

Debates on the Jewish Question in Japan

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Debates on the Jewish Question in Japan
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I do not know how many times I have been asked about the genesis of my interest in the Jews. And every time I repent not having invented an impeccable answer fit for all occasions, but at the same time I revolt at the idea of repeating the same answer like a parrot, so I always get stuck when asked why. Posing this question to me out of the blue is like dumping a heavy burden on my arms and watching how long I will be able to endure. I have tried many answers: I am interested in those Jewish builders of modern thought or in those Jewish founders of alienation literature or in those Jewish originators of new artistic forms. Why have so many new forms and theories been predominantly created by Jews? I would like to find out what Jewishness means in those giants in modern civilization. But the questioner's face says, "Is that all?" So I try a rhetorical question: Which history is more eventful than that of the Jews? Jewish studies is interesting in its own right, so no reason why is necessary, which is a lie to any eye. We often hear that the Jewish problem is the problem of non-Jews. If so, a non-Jew's interest in the Jewish problem is supposed to cut across some of his own problems. This is true not only on individual but also on collective levels. Debates on the Jewish question in Japan has naturally reflected her enigmatic national character as well as changes in her

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polity and community. And I know that I will have to expose who I am as my talk proceeds.

About the first contact of the Japanese with the Jews, there are some conjectures. As you may have heard, some people still think that the Japanese descend from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, that is, the people of the kingdom of Samaria who were deported by the Assyrians in 722 B.C. and vanished somewhere beyond the mist-shrouded mountains of the East. In a recently published book entitled *The Japanese and the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel*, Joseph Eidelberg compared the official history of the Hebrews as described in the Old Testament and that of the Japanese as recorded in the Nihongi, the Chronicles of Japan, which was written in 720 A.D. and is considered a sacred book of history on the origin of the Japanese nation and the formation of the Japanese Empire. I quote from Eidelberg: "As we continue turning the pages of the Nihongi, we discover that some of the events related to early Japanese emperors are almost identical with events that took place during the reign of ancient Hebrew kings; that the wars of the ancient Japanese with the Yebisu and Idomi tribes are similar to some of the wars of the ancient Hebrews with the Yebusites and Edomites; and that many details in the Japanese story of the Exodus and the journey to settle in a land of "Reed-Meadows" are very similar to events described in the Hebrew story of the Exodus and the journey to settle in the land of Canaan."⁽¹⁾ Eidelberg also finds out that "although the narratives of the Nihongi refer to the ancient kingdom of the Japanese nation as Yamato, the description of Yamato does not quite fit the islands of Japan."⁽²⁾ It follows, therefore, that Yamato referred mainly to that remote period in the history of the Japanese nation when they were still in their "country of origin", and indeed etymologically "Yamato" could derive from a Hebrew-Aramaic dialect "ya-umato" (nation of God). The ancient Japanese began their journey in the year of "kinoye tora" which may be interpreted as "kniya Torah" (acquisition of the Torah). And when the Japanese finally settled in the land of the Reed-

Meadows (Toyo-ashi-hara), Emperor Jimmu conferred on some of the ancient Japanese leaders the title of "Agata Nushi" which could derive from "aguda nasi" or "nasi aguda", chief of congregation. And the people of Kemosh whose rebellion against Israel is mentioned in the Old Testament (II Kings, 3:5) may have been called "Kemoshi" by the ancient Hebrews, and "Kumaso" by the compiler of the Nihongi. Especially the sudden replacement of legends with historical facts after the reign of Empress Jingu which Eidelberg noticed in the Nihongi, is something really thrilling. To argue with Eidelberg I will have to immerse myself in Jewish and Japanese mythologies and histories for years to come, but some of his much too farfetched or even crude etymological comparisons arouse doubts rather than cause convictions; for example, how could one connect Kneset, Hebrew word meaning an assembly, with "kensei", Japanese word meaning constitutional government; or "mishge" with "michigai" (both meaning a mistake); or "kol" with "kei" (both meaning the sum total); or "goy" (a non-Hebrew) with "gai" (as in "*gai-jin*", a foreigner)? At least until now no theory as to the Jewish ancestry of the Japanese people has been historically verified. On the other hand, as Bashevis Singer writes in his story "Gimpel the Fool", "It happens to one if it doesn't happen to another, tomorrow if not today, or a century hence if not next year." Indeed, who knows where the truth lies?

Not a few Japanese have also set forth their own versions of "Japanese-Jewish common descent" theory. They have also drawn on historical, mythological, archeological as well as phonetic, folkloristic coincidences, and emphasized, like Eidelberg, dozens of similarities without minding hundreds of differences. Since I have lots of more important things to cover within this short lecture, I must contain myself not to dwell upon these fascinating combinations or juxtapositions of words and customs apparently far apart from each other. I cannot proceed, however, without mentioning those "common descent" theorists whose ultra-ethnocentrism à la Japonaise drove them beyond

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simply academic comparative studies. By tracing the Japanese descent to the ancient Hebrews whose religious glory is unquestionable, they could certainly feel compensated for their collective as well as individual frustrations caused by the dominant and domineering Western or Christian civilization. Very suggestive is the fact that such prominent "common descent" theorists as Zenichiro Oyabe and Katsugun Sakai were both educated and ordained as Christian priests in the U.S. before the turn of the century; then both immersed themselves in Jewish studies, finally forsaking Christian faith. Nor did they remain mere worshipers of Jewish tradition; they were psychically to be driven into the eventual logical consequence that the Divine Land of Japan should be elevated to the spiritual leader of the whole world with the Japanese Imperial Family enshrined as the Messiah for all humanity. It had to be the Japanese rather than the Jews themselves who could claim to be legitimate heirs to the glorious tradition of the ancient Hebrews. Masao Masuda, one of the later "common descent" epigones who were active during the last war, even referred to Jewish culture as a devilish one developed under the counterfeited influence of Japanese Shintoist culture.⁽³⁾ When touched by fanatical chauvinism, the "Japanese-Jewish common descent" theory shifted its character from that of a philo-semitic worshiper to that of an anti-semitic demagogue, thus conforming and contributing part to the "Holy War" ideology hand in hand with other shintoist-militarist propaganda efforts. Now let us leave this unmanageable grotesquerie of self-righteous illusions for more straight historical facts.

