 further

* The author wishes to thank Dr. Rev. Eric Chong who organized the Shann Memorial Conference on China and Japan, 1895-2015: History of Rivalry, War, Peace and Hostility, at St. John's College, University of Hong Kong, on 27 June 2015, where the author received valuable comments from the conference participants. This paper is a revised version of "Asianism in post-war Hong Kong and Japan: The case of Ch'ien Mu and Ōta Kōzō," published in *Acta Asiatica*, No. 104 (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2013), pp. 87-98. Romanization is basically in the Pinyin system except for popular names which are originally in Wade-Giles and in Cantonese.

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¹ See Pui-Tak Lee, "Avoiding isolation by the revolution: K.P. Chen's dealings with Shanghai and Taipei, 1948-1956. In Sherman Cochran (ed.), *The Capitalist Dilemma in China's Communist Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2014), pp. 45-64.

changed the political landscape of not only Hong Kong and China but also Asia as a whole. America replaced Japan as the only super power in Asia during wartime. A containment policy against communist China was launched by the United States and its allies. Starting from Japan in the north and followed by South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and Singapore in the south, China was contained by these so-called fortresses of anti-communism.

After the end of the Second World War, Japan was put into the custody of the allied forces. Transformation into democratic government and war rehabilitation were listed as the major tasks of the allied forces. Japan's external connections with Asian countries, especially with the anti-communist satellites, were placed under the manipulation of the GHQ at Tokyo. Both Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 (1895-1990) and Ōta Kōzō 太田耕造 (1889-1981) debuted in this Cold War background of anti-communism, China containment, post-war rehabilitation, and reconstruction of the international order of Asia, with the dominance of the United States in Asia.²

In terms of personal education, career development, and views on Asia, there are both similarities and differences between Ch'ien and Ōta.

² I was struck by the huge literature on how America exerted influences on Asian intellectual and educational development during the cold-war period. See Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989); Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); Noam Chomsky, ed., *The Cold War and the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* (New York: New Press, 1997); Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Chalmers Johnson, "The CIA and Me," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29-1 (1997); Bruce Cumings, "Boundary Displacement: Area Studies and International Studies during and after the Cold war," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 29-1 (1997); Frances Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 2000); Han Tie 韓鐵, *The Ford Foundation and Chinese studies in America, 1950-1979 福特基金會與美國的中國學 (1950-1979年)* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 2004); Soo Chun Lu, "The Asia Foundation and the Cold War in Southeast Asia" (Unpublished paper presented at Conference on Mao's China, Non-communist Asia, and the Global Setting, 1949-1976, University of Hong Kong, February 2012).

However, this paper aims to discuss first what strategies Ch'ien and Ōta adopted in order to enable them to set up and promote a school in the name of Asia, and secondly how they dealt with the concept of Asianism by different approaches when they founded their respective educational institutions in the context of post-war Hong Kong and Japan.

II. Ch'ien Mu's revival of Chinese culture in Hong Kong and the United States

1. The intrusion of the United States and financial aid from non-governmental organizations

Beginning from the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the United States had successfully extended its influence among Hong Kong's intelligentsia by setting up the following organizations through financial aid provided by the Asia Foundation: Asia Press, Asia News Agency, Asian Pictorial and Asia Film Co. The Asia Press published books for the right-wing writers who supported the Republic of China rather than the People's Republic. These organizations were operated by a Hong Kong Chinese named Zhang Guoxing 張國興, and his work was regarded as preeminent in the propaganda of anti-communism in Hong Kong.³ Similar to the Asia Press was the Union Press 友聯出版社, which was established in April 1951. The publication of the journal *Chinese Student Weekly* 中國學生周報 was regarded as remarkable, and it was extremely popular among local high school and college students at the time. These cultural activities initiated by the Asia Foundation were referred to as 'U.S. Dollar Culture,' which prevailed in Hong Kong in the 1950s. The

³ Yung Sai Shing 容世誠, "Containment and integration: A preliminary study of the Asia Press and Asia Film Co. 圍堵頡頑 整合連橫: 亞洲出版社 亞洲影業公司初探, in *The Cold War and Hong Kong Cinema* 冷戰與香港電影, ed. Lee Pui-tak and Wong Ain-ling (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2009), pp. 125-144.