Portuguese and Dutch ships reached Nagasaki during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and there might have been some Sephardic Jewish crew on board. This is also a mere conjecture. In 1854, the U.S. fleet under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry steamed into Tokyo Bay with the demand that Japan should open her doors, and thereafter Jewish traders from England, France, Germany, Syria, India and Iraq visited Japan as nationals of their respective host

countries. In 1862, a Jewish American, Raphael Schoyer, published the first English daily newspaper, the Japan Express, in Yokohama, where fifty Jewish families are said to have been prosperous until the Great Earthquake which visited the whole district of Kanto in 1923. Yokohama served as a temporary refuge for many Russian Jews who had fled from the revolutionary aftermath and were heading for America. In 1889 a group of Russian Jews immigrated to Nagasaki, and within a year dedicated a synagogue; but dispersed by the depression which followed World War I, they had to sell their synagogue in 1924 and transfer their Torah to Kobe Jews who also maintained a small temple.⁽⁴⁾ So far as I know, the first Japanese scholar to make a historical—and admirably unbiased—introduction to the Jewish question in Europe was Sentaro Kemuyama who published a short article entitled “Antisemitism and Zionism” serially in May and June 1905 issues of *Chuo Koron*. This implies that Japanese intellectual perceptions of Jews had already existed even before the turn of the century, but for the most part such perceptions had had to be shaped without any direct personal contacts with Jews until late 1930’s when Japan became an ally of Nazi Germany, and had to face, under Nazi pressure, the problem of how to treat 30,000 Jewish residents and refugees in Manchuria and Shanghai. This will be one of the topics I will take up later. Now about 700 Jews of various nationalities are concentrated in the Tokyo and Kobe areas, both of which have synagogues of their own and are under the umbrella of the World Jewish Congress.⁽⁵⁾ What emerges from the preceding descriptions is that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese have never seen any Jews in the flesh, and that their images of Jews are mostly based on hearsay evidence.

“Fiddler on the Roof” has been performed in its Japanese version more than eight hundred times, and anybody can hum that immediately charming melody of “If I were a rich man”. Whatever this popular theme song might mean, the general Japanese image of Jews is rich men. This image derives partly from the story of Jacob Schiff, a

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partner of Kuhn, Loeb and Co., an American investment bank. At a certain fellow banker's party in London, Schiff met Baron Korekiyo Takahashi, vice-president of the Bank of Japan (later to be finance minister and then prime minister), who was trying desperately to borrow money on the international market for the war Japan was waging against Czarist Russia. Takahashi, unawares whom he was addressing, told a man sitting beside him that if he failed to raise money soon enough, Japan would lose the war to Czar Nicholas II. As a Jew, Schiff had held Czar Nicholas II responsible for the pogroms against his coreligionists in Kishinev and other places. The following morning a certain Mr. Shand, Schiff's deputy, visited Takahashi to discuss a five million pound loan. And "it was Schiff's Jewish connections in European financial circles that made possible the even more successful second and third multinational loans to Japan in 1904 and 1905."⁽⁶⁾ 41 million pounds in all! This saved Japan from a shameful defeat, and after the war brought her new territories with new resources, and greatly raised her international prestige. Schiff acted as a Jew, and Schiff loans were connected with the Jewish financial ability to manipulate world events. This equation of Jews with capital runs as an undercurrent through all the debates on the Jewish question in Japan.

The popular account is that there has been no Jewish problem in Japan, because the Japanese have had little direct religious or socioeconomic interaction with Jews. But a glance at the formidable bibliography of Judaica literature in Japan will tell you that the Japanese have also had debates—and quite heated debates at that—on Jews. Phase One starts immediately after the end of World War I.⁽⁷⁾ The Russian Revolution excited grave apprehensions in the Empire of Japan which had also been suffering from inflation, downfall of poor farmers and increasing cases of labor disputes. Old spiritual values were being replaced by new materialistic ones. Fully sensitized to the global instability in which empires were falling down one after another, Japan feared that she might also be hit by a

backwash of the Russian Revolution. So in spite of wide-spread counterarguments, Japan kept step with the U. S. in dispatching her expeditionary force 75,000 strong to Siberia with a view to supporting the anti-Revolutionary Czarist Army, and met with miserable defeat at the hands of the Red Guards. Anti-Bolshevism built up at a stroke among the ruling political, financial and military circles of Japan. It was only natural that there should have been a sort of cultural exchange between antisemitic Czarist Army officers and Japanese liaison personnel, and that the latter should have brought back all kinds of antisemitic materials. General Gregorii Semyonov of the Czarist Army ordered that each soldier should have a copy of *The Protocols of Elder Sages of Zion*, which consists of the alleged minutes of a secret meeting held by Jewish leaders to plot the takeover of the entire world. *The Protocols* was found out to be a fabrication as early as in 1921, but faked or not, it served as the indispensable source material for antisemites all the world over, and so could not be so easily abandoned.

Captain Norihiro Yasue of the Japanese Army, who was attached to General Semyonov's own staff, later took the pains to translate the whole text of *The Protocols* with firm belief in its Jewish authorship, and in 1924 published it in his book entitled *The Inside of the World Revolution*.⁽⁸⁾ In 1926 he visited Palestine by order of the General Staff Office, and wrote in his report that "no one so much as whispered a hint about the international conspiracy."⁽⁹⁾ A decade later he was to play a major role in deciding how to treat Jews in Manchuria. Naval officer Koreshige Inuzuka, who was to play the same role as Yasue's in Shanghai, was on board a battleship off Vladivostok. And an army officer ten years senior to Yasue, Nobutaka Shioden, later to be the dean of Japanese antisemites, was also working for the secret military agencies at Vladivostok and Harbin. Thus, the three major military antisemites of Japan were being incubated during the Siberian expedition in which all of them took part. Shioden was a fanatical antisemite whose megalomania

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reached its furthest extreme toward the end of World War II. Though theoretically antisemitic, Yasue and Inuzuka were willing to help Jewish refugees even under strong protests from the Nazis as well as from such pro-Nazi Japanese antisemites as Shioden. In protecting Jews, however, they had an axe to grind as I will tell you later. Inuzuka was a man of questionable integrity as witnessed by what he wrote after the war to prove he was pro-Jewish, shelving all his past antisemitic harangue. He was put on trial as a war criminal for what he had done as commander of the naval garrison in Manila, but saved himself by showing the tribunal an evidence of his pro-minority attitude, that is, a silver cigarette case presented to him by a member of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis "in gratitude and appreciation for his service to the Jewish people". On the other hand, Yasue was, toward the end of the war, reflecting on what he had done as an antisemitic ideologue. Like a samurai he bid a ceremonial farewell to his family, and surrendered to the Soviet army, though he had enough chance to flee. He died at a Khabarovsk camp.

Now let me revert to the Siberian expedition. Czarist Army officers and their Japanese counterparts were quite in sympathy with each other, because both abode by loyalty to the Emperor as the pillar of the national polity, and considered any form of treason against their Majesties unpardonable. Given the prominent role which Jews played in the Revolution, and given also those antisemitic myths and practices which were then current in major Western countries, it was quite natural that Bolshevism should be equated with the so-called Jewish Conspiracy. It was alleged that all wars, revolutions, assassinations or moral degenerations originated from the Jewish conspiracy for global dominion. There occurred a coterie of ideologues, both military and civilian, who specilized in alarming the nation at what Jewish conspirators were up to, and pushing forward proper measures to counter this Jewish peril. It could be easily surmised that such countermeasures were conveniently matched with con-

servative or rather reactionary standpoints which had to cope with surging democratic tendencies among the modernizing Japanese people. As in other countries, Japanese youth was turning away from the old values of their fathers. According to the Jewish Conspiracy theorists, suffragist movements, labor disputes, feminist campaigns, free love, birth control and all subversive political activities were to be connected with conspiring Jews. This reminds us of the German nationalists during the Weimar period who similarly justified political retardedness, and rejected anything progressive as not indigenous.

In Western countries it was into all social strata that anti-semitism stuck its roots, while in Japan it became part of upper- and middle-class culture, because imported ideas were not so readily accessible to people of lower classes. *The Merchant of Venice* was first introduced to the Japanese in an adapted form as early as in 1877, and since the publication of its standard Japanese version in 1906,⁽¹⁰⁾ has been quite influential in fostering belief in the "Jewish Peril". In present-day Japan, by the way, the vogue is to extend sympathy to Shylock's smoldering hatred against domineering Christians, but it was not the case in the early decades of this century. A revolting image of Jews as usurer or profiteer taking mean advantage of others' adversities, was connected with fear of Bolshevizing conspiracy and then with sympathy for "honest and innocent" Russians. Even the *Asahi*, the most prestigious daily newspaper in Japan, held the pogrom in Kishinev to be a due retaliation for Jewish political rampancy in alliance with subversive progressives.⁽¹¹⁾

The said Phase One, however, fell on the short but happy "democratic" decade after World War I, and Japan was still able to enjoy academic and press freedom, so there was no lack of sound minds which grasped Jews as they are without stereotyped prejudices, and were able to debunk fallacies of the Jewish Conspiracy theory. As one of such sane minds, I must give the name of Sakuzo Yoshino, who was then assistant professor of politics at the University of Tokyo and later to be referred to as a theoretical pillar of the

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democratic movement in the Taisho era. He concluded that the so-called *Protocols* was a fake forged to instigate distrust against Bolshevism with the help of traditional Western antipathy against Freemasonry and Jews, and further pointed out that it was ridiculous to say the prophecies in *The Protocols* had come true, because what had occurred in the world was not favorable to Jews at all. He got at the heart of the matter in emphasizing that the non-Jewish author of *The Protocols* urged the necessity of looking out for and fighting against Jewish outrages most of all in the cause of freedom and progress, both of which were, however, the very things the Japanese translator did his best to repudiate. It was, as he said, "nothing but getting hold of the wrong end of the stick".⁽¹²⁾

In 1923 a serious study of Zionism was already published by Tadao Yanaihara who was then assistant professor of economics at the University of Tokyo, and later to be president of the same university. This study of his shows a good understanding of Jewish history as witnessed by his criticism of Werner Sombart who deduced the particular position of Jews under capitalistic system from the Jewish ways of life in the days of the Old Testament.⁽¹³⁾ His firm opposition to the Jewish Conspiracy theory was clear enough when he wrote: "Those who fear Jewish conspiracy are those who suffer from nightmares of persecutions they themselves inflicted on Jews."⁽¹⁴⁾ As a fervent Christian he quotes copiously from the Prophets to celebrate the redemption of nature, man and ideal; above all, conquest of reality by ideal in Israel. Besides rejoicing in the resurgence of a Jewish nation in Palestine, he attached a great significance to the non-capitalistic, non-profit-making, non-exploitative colonial enterprise of Zionism. His excitement was such as to say, "From the viewpoint of all mankind seven or eight hundred thousand Arabs are not entitled to ownership of Palestine"⁽¹⁵⁾—an extremely problematic assertion which, if published now, would never fail to invite hisses and boos. But this is only an emphatic way to assert that Jews should not be rejected from Israel, and he actually hastens to add in

the next paragraph that Jews are not entitled to build their national home at the sacrifice of Arab residents, and that only on the principle of political and economic non-exploitation will colonization be endorsed by international justice. This was his cherished view which as an expert on colonial policy he kept adhering to in all his treatises on colonies even including those under Japanese imperial rule. Other pious Japanese Christians⁽¹⁶⁾ were equally excited—so much excited as to hold Jewish resurgence in Palestine as a miracle, and could confirm their belief in another miracle which is of course the second advent of Christ. For them the Balfour Declaration was no less than a cosmic problem.⁽¹⁷⁾

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Then came the global panic in the early 1930's, Nazi accession to power, Japan's invasion of Manchuria and secession from the League of Nations. Japan fell into the hands of the military, and headed for fascism. The three major military antisemites whom I mentioned earlier and other like-minded military and civilian cohorts started giving talks and writing books amplifying on the already familiar topic of international Jewish conspiracy toward global dominion. We are already in Phase Two, the stormy period during which Japan joined hands with Nazi Germany through the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936, and then through the Triple Military Alliance involving also Mussolini's Italy in 1940. Up to 1937 when the Sino-Japanese Incident broke out, liberal intellectuals had been still allowed to write critical comments on Nazi racist policy, never failing to report outrageous persecutions of Jews. But they underestimated Hitler in predicting that Jewish capitalists in Germany would never be oppressed, or that there would be a decisive conflict between the Nazi regime and an anti-Nazi power.⁽¹⁸⁾ This was the gross error the Germans committed themselves.