Asia Foundation began in 1951 as the Committee for Free Asia, which, according to the Congressional Research Service, was “supported with covert indirect CIA funding. In 1967, the U.S. media revealed that the CIA was covertly funding a number of organizations, including The Asia Foundation.”⁴

In the early 1950s, all the U.S. consulates and the U.S. cultural or religious organizations in China retreated to Hong Kong.⁵ There was also an influx of people from China who did not support the new communist regime, and many of these people were scholars and students.⁶ Therefore, how to accommodate these people became an issue for the colonial government.

As it was claimed by Ch'ien himself, New Asia College was a ‘school of refuge’ 流亡學校. It was started as Asia College of Humanities and Commerce 亞洲文商學院 in October 1949 with the support of a Shanghainese merchant named Wang Yuefeng 王岳峰 in Hong Kong. As Ch'ien recalled, financial hardship was the great challenge for him at the time. Monthly expenditures amounted to HK\$4,600 but the college received only HK\$2,000 as tuition fees paid by students.⁷ Consequently, the college could hardly continue to operate even though the professors,

⁴ See Kimberly Gould Ashizawa, “The Evolving Role of American Foundations in Japan: An Institutional Perspective,” in *Philanthropy and Reconciliation: Rebuilding Postwar U.S.-Japan Relations*, ed. Yamamoto Tadashi, Iriye Akira and Iokibe Makoto (Tokyo and New York: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2006), pp. 116-122.

⁵ Reuben Holden, *Yale in China: The Mainland 1901-1951* (New Haven: The Yale in China Association, 1964), pp. 264-268.

⁶ The Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Inc. was set up in 1952 to help the intellectuals who fled from communist China to Hong Kong. As pointed out by Zhao Yina, during 1952-59, a total of 8,962 intellectuals and 5,653 of their dependents were helped to migrate to Taiwan, U.S., Southeast Asia and Europe. See Zhao Yina 趙綺娜, “The Cold War and the refugee assistance: A case study of Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, 1952-59” 冷戰與難民援助：美國「援助中國知識人士協會」，1952-1959年。In *Euramerica: A Journal of European and American Studies* 歐美研究, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1997), pp. 65-108.

⁷ Ch'ien Mu, “The objectives and introduction of New Asia College 新亞書院沿革旨趣與概況,” in *The historical tradition of New Asia College 新亞遺錄* (Taipei: Dadong tushu gongsi, 1989), p. 12.

including Ch'ien himself, volunteered to receive half salaries. In March 1950, the college was renamed New Asia College (the reason why Ch'ien adopted the name "New Asia" will be discussed in the next section).

The time when Ch'ien started the college in 1949 was also the time when the Yale-in-China Association retreated from China. The name "New Asia" denoted the revival of Chinese culture in a new Asia. This coincided with the aims of anti-communism towards which the Americans drove worldwide politics. The name of the college founder, Ch'ien Mu, was heard by Prof. Harry Rudin, the Association's representative, who was looking for a suitable institution to support in the early 1950s. Rudin was impressed by Ch'ien's advocacy of promotion of Chinese culture. Later the two persons came together and discussed possible assistance from the Association to the college.⁸

The negotiation between Ch'ien and Rudin ended with a sum of US\$25,000 being paid to New Asia College. Nevertheless, the Association would send a representative (or so-called comptroller) to the college to monitor the use of the funds. It was not long after that the Yale-in-China Association, Asia Foundation, and Harvard-Yenching Institute committed to providing financial assistance to Ch'ien for constructing a new building for the college.