In 1938 a retired army general named Teiichi Muto wrote a book with the title of *Jewish Offensive against Japan*,⁽¹⁹⁾ a typical example

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of antisemitism without Jews, but it is true that a number of Jews were helping Chiang Kai Shek's anti-Japanese war efforts. According to an article written in 1937 by Kiyo Utsumomiya (pseudonym of Inuzuka), "Jewish financiers...intend to drive the Japanese out of China...[moreover] the British, French and German Jews have given a loan of \$ 200,000,000 to China for the development of Southwest China, in order to forestall a further advance of Japan southward... [as part of] an anti-Japanese plot by the Jews...."⁽²⁰⁾ And it is a fact that many Jewish career soldiers who had once served the German Army joined Chiang Kai Shek's troops. Miriam Karnes, who founded the Chinese Women's Army Corps, was killed in action during the Japanese attack on the city of Nanking. Moshe Cohen played an important role in procuring war supplies for Chiang's army. Engineers, medical doctors and scientists from among Jewish refugees contributed greatly to anti-Japanese war efforts in the Chinese hinterland where Chiang's Nationalist troops entrenched themselves.⁽²¹⁾ Therefore, the antisemitism inside the Japanese military may have been caused to a certain extent by those antagonistic Jews. In the same 1938, the Japanese version of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* was published in book form. (By the way, its reissue appeared in 1959, proving that it is still in demand.) Antisemitism was now all the more institutionalized due to the necessity of strengthening ties with Nazi Germany. The theory of international Jewish conspiracy served also as a fine rationalization for those military leaders and mouthpiece ideologues whose main concern was to protect the pure national polity based on the Shintoistic emperor worship, against any impure, demonic influences from outside. Here we have another classic example of antisemitism as almost independent of its object, that is, Jews. What Jews do or fail to do to the Japanese is not the dominant determinant. The impetus comes out of the needs of the political leaders and a particular political climate. This is why Japanese anti-semites had to accept what Hitler said and did as the ground on which to authenticate their theories, and naturally Nazi brutalities

against Jews were never held as unconscionable by them. It became harder and harder to publicly debunk the Jewish conspiracy theory, and any brave attempt to do so with the same anti-totalitarian and liberal spirit as displayed in democratic countries meant directly landing in prison.

The German Embassy in Tokyo was now in full swing as Nazi culture center. Books eulogizing the new Nazi set-up as well as denouncing the international secret power of Jews were published one after another under their sponsorship. Even without their sponsorship, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was among perpetual bestsellers. Hitler's Aryan-centered racism never made an exception of the Japanese, who, according to him, might be "Kulturtragend" ("culture-carrying") but could never be "kultur-schöpferisch" ("culture-creating"). This problematic part ranging over eleven pages in the German original was expurgated for obvious reasons in the two then popular Japanese versions. However, Japan never lacked intellectual samurai. As an active right-winger aspiring after Japanese national socialism, Junjuro Ishikawa had already completed his own translation of *Mein Kampf* even before 1931, but was able to publish only its Part One in his *Study of Hitler's Mein Kampf* (1941), in which he not only retained the controversial section, but also cast biologically valid doubts on Nazi theory of racial superiority and inferiority. Ishikawa's protest was never implemented by any Japanese leader, whose political expediency was, after all, in keeping with Nazi cult.⁽²²⁾ Learning German and singing German military songs were quite the vogue among Japanese highschool boys. Those students who scored excellently in German speech contests were awarded medals from the German ambassador. Visits of Hitler Jugend boys were featured in any magazine for school children. Toward the end of a welcome dinner for visiting young Brown Shirts, their leader gave some curt order, then lo and behold, all of them picked up their dishes to lick the remaining gravy clean. This was to be a marvelous example of thrift and discipline for more sloppy Japanese boys. At one annual national

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conference of Japanese Germanisten, consisting mainly of German language teachers at high schools and colleges, the chairman proposed to give three cheers of "Hitler Banzai!" ("Long live Hitler!") By the way, the 1979 conference of Japanese Germanisten featured "German-Jewish cultural symbiosis", highlighting Heinrich Heine, Franz Kafka, Joseph Roth and Elias Canetti. They even heard a paper on Yiddish language and literature read by one of a few Yiddish scholars in Japan.⁽²³⁾ Surely we are living in quite a different age. One might have the impression that they are just keeping up with the fashion of the day. So I would like to emphasize that even in those tumultuous days of Nazi cult many studied German first and foremost to read Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, and why not Heine. And many loved German music not because of military songs but because of other far less noisy and mechanical, far more humane and touching categories created in that "Kulturland" before the Nazi era. I still remember a toilet graffito in the Tokyo University dormitory evidently daubed during the war and hopefully still remaining there which says in German, "Soldaten sind nicht Menschen!" ("Soldiers are not human!") German was used here as an antiwar jargon in the hope that low-brow police investigators would not understand it. This was a feeble but utmost possible protest against militarist tyrannies. The special police section in charge of thought control made it a rule to search thoroughly in suspected students' rooms for undesirable books especially of socialist content, which, if found, were of course confiscated, and the owners of the books taken for further investigations. It is usually futile, and especially so during periods of national crisis, to expect rational thought to determine the course of events, but for all that, it is inspiring to find out that murmurs of intellect die hard under the most strict censorship.

During the said Phase Two, the Japanese faced the Jewish question not without Jews for the first time in their history when they had to decide how to treat Jewish refugees from European countries who settled down in Harbin and other Manchurian cities and also in

Shanghai. Rabbi Marvin Tokayer, who used to serve the Jewish congregation in Tokyo, wrote a book with the title of *The Fugu Plan*. "Fugu" is a Japanese word meaning a swellfish or a balloon-fish. The fugu meat is irresistibly delicious, but dangerous for its lethal poison contained in its ovary. (Mr Eidelberg might have something to say about the connection between the Hebrew word "sakanah" meaning danger and the Japanese word "sakana" meaning fish.) This Fugu Plan was framed by Yasue, Inuzuka and other sympathetic diplomats to utilize those Jewish refugees in Manchuria and Shanghai as a quid pro quo. In return for favorable treatments accorded to them, Japanese official quarters expected American Jewry to throw all its influence on Japan's side to eventually make U.S. Far Eastern policy more pro-Japanese or at least neutral, and if things went well, even to entice Jewish capital which was badly needed for the industrial development of Manchuria.

It was in this connection that Major General Kiichiro Higuchi, newly appointed commander of the Secret Military Agency in Harbin, allowed the first conference of the Far Eastern Jewish Council to be held in January 1938 when Himmler's Gestapo had already started a nationwide roundup of Jews. A better understanding would be gained if one knew that Colonel Yasue, then chief of the Dairen Secret Agency and Higuchi's classmate at the Military Academy, had been especially invited to Harbin to deal with Jews there. In line with the Japanese expectation, this conference, attended by 2,000 Jews in Manchuria as well as from Japan, Shanghai, Hong Kong etc. proclaimed to all major Jewish organizations in the world their cooperation with Japan and Manchukuo in building a new order in Asia. Though some staff members of the Kwantung Army attacked on this anti-Nazi tolerance toward Jews, Higuchi not only neglected all such criticism, but also rescued 20,000 mainly German-Jewish refugees, who, not able to find accomodation in Poland, had streamed across the Soviet Union into the border town of Otpor, just opposite the Japanese military base at Manchouli. Afraid to irritate the Nazi

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regime, the Russian Government had refused their sojourn in her territory except Birobidzhan, the Jewish autonomous region quite unpopular among Jews for its harsh climate and declining Yiddish culture. The Manchukuo Government also felt constraint in the presence of the scary Kwantung Army. Northern Manchuria in March is still in the depth of winter, and hosts of Jewish refugees were about to freeze to death in their makeshift tents. Higuchi persuaded the Manchukuo Foreign Office to accept all the refugees if only for humanitarian reasons, and at length Manchurian rescue trains carried all the refugees across the border to Harbin, where most of them further proceeded due south to Shanghai or Hong Kong. As anticipated, the Nazi Foreign Office under the name of Ribbentrop filed a vigorous protest against their Japanese counterpart, but Higuchi's contention was supported even by General Tojo, then chief of staff at the Kwantung Army, in utter disregard of the Nazi protest.⁽²⁴⁾

Inside the Japanese Government there had been two factions: those in favor of promoting good relations with world Jewry in hopes of turning them to Japan's profit, and those inclined to swallow the Nazi line and have nothing to do with Jews. I will summarize what Rabbi Tokayer's book vividly depicted about this controversy.⁽²⁵⁾ The spokesman against any official involvement with the Jews was General Shioden. He contends that since their goal is nothing less than the disruption and ultimate takeover of the world, we Japanese should listen to people who have more experience in this matter. Germany and Russia know better than we do; we must follow their advice and opinion. And the countervailing side led by Finance Minister Ikeda and Army Minister Itagaki retorts that Japan can surely control the Jews. Hundreds of years ago, China permitted thousands of Jews to settle in the Kaifeng region. Did they take over? By no means. In time China, having benefited from their cleverness and industry, calmly swallowed them up until today there is no such thing as a "Chinese Jew". Surely we Japanese, being

even more conscious of the potential danger, can do as well. This theory prevailed finally, and the Fugu Plan was launched. Like fugu fish Jews are dangerous, but if processed properly, nothing is more savory.

A Japanese misconception of American Jewry's political stance is in evidence here. Mr. Mitsuzo Tamura, a MIT graduate with large social connections in America through his twenty-year residence there and then New York representative of the Toyo Container Manufacturing Co., acted as an emissary for the Fugu Plan. With the help of his Jewish contacts, he succeeded in having an interview with Stephen S. Wise, the then president of the American Jewish Congress who, as a close friend of FDR, was surely one of the most influential leaders of American Jewry. As told by the Fugu Plan promoters, Tamura tried to see how Wise would react to the possibility of Japan's offering to settle a number of refugees from Europe somewhere in Japanese-held Asia. Though Wise was polite to the Japanese visitor, he had enough insight to see through the Japanese expansionist intention in China which the U.S. would never condone. Wise was not only an American patriot but also a friend of down-trodden Asian minorities. I quote Wise's words from Tokayer's book: "The Japanese military have been excessively harsh with other minorities who have come under their power. Certainly the Chinese, particularly the residents of Nanking—excluding, naturally, the three hundred thousand civilians who were massacred after that city surrendered in 1937—certainly the Chinese would have little cause to recommend living in Japanese-controlled lands."⁽²⁶⁾ So from the first this probing action was doomed to failure, but the Japanese Government had to avoid provoking the U.S. to stronger denunciation of her aggression upon China or causing more threat to boycott Japanese goods, and finally decided, at its so-called Five Ministers' Conference in December 1938, to deal with Jewish refugees as fairly as with any other aliens, and at the same time, not to invite Jews to Japan or any other region under Japanese influence except such "right" persons

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as capitalists, industrialists, scientists or artists. The latter half of this decision was obviously inserted to conciliate antisemites.

Angry outcries occurred, however, from Jewish Conspiracy theorists, both military and civilian, and naturally from Nazi Germany. The German Foreign Office immediately sent a note of protest to the Japanese Government. This resulted in what might have been least expected. This hurt the Japanese samurai pride; "Japan is not a German dependency," they said. The then Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka told a Jewish businessman that he certainly was responsible for the Alliance Pact with Hitler, but had never promised him to be an antisemite in Japan. Even after the military alliance with the Nazis which put a virtual end to the Fugu Plan, Japan still wanted to make some indirect use of Jews under Japanese protection. She could not forget those Jews who had the ear of the President of the U.S. and also controlled American public opinions. In August 1940, Sempo Sugihara, Japanese consul at Kovno, Lithuania, issued to several thousand Jewish refugees transit visas with a highly suspect destination of Curaçao, the then Dutch colonial island in the Carrebean Sea which did not require any entry visa. The consul and his family kept processing piles of applications day and night to save as many of the imperiled as possible. The Japanese Foreign Ministry with many pro-Nazi staff members should have disavowed this entirely personal action on the part of the young consul and refused to honor the visas. Instead of disavowing Sugihara's action, Matsuoka's Ministry actually let the Jewish refugees with the suspect visas stay temporarily in Kobe on their way to Shanghai.