As was highlighted by Rudin in 1953, reasons to support New Asia College were many, but the following were counted as important: firstly, there were not many local students able to receive a university education; secondly, Taiwan would not accept students from Hong Kong since it was a colony;⁹ thirdly, many secondary school graduates were unable to gain an opportunity for higher education out of communist China;

⁸ Harry R. Rudin, "New Asia-Yale-in-China: The Beginning," in *New Asia/Yale-China: The First 50 Years: Memories 1954-2004* (Hong Kong: New Asia College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2004), p. 41.

⁹ This policy was changed from the middle of the 1950s.

fourthly, influx of Chinese refugees created a burden for local tertiary education; fifthly, many schools in Hong Kong were run like businesses more than schools.¹⁰

From 1954 to June 1970, New Asia received more than HK\$4.4 million from the Yale-in-China Association.¹¹ Other than financial aid, Yale-in-China also provided assistance to promote the exchange of talent between the two institutions. In order to attract more students from Asia to study Chinese in Hong Kong, a new program on Asian studies was launched for training more China specialists for non-Chinese university students especially from Southeast Asia. A scheme for New Asia College graduates was launched to support them to study in North American universities, including: Yale, McGill, Harvard, Columbia, Manitoba, Washington, South Illinois, Chicago, Oregon, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

2. Connection of Hong Kong with Japan after the end of the war

In order to resume the colonial rule of Hong Kong, the new military government did not prosecute Chinese wartime collaborators since many of them were elites of local society whom would be relied upon for rehabilitation.¹² This attracted quite a number of government officials, intellectuals and businessmen who had been associated with the Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 regime, Manchuko 滿洲国 or Japanese organizations across Asia during wartime. They fled from the mainland and stayed in Hong Kong for a while before they decided where to move.¹³

Starting from August 1947, trade with Japan was resumed. Hong

¹⁰ Rudin, "New Asia-Yale-in-China," p. 41.

¹¹ *New Asia/Yale-China*, p. 7.

¹² Lee Pui Tak, "The Eurasian in wartime Hong Kong: Case of Robert Kotewall 戦時における香港の「欧亜混血児」——羅旭蘇の変節問題を例として," In *Monthly Journal of Chinese Affairs* 中国研究月報, Vol. 66, No. 11 (Tokyo: Institute for Chinese Affairs, 2012), pp. 38-47.

¹³ The daughter of Wang Jingwei named Wang Wenxun 汪文洵 even worked in the Hong Kong government for a long time. Thanks to Prof. So Wai Chor for bringing this to my attention.

Kong people were forgetful about the military rule of Japan during wartime. In another sense, Hong Kong became a pioneer welcoming Japan to rejoin the new Asia community. The outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 did not stop Hong Kong trade with Japan. The UN's embargo on China provoked more Hong Kong industrialists to open trade with Japan. The vanishing of the Chinese market because of the embargo accelerated the expansion of business connection between Japan and Hong Kong. It was not until 1954 that the Society of Free Asia 自由亞洲學會 was established with Han Yunjie 韓雲階 and Yamaguchi Jūji 山口重次 as major co-ordinators. Since the Society was aimed at maintaining peace among Asian countries, it received the blessing of many prominent figures in Taiwan, including Hu Shi 胡適, Lin Yutang 林語堂, H.H. Kung 孔祥熙 and Yu Bin 于斌. It did not take a long time for the Society to expand, with more and more people joining such as Shimonaka Yasaburō 下中彌三郎 (CEO of Heibonsha), Dong Xianguang 董顯光 and Zhang Bojin 張伯謹 (Chinese ambassador to Japan). It has to be noted that founding members of the Society such as Yamaguchi Jūji and Han Yunjie 韓雲階 had served in the Manchuko government during wartime. As well, Gu Mengyu 顧孟餘 had been the Minister of the Railway Ministry of Wang's regime.¹⁴

As a first step to promote the cultural friendship of Japan with Asian countries, the Society assisted Japan universities to recruit Asian students to study in Japan. Similar organization such as the Association of Oriental Culture and Education 東方文教協會 was established in Shenyang early in 1946. This Association aimed to promote Sino-Japanese friendship and cultural exchange among Asian countries. It appointed a few people as advisers, including: Ogata Taketora 緒方竹虎 (President of the Liberal Party), Kurihara Tadashi 栗原正 (former

¹⁴ Telegraph sent by the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taipei, dated 9 June 1954, archives in Academia Historica, Taipei.

Ambassador in Fuzhou and Tianjin), and Tsubogami Teiji 坪上貞二 (Ambassador to Vietnam). The Association assisted Waseda University 早稻田大学 and Daitō Bunka University 大東文化大学 to recruit students from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries.¹⁵

3. Ch'ien Mu and his advocacy of Asia

Ch'ien came to Hong Kong in 1949 when he was 55 years old. During his 17-year sojourn in Hong Kong, he completed the books “The Spirit of Chinese History” 中國歷史精神 and “An Assessment of Chinese Historical Politics” 中國歷代政治得失. These two books were regarded as the two most important references for Chinese history in Hong Kong's university entrance examination. Ch'ien's intellectual activities in Hong Kong can be encapsulated in the three words ‘reviving Chinese culture.’ Obviously, his interest was in China rather than in Asia. As has been criticized in a recent publication on the history of the college during the Cold War, the curriculum for undergraduate education was focused mainly on China rather than on Asia.¹⁶

It is worth asking why Ch'ien chose Hong Kong and why the Hong Kong government accepted an exiled Chinese intellectual. This was due to the following reasons. Firstly, for Ch'ien Hong Kong represented a sanctuary without political interference from either the Communist Party on the mainland or the Nationalist Party in Taiwan. Many of Ch'ien's peers such as Tang Junyi 唐君毅, Mou Yunsun 牟潤孫, Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, and Zhuo Shunsheng 左舜生 had all fled from the mainland. They

¹⁵ Letter sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taipei to Chinese Embassy in Tokyo, dated 28 April 1955, archives in Academia Historica, Taipei.

¹⁶ Zhou Ailing 周愛靈, *The diaspora: New Asia College in the colony during the Cold War* 花果飄零—冷戰時期殖民地的新亞書院, trans. Luo Meihan 羅美嫻 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2010), pp. 57-62.

came to Hong Kong and took advantage of Hong Kong as a British-protected colony that enabled them to continue their research and, more importantly, connect themselves with other Asian communities possessing Confucian thought such as South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore. Secondly, for the Hong Kong government, reviving traditional Chinese culture had never been regarded as radical or a threat to British rule in Hong Kong when compared with the ‘class struggle’ or ‘anti-imperialism’ emphasized by the communists on the mainland.¹⁷

Ch’ien explained that he used the name ‘New Asia’ mainly because of the inferior status of Chinese intellectuals in the British colony of Hong Kong. He said:

In the year of 1949, I came to Hong Kong because of political reasons. I took Hong Kong as a sanctuary since Hong Kong is a British colony. As I recalled, forty years ago, the social status of Chinese in Hong Kong was low. The atmosphere in Hong Kong as a British colony was so stressful to Chinese, especially to intellectuals. What a sojourner felt can hardly be described here. I dare not to ask for a “new Hong Kong” since I was a Chinese, and so I proposed to make a “new Asia” instead. During that time, I wished Britain would keep its hands off its colonies in Asia so as to let the Chinese in Hong Kong to breathe the air of freedom. Therefore, I made the college name ‘New Asia,’ assuming that we would soon have a bright future!¹⁸

Nevertheless, the colonial setting of Hong Kong had both advantages and disadvantages for Ch’ien. On the one hand he took it as a sanctuary to

¹⁷ On the background of the struggle between KMT and CCP in Hong Kong and how the Hong Kong government tried to control the two camps, see Steve Tsang, “Strategy for Survival: The Cold War and Hong Kong’s Policy towards Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Activities in the 1950s,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25-2 (1997), pp. 294-317.