Colonel Yasue had already been dismissed by Tojo from his Jewish Affairs mission in Manchuria in 1940. With the outbreak of the Pacific War, Jews in Shanghai were ghettoized, and after Inuzuka was assigned to sea duty in 1942, they faced a great crisis of extermination. Colonel Josef Meisinger with two other Gestapos visited Shanghai to discuss with the Japanese military and diplomatic representatives how to exterminate 17,000 Jews living there. He

proposed three alternatives: (1) The Jews would be stripped even of the clothes and loaded on several old, unseaworthy ships, which would be towed out to sea with rudder cables cut. They would die of thirst and hunger, and later a naval detail could sink the ships. (2) The Jews could be put to work at several abandoned salt mines. They would be assigned the maximum amount of labor for a minimum of nourishment. Most of the Jews would not last long. (3) Why not build a concentration camp on an island in the mouth of the Yangtse River where Jews could be used for medical experiments, for example, on the human nervous system's tolerance for pains etc.⁽²⁷⁾ Meisinger even recommended a round-up operation on the Jewish New Year's Day of Rosh Hashanah, when all of them would be at one or another of their synagogues.

Some Japanese pro-Nazi representatives were receptive to the Meisinger plan, but a humanitarian Japanese vice-consul leaked this information to the Jewish leaders, one of whom boldly tried to sound out the chief of the Japanese Military Police in Shanghai on his reaction to the Meisinger proposals. The angered M. P. chief had all involved in this information leak arrested immediately, including the poor Japanese vice-consul. They were imprisoned and tortured, but the Meisinger plan never materialized. Given the governmental decision to deal with Jewish refugees as fairly as with any other aliens, that terrible plan had been destined to abortion from the first. Though barely saved from falling into Nazi hands, Jewish refugees in Shanghai were put to inconvenience through ghettoization. In Manchuria, however, the Japanese authorities are said to have been more generous to Jews than to Chinese or Koreans.

In Japan proper, antisemitic tirades continued to sway the public opinion as evidenced in the fact that Nobutaka Shioden, now retired lieutenant general and the big wheel of Jewish Conspiracy theorists, polled more votes than any other candidates in the last wartime Diet election. (The Japanese call their Congress the Diet.) It could be said in a nutshell that through Phase Two which lasts until the

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end of World War II, Japan as regards her treatment of Jews had been Dr. Jekyll in protecting Jewish refugees from Nazi hands, but Mr. Hyde in utilizing antisemitism to solidify her own war efforts as well as to guard her allegedly pure polity against progressive influences from outside. Very symbolical is Captain Inuzuka of the Japanese navy. As one of the creators of the Fugu Plan which brought about the important governmental policy of fair treatment to Jews, he certainly had a part to play as a protector of Jews against the Nazis. But Jews were protected as a kind of hostage in expectation of a fat ransom in the form of American Jewish intercession for the interest of Japan. Furthermore, he seized every opportunity to propagate his own Jewish Conspiracy theory. In 1961, sixteen years after the war, he published an essay with the title of "Japanese Auschwitz Was a Paradise", and in 1973 his bereaved wife wrote about "The Imperial Navy as the Protector of Jews".⁽²⁶⁾ Both husband and wife emphasized only Dr. Jekyll side of Japanese reactions to Jews. But nothing can escape watchful Jewish eyes. By the mid-1950's, Michael Kogan, a Jewish resident in Tokyo with proficiency in Japanese, had read enough of the secret Foreign Ministry documents to confront Inuzuka publicly with evidence that he had never been a friend of Jews.

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Phase Three starts in early 1950's when the Japanese first heard about Auschwitz and got stunned at the atrocities their former ally perpetrated to the so-called non-Aryan races. The Japanese version of Anne Frank's "Diary of a Young Girl" was published in 1952 to be an immediate bestseller, and as of 1973, stood at no less than 150 printings, now perhaps over 200 printings which means easily over one million copies. A certain high-school girl described the following impression in her prize-winning essay: "The fact that six million Jews had to be persecuted and massacred only because they were Jews, made me think that it was not only because of the war but

because something else had already existed...."⁽²⁹⁾ This perceptive girl apparently managed to find a clue to what was behind the holocaust and all. To me who is a son of Korean father and Japanese mother, a Japanese citizen with one half Korean blood, and a perpetual outsider to "blood and soil" nationalism, Anne Frank's feeling toward the Dutch had something in common with my own feeling toward the Japanese whose deep-rooted hatred and contempt for the Koreans had been a constant source of bitter grief to me. Let me quote from her Diary (May 22, 1944): "I only pray that this hatred toward Jews will be only temporary, that the Dutch people will return to what they really are, and will not lose their sense of justice, because rejection of Jews is against justice.... I love Holland. Having no homeland of mine, I hoped Holland would be mine. I still hope so."

Following Anne Frank's Diary, Victor Frankl's *Ein Psycholog Erlebt das K.Z.* (*A Psychologist Experiences the Concentration Camp*) and other books on concentration camp brutalities were translated into Japanese. People were struck dumb at the fact that three million were gassed at Auschwitz alone, and twelve million in toto, which is approximately 10% of the Japanese population, were snuffed out under Nazi racist policy. And the fact that six million out of all these victims were Jews just surpassed all their imagination. As was referred to by Stephen Wise before the said Japanese emissary, while attacking and after occupying the city of Nanking in 1937, the Japanese army committed plunderage, incendiarism, torture, rape and other atrocities, eventually massacring about 200,000 non-belligerent Chinese; they also shot legally-banned poison-gas shells somewhere in Northern China, and vivisected on Chinese prisoners at some secret medical experiment unit in Manchuria. But the Japanese military never set about exterminating people of any particular ethnic group just because they belonged to that group. The combination by the Nazis of technological sophistication with hatred toward a specified race led to the sincere reflection that the Jewish problem is that of non-Jews, but the favorable comparison of themselves with

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the Nazis may have allowed the Japanese to have less compunction about all the persecutions they once inflicted upon other peoples. Moreover, they were now a vanquished people for the first time in their history. One should not forget the deep-seated Japanese rancor against the two atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Their subconscious never stops murmuring: "If we had been not yellow, but white, would they still have dropped A-bombs over us?" The fact that only the U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry had been forcibly confined in the so-called relocation camps confirmed their suspicion.