¹⁸ Ch’ien Mu’s speech on the 40th anniversary of New Asia College, in *The historical tradition of New Asia College*, p. 682.

revive Chinese cultural traditions, which were declining on the mainland. Ch'ien received an honorary doctorate from the University of Hong Kong in 1955 and Yale University in 1960. On the other hand, the position of Hong Kong as a place for the interchange of Eastern and Western culture enabled him to connect with 'Confucian' Chinese communities in Asia. However, Ch'ien did suffer a setback when the colonial government's administration established the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). Ch'ien did not get along with the university's federal authority. In January 1964, after New Asia College had become a member college of the Chinese University, he resigned as college president.¹⁹ And in 1967, when Hong Kong was in turmoil because of local riots, Ch'ien decided to leave and remained in Taipei for the rest of his life.

III. Ōta Kōzō and Asia University

1. The tradition of reviving Asia in prewar Japan

Ōta Kōzō was a lawyer by training. He graduated from the University of Tokyo in 1920. He joined the Nationalist Society 国本社 with his peer Hiranuma Ki'ichirō 平沼騏一郎 in 1924. In 1939, he was invited by Hiranuma to join his cabinet as Secretary to the Prime Minister, but the Hiranuma Cabinet lasted only eight months. Two years later, together with Kikuchi Takeo 菊池武夫, Iwata Ainosuke 岩田愛之助,²⁰ Matsuo Chūjirō 松尾忠二郎, and Fujiwara Shikeru 藤原繁, the Association for Reviving Asia 興亞協会 and the Academy for Reviving Asia 興亞専門学

¹⁹ Ch'ien confessed to having received financial assistance from the Hong Kong government. He complained the independence of his college was thus lost after joining the Chinese University. See *The historical tradition of New Asia College*, pp. 499-501. With regard to his split with Li Zhuomin 李卓敏, see *ibid.*, pp. 536-543.

²⁰ In 1933 Iwata joined the Association of Great Asia 大アジア協会.

校 were established, and Ōta played a vital role in both. The Academy of Reviving Asia emphasized, firstly, the spirit of Shōkason-juku 松下村塾 established by Yoshida Shōin 吉田松蔭 in the late Edo period and, secondly, the promotion of Asian culture in order to reverse the way in which Japan had been too close to the West in the Meiji period. These two points later became the motto of Asia University, which Ōta reorganized after the war. The academy was aimed at training Japanese elite with expertise in Asia. The curriculum was composed of three main sections: Manchuria, Mongolia and China, Southeast Asia, and Japan. Courses in foreign languages such as Chinese, Burmese, Thai, Vietnamese, and Indonesian were offered. In 1941, when the academy had just been established, it had recruited a total of 207 students.²¹

In principle, the Association for Reviving Asia supported the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and the alliance with Manchuria, Mongolia, and China. Nevertheless, it was against communism. Graduates of the academy were sent to different Asian countries for promoting the spirit of ‘self-help’ 自助 and ‘cooperation’ 協力. In April 1945, Ōta joined the Suzuki Kantarō’s 鈴木貫太郎 cabinet as Minister of Education, but the cabinet was suspended because of the end of the war. In sum, Ōta had occupied several important positions that enabled him to promote the revival of Asia.

2. The emergence of Asia University

After Japan surrendered in August 1945, Ōta became president of the Academy for Reviving Asia. He then renamed it Japan Academy of Economics 日本経済専門学校 and cancelled all subjects on Asia, for otherwise the academy would not be officially allowed to exist.

²¹ The editorial committee of the history of the Ajia Gakuen 亜細亚学国史編纂委員会, ed., *Fifty Years of Ajia Gakuen 亜細亚学国五十年史* (Tokyo: Ajia Gakuen, 1992), p. 3.

However, in December 1945 he was forced by the GHQ to resign as he was accused of having served in a wartime cabinet. The suspicion of being a war criminal put him in prison for about two years. It was very similar to Ch'ien Mu's situation in founding New Asia College. The academy could easily be dissolved on account of its poor financial condition. In sum, the major challenge for Ōta after the end of the war was to consolidate the forces for reviving Asia which he had started during the war. Thus, transforming the academy into an institution that would be tolerated by the GHQ was the immediate task for Ōta.

Fortunately, unlike Ch'ien Mu, Ōta had successfully sought the assistance of Tokyū Group in providing financial assistance to Asia University. During the years 1956-60, a total amount of 126 million yen was raised, and this facilitated the growth of the university. All the loans were repaid in 1969. However, in 1956, Ōta's position as chairman of Ajia Gakuen 亜細亞学園 (the governing body of Asia University) was ceded to Gōto Keita 五島慶太, who was currently the chairman of the Tokyū Group.²²

It was not until May 1952 that Ōta resumed his presidency of the academy, which was reorganized as Japan College of Economics 日本経済短期大学. As has been stated by scholar Tam Yue-him, Ōta's ideology regarding Asia was inherited from famous Japanese Asianists such as Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心, Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造, Miyake Setsurei 三宅雪嶺, Shiga Shigetaka 志賀重昂, and Naitō Konan 内藤湖南, who emphasized the importance of Japanese national culture and 'Asia as one' 亜細亞一体化. It has to be mentioned that the above emphasis on Asia had been successfully carried over to the postwar Japan with the resistance of Western intrusion remaining unchanged.²³

²² The small editorial committee of the anthology in commemoration of the fifty years anniversary of the Ajia Gakuen 亜細亞学園創立五十周年記念學術論文集編纂小委員会, ed., *The thought and education of Ota Kōzō* 大田耕造の思想と教育 (Tokyo: Ajia Gakuen, 1991), pp. 403-417; 471.

²³ See Tam Yue-him 譚汝謙, "Mr. Ota Kōzō and Hong Kong-Japan cultural interactions after the

3. Asia-wide recognition of Asia University

In 1954, immediately before the Japan College of Economics was reorganized as Asia University, Ōta took over the responsibilities of Sagami Women's University 相模女子大学, whose board of directors had denied admission to a total of 96 students from Hong Kong.²⁴ Ōta saw it as an opportunity to develop Asia's international student programme. He immediately sought advice from the college council, and although he met with opposition, he insisted on setting up a Department of Chinese Students in order to accommodate this first group of foreign students in the postwar history of Japan. This was regarded as revolutionary since Japan was still closed to the recruitment of foreign students.²⁵ As noted by Tam Yue-him, these students were important for Asia University to survive since the number of student enrollments was tiny and its international recognition was zero when it was first opened in 1955.²⁶ Anyway, it attracted huge attention from the Japanese government, mass media, and overseas Chinese communities in Asia as an indication that

end of the Second World War 太田耕造先生與戰後港日文化交流," in *Hong Kong and Japan: Growing Cultural and Economic Interactions, 1845-1987*, ed. Tam Yue-him (Hong Kong: Japan Society of Hong Kong, 1988), pp. 494-505. This stance is obviously different from Ch'ien Mu, who relied upon American assistance in founding New Asia College.

²⁴ The recruitment was organized by Peng Junyuan 彭君願, Han Yunjie 韓雲階, Han Wenpu 韓文溥, Gu Mengyu 顧孟餘 and Tong Guanxian 童冠賢, who had close relationships with Japan. See Fujiwara Shigeru 藤原繁, The sudden problem of foreign students 突発した留学生問題, in *Fifty Years of Ajia Gakuen*, pp. 190-191.