If gassing thousands of people to death day after day was the Holocaust, snuffing out two hundred thousand people with that all-destroying blast and heat in a literal flash would equally deserve the name of Holocaust in its etymological sense. I once talked about this problem with my Hebrew School classmates, and when I stated that since all victims of genocides, at Auschwitz or at Hiroshima or wherever, are victims of State power, they should be treated equally, a lady perhaps in her late fifties retorted me that if Japan had known better, Hiroshima could have been avoided. She never doubted the absolute uniqueness of the Jewish Holocaust. In good contrast with her was an old German Jew whom I met on the street of Ashkeron, Israel. He had a serial number tattooed on his forearm, obviously a Holocaust survivor. As soon as he knew that I was from Japan, he directly uttered words of sympathy for Hiroshima victims. I felt that only victims knew victims. Only after Hiroshima could the proud Japanese find out the meaning of being a pariah nation, and they were collectively given the first chance to understand the sorry plight of persecuted peoples all the world over. I just hope this sense of solidarity between the Japanese and the Jews via different forms of Holocaust will last. Yad-va-shem in Jerusalem and the Atomic Bomb Museum in Hiroshima's Peace Park exist as mementos of evils bred by State power. Hiroshima people would certainly understand how Holocaust survivors in Skokie felt about the Neo-

Nazi Party's abortive plan to parade through their town. And I believe that Skokie Jews would equally understand how A-bomb survivors in Hiroshima felt about the demonstration flight of "Enola Gay" conducted by that Hiroshima pilot in memory of that accursed day.

1961 was the year of the Eichman Trial. Japanese media mobilized scholars and intellectuals to enlighten the Japanese about the Jewish problem, Nazism and Israel. Though all such enlightening efforts stood on the common basis of pro-Jewish sympathy, there were conflicting opinions about the legitimacy of the Trial. Critic Takeshi Muramatsu wrote: "It is an unprecedented, unheard-of event that one nation planned and implemented the extermination of another; where there is no precedent, there is no law, therefore procedures had to be primitive. A trial of a victimizer at the hands of victims and their bereaved is similar in appearance to, but different in essence from a trial of a defeated power at the hand of the victorious. Why not understand this point?"⁽³⁰⁾ Essayist Michiko Inukai, on the other hand, contended that such a serious problem concerning survival of humanity should not be handled by any individual state or nation—"The United Nations, however imperfect and weak, is still a supranational organization, actually the only one that could take a standpoint free from national rancor or retribution, therefore Israel should have entrusted the U. N. with a final judgment over this case."⁽³¹⁾ She was in line with the Buberian dictum that if Israel wishes to stand on a level of morality superior to that of the Nazis, no sentence should be passed on Eichman. In its "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" column, The Asahi supported her by deploring the eye-for-eye retributationalism which would certainly lead to another historical evil cycle. Masanori Miyazawa, author of *Yudayajin Ronko* (*A Study on Japanese Debates on Jews*), was critical of such seemingly humanitarian opposition to the death sentence to Eichman. He questioned whether it would not demand an unduly higher level of ideal to the Israelis alone, pointing out that a legend of prophetic justice could be used to extol Jews, but also to pull them down

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later; in other words, considering the current situation where antisemitic practices are still so rampant around, especially in Germany itself, as to charge persecutions of Jews to Jews' own account, such legendization of the Israelis into a sublime nation would germinate another prejudice by which Jews would indefinitely be discriminated and driven to call themselves Chosen.⁽³²⁾

Throughout Phase Three which covers the period from the establishment of Medinat Israel to the Eichman Trial, Japanese media presented Jews and the Jewish State in a good light—quite a contrast to what they did during the war. A number of Japanese started visiting Israel either as researchers or temporary kibbutz residents. An ever-increasing interest in the kibbutz system not only gave birth to two fully academic studies on this subject, but also led to the establishment of the Japan Kibbutz Institute, which annually sent many young people to kibbutzim under the sponsorship of the Israeli Embassy in Tokyo. A college co-ed who participated in this program published a travelogue called *Shalom Israel*, in which she concluded that no matter how much she loved Japan, there seemed to be far more human touches and liveliness among the Israelis than among the Japanese.⁽³³⁾ This admiration of hers represented Japanese impressions of Israel through Phase Three. While her observations were supple enough to comprehend the complexities of the Arab-Israeli conflict, some kibbutz enthusiasts and pro-Israeli Christians with a strongly Messianic orientation tended to excessively embellish and idealize Israel. These unconditional supporters of Israel form only a very tiny minority, and should not be taken as representing the general Japanese attitude toward Jews and Israel.

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At the outbreak of the Six-Day War, there occurred a clash of opinions among Japanese intellectuals regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict. We are entering Phase Four. Though disputants on both sides were not slow in discarding the stereotyped supposition that

the Arab-Israeli confrontation was predestined, and equally wished for a peaceful ethnic coexistence in the region, there was a definite gap in their evaluations of Israel and the Arabs. The pro-Arab side contends that the threat to peace in Palestine was caused by the existence of the Zionist State of Israel and the military reinforcement the Western powers brought up for her. It was insisted that only when Jews would discard Zionism, disconnect their ties with Western imperialist powers and become Palestinians, could they stand on a par with Arabs. Naturally "The Jewish State" was never to be tolerated in their "Palestinian-centered" perspective. They somehow presented what the Arabs conceived as the maximal possible terms of negotiations with Israel. On the other hand, the pro-Israeli side criticized the simplistic dichotomy the pro-Arab "progressives" alleged to exist between Jewish nationalism as an imperialist agent and Arab nationalism as an anti-imperialistic as well as anti-colonialistic vanguard. It was also asserted that Jews had consistently recognized the necessity of Arab-Israeli coexistence, and that this had been proved by the frequent Israeli peace appeals addressed to, but invariably neglected by the Arabs since pre-independence days. Both camps have respectively been splintered into various cliques ranging from conditional to absolutely unconditional sympathizers. For those who have already decided which side to take, the Middle East problem is simple and clear enough, but for those who are ready to ponder upon what both sides have to say, nothing is more complicated.