²⁵ It was said that these 96 students were selected from more than four hundred applicants who had applied for the 18-month program for Japanese language offered by Sagami Women's University. Each student paid HK\$3,900 for tuition and accommodation. The university sent a Japanese professor named Takahashi Naotami 高橋尚民 to handle the recruitment, but the students' admission was eventually refused by the university. See Chen Tsu-sheng, A Brief history of Asia University in Tokyo, Japan 日本東京亞細亞大學簡史, in *Bulletin of Tokyo Asia University Chinese Student Department 1954-1955 Hong Kong Alumni Association* 東京亞細亞大學中國留學生部第一屆香港同學會特刊 (Hong Kong: The Association, 2002), p. 18.

²⁶ See Tam Yue-him 譚汝謙, The theory and application of Ōta Kōzō's Asianism 太田耕造におけるアジア主義の論理と實踐, in *The thought and education of Ōta Kōzō*, p. 198.

from now on Japan was turning into a major power in Asia. According to Ōta, it was Asia University's ultimate aim to revive Asia by Asians. This was the meaning of the university's motto of 'self-help' and 'cooperation.'²⁷ Without 'self-help,' Asian people could not be independent, and without independence Asian countries could not cooperate with each other. Therefore, the internationalization of Japanese education would be the first step in fulfilling this aim.²⁸ In a speech entitled "Asia's New Horizon," given by Ōta in October 1961, he furthered explained how 'self-help' and 'cooperation' had been important in the reconstruction of Asia in the postwar period when nationalism had been at its peak

Asia University was small when it was initially founded. It was not known particularly to Japanese young people who could not even pronounce its name properly (calling it 'Asaia' or 'Abosoa' University). However, Ōta never gave up. Indeed, he made a plan to target these young people. His goal was to make Asia University an international university that could help Japan understand Asia and finally go back to Asia. In 1973, the Asia Institute was established, providing a platform for conducting research on Asian humanities and social sciences. Courses offered on Asia were wide-ranging, including Oriental history, Oriental intellectual history, Chinese literature, Southeast Asian studies, Northeast Asian studies, general China studies, etc. Language programs for Arabic, Chinese, Hindi, Indonesian, Korean, and Mongolian were also arranged. During the 1960s and 1970s, Asia University successfully extended its connections with different universities in Asia by signing exchange agreements. These universities included New Asia College in Hong

²⁷ Ōta Kōzō, *Self-help and cooperation: Speeches to the students of Ajia Gakuen* 自助協力—亜細亞学園學生に與ふ (Tokyo: Ajia Daigaku and Nihon Tanki Keizai Daigaku, 1981).

²⁸ Ōta Kōzō, "Asia's new horizon 站立在亞洲廣場上," in *Hong Kong and Japan: Growing Cultural and economic Interactions, 1845-1987*, Tam Yue-him, 506, and "President Ōta Kōzō and Asia University 太田耕造學長與亞細亞大學," in *Bulletin of Tokyo Asia University Chinese Student Department 1954-1955 Hong Kong Alumni Association*, p. 52.

Kong (from 1963 became a member college of the CUHK), the University of Singapore, Nanyang University (Singapore), the University of Malaya, Yonsei University in the Republic of Korea, and Tamkang University in the Republic of China (Taiwan). Obviously, Asia University had successfully tapped foreign students from different parts of Asia.

IV. Conclusion: Comparing Ch'ien Mu with Ōta Kōzō

In 1955 when Asia University had just been reorganized, Ch'ien Mu was sent on an official visit to Japan by the Educational Ministry of the Republic of China. During this visit he was most impressed by the Japanese way of modernization, mixing Eastern culture with Western culture. According to Ch'ien, Japan was modeled on the West but without diminishing its traditional culture. Ch'ien asked why China could not be like Japan in retaining its own culture.²⁹ In 1957, Ch'ien was invited to be one of the guardians 監護人 of the Chinese students at Asia University. In a piece of calligraphy written for the students, Ch'ien encouraged them to promote Sino-Japanese friendship, which would in turn help revive Eastern culture (including both Chinese and Japanese culture).³⁰

In June 1958, the two institutions signed an agreement for exchanging students. It is interesting to note that Ōta Kōzō came to Taiwan to pay tribute to Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石 before signing the agreement in Hong Kong.³¹ Obviously, he had to consider how the Republic of

²⁹ Ch'ien Mu, *The world situation and Chinese culture* 世界局勢與中國文化 (Taipei: Lantai chubanshe, 2001), pp. 183-208.

³⁰ *Three years since coming to Japan* 來日三年 (Tokyo: Asia University Chinese Student Department, 1957); reprinted in Tam, *Hong Kong and Japan*, p. 349.

³¹ It is worth mentioning Jiang's strategy of using Japanese military talents in wartime to recapture mainland China.

China government thought of Ch'ien and his founded college in Hong Kong. It has to be mentioned that when Ch'ien visited Japan in 1960, he emphasized the similarities between the stories of the founding of the two institutions. In fact, as shown in the table 1, they shared similar names, culture and species, the experience of hardship, and pattern of development. Ch'ien emphasized the importance of the common identity of being an Asian as well as a person of international outlook in the following statement:

The names New Asia College and Asia University are meant to tell our young people that they are not just Japanese or Chinese; instead they are Asian and at the same time people of international outlook. Problematic issues between China and Japan cannot be solved unless the problem of Asia can first be settled.³²

As has been discussed above, both Ch'ien and Ōta had a similar postwar background, they had to cope with the issues of war recovery and American dominance in the international order of Asia. This shed light on their activities in founding New Asia College and Asia University. Ch'ien stressed the importance of revival of Chinese culture so as to resist the influence of communism. Ch'ien was able to 'ride' the Cold War in fulfilling his aim of reviving Chinese culture. Ch'ien's stress on Confucian thoughts was widely received by Asian countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea. It is worth mentioning that these countries were also the bases of the Anglo-American alliance in containing communist China.

³² Ch'ien's speech at Asia University, 20 January 1960, in *Xinya yiduo*, pp. 270-276.

Table 1. Comparison between Ch'ien Mu and Ōta Kōzō

	Ch'ien Mu	Ōta Kōzō
Native origin	Wuxi, Jiangsu, 1895-1990	Fukushima, 1889-1981
Religion	Confucian	Christian
Careers	Scholar and educator (1949-67)	Lawyer, politician, educator (1954-81)
Slogan	Revival of Chinese culture	Revival of Asian tradition
Background	Civil war in mainland; KMT vs CCP struggle; and refugee status in Hong Kong	Postwar recovery; US occupation
Challenges	Colonial administration in Hong Kong; international recognition; financial assistance	War criminal persecution; reshuffling of international order in Asia; financial assistance
Political emphasis	Anti-communism	Anti-war; anti-communism
Advocacy on Asia	Hong Kong as a showcase of 'New Asia,' as a mix of eastern and western culture	Replicating from pre-war Japan with a new emphasize on 'Asian' studies rather than 'China' studies
Founded school	Asia College of Humanities and Commerce → New Asia College → New Asia College (member college of Chinese University of Hong Kong)	Japan Academy of Economics → Japan College of Economics → Asia University
Financial support	Shanghainese merchants → Yale-in China and Asia Foundation	Tokyū Group
School spirit	Revival of Chinese culture	Self-help and co-operation

To Ōta Kōzō, the defeat of Japan in the Second World War and its impoverished economic condition convinced him that Japan would no longer be counted as one of the Western powers. Instead, Japan had to go back to Asia.³³ Coincidentally, Ōta had similar views to Ch'ien in that he

believed that the new international order of Asia could be constructed by Asian countries themselves, which could sideline Western countries such as the United States.

³³ Oguma Eiji, "The Postwar Intellectuals' View of 'Asia'," in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Border*, ed. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 201-212.

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