When the Japanese Red Army contingent took potshots at Jewish and Puerto Rican passengers at Lod Airport in 1972, pro-Arab radicals put up signboards at college campuses demanding the release of Kozo Okamoto, eulogizing the heroic deaths of the two other Red Army student-fighters and asking for donations for the rescue of Okamoto, while pro-Israeli groups immediately started fund-raising for the massacred victims. A group in Kyoto consisting of "those who love Israel as their own lives" held a prayer-meeting to mourn for the innocent victims and to repent before God and the Israeli people.⁽³⁴⁾

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The Japanese Government faced considerable criticism when it not only dispatched an apologetic envoy, but also offered "mimaikin" (literally, "sympathy money") to Israel. I will summarize what was contended by Katsuichi Honda, a journalist popular for his stories of downtrodden minorities everywhere: When Che Guevara invaded into Cuba, did the Argentine Government pay anything to the Battista regime in token of sympathy or compensation or whatever? Japan have not paid anything even to China, where millions of people were massacred by the Japanese forces. Didn't you hear that the Israelis were perplexed because there was no Hebrew word for "mimaikin"? Our special envoy should rather have flown to Hanoi, where planes from U. S. carriers based in Japan are still indiscriminately bombing innocent people.⁽³⁵⁾

Let me finish surveying Phase Four up to the present as briefly as possible. What comes up in my memory now is the stringent police cordon around the Israeli Embassy in Tokyo since the Lod Airport incident; the memorial service at the Munich Main Stadium for the eleven massacred Israeli Olympic champions which was attended by one Japanese official while the Polish team staying next to the Japanese quarters was there in full dress (a Japanese correspondent blamed the athletes of his own nation for being "medal animals"); the abortive attempt to boycott an Entebbe Rescue movie; and the general image of Israel as a troublemaker especially since the onset of the Arab oil strategy. The bulk of the Japanese intellectuals are "dovish" and apt to take at face value what domestic and foreign "progressives" have written about Zionist injustices. Naturally they would visit Arab countries rather than Israel, and should match their field reports to the traditional Japanese sympathy for the oppressed weaker side which is not Jews any more, but the Arabs, especially the Palestinians under occupation or in exile. Though quite improbable, just suppose that a certain professor should support the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and accuse PLO of their terroristic atrocities, he would immediately be frowned upon by

colleagues, and pounced upon by students. It would be very dangerous for him to defend the Israeli military actions in Lebanon for whatever reason. A few years ago, my university organized a faculty-level colloquium on the Middle East problem, and ten professors were summoned to be its members. Eight of them are mainly interested in Arab countries and do not know much about Israel. This eight vs two ratio tells well about the current distribution of Japanese concern as regards the Middle East problem.

This lop-sided Japanese interest in and sympathy for the Arabs are not only due to their thirst for Arab oil or ever-increasing trade with Arab countries. Of course they cannot afford to antagonize oil-producing Arab countries, but neither can they afford to anger those American Jewish businessmen through whose hands some 40 percent of Japanese exports to the U.S. pass.⁽³⁶⁾ Since the Japanese had to pay dearly for their past imperialistic warmongering, they are quick to detect something similar to what they perpetrated as invaders in foreign lands. They firmly determine that no revival of such phony concepts as Tojo's "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" should be tolerated under any new guise. Believe it or not, a new Lebanese government under Israeli controlling influence would immediately be associated with the old Manchukuo under virtual Japanese rule, and more than anything, the Israeli Government's utter disregard of PLO as a political entity reminds us of the Japanese Imperial Government's notorious one-sided statement in 1937 that it would have nothing to do with Chiang Kai Shek's Nationalist Government.⁽³⁷⁾ This "like knows like" feeling, together with sympathy for the agonies of Palestinian exiles, has terribly marred their image of Israel. The "military occupation" of, or the "expropriation of land" in the West Bank stimulate the Japanese inner guilt consciousness as past expansionists. Though some naive Japanese still believe that through their colonial rule they had made contributions to the improvement of the Korean standard of living, they have conveniently shelved the important fact that there had been more

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exploitations and humiliations than contributions. No type of occupation by foreign powers would be bearable for any sound-minded people. Aspiration for freedom and independence is sure to effect ever higher morale, while oppressors are destined to moral degeneration. According to recent media reports the Israeli control over pro-PLO activities in the West Bank is getting even harsher, and more reminiscent of the high-handedly oppressive colonial policy of the old Japanese Empire.

Secondly, the Japanese are now one of the most anti-militarist peoples in the world. Not every economically prosperous power can set a ceiling to its military budget around 1%. "No more Hiroshima!" was so authentic and unanimous a cry that the bulk of the Japanese people have been brought up to believe only pacifists can be human, conveniently oblivious of the mighty U.S. umbrella protecting them from whatever is referred to as an invasion from outside. Yes, an umbrella on sunny days is what the Japanese think of their self-defense forces. The cry of "No more Hiroshima!" is the last remaining pillar supporting the nominal ninth article of the Japanese Constitution which stipulates relinquishing armament eternally. Due to this persistent anti-militarism, the Japanese Government is hard put to cope with the U.S. pressure for more military budget. On the other hand, the cry of "Masada will never fall again" urges the Israeli people to be perpetually aware of a possible second Holocaust which must be prevented even by means of nukes. This great difference in national frame of mind toward defense necessities explains the difficulty for the Japanese people to understand the current Israeli situation and vice versa. After all Japan has only a hypothetical enemy, that is, the Soviet Union, while Israel has been surrounded by sworn enemies. And a more fundamental contrast between Japan and Israel lies in their respective histories: the Japanese have never experienced Diaspora, and have always taken personal security and supply of water for granted. Indeed, what a contrast: one is an island country immersed in peace and prosperity, and the other is a

cultivated society in a garrison state, a people with a remarkable plethora of ideas and ideals presenting a united front with rifles in hands.

Thirdly, what alienates the Japanese sympathy from Israel is the strong religiosity reflected in her political actions. Religious tenets used for political purposes also arouse the dark wartime memories of the Japanese. Under the absolute influence of state religion of Shinto the Japanese were also taught to believe that they were divinely Chosen, divinely entitled to spread in all directions. Some fanatical shintoist-militarist ideologues such as General Shioden dreamed ridiculously but seriously to lead all mankind under the shintoistic ideal of global harmony, and as a necessary hypothetical foe to turn against, they picked up "Jewish Conspiracy". All invasions of foreign lands were justified by this mythological nonsense. Of course, hardcore shintoists were not so many, and Shintoism was generally taken as a matter of national identity and solidarity, yet the Japanese were entirely fed up with such "Holy War" hysteria under fanatical leaders. It is not that they do not understand what religion is about, though the Japanese are definitely one of the most secularized peoples in the world, with the overwhelming majority loosely affiliated to religious institutions just for ceremonial occasions such as marriage, burial, ancestor-worship etc. For them religion is primarily a personal affair, and any kind of religious vehemence ought to be kept inside, never to be unleashed into the political arena. When the Japanese hear Mr. Begin assert the Jewish mission of redeeming the promised land, they will take it only as an ethnocentric justification of the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, because, as they know from their own past experience, the idea that God chose a particular people and promised them a land has nothing to do with other peoples.

One of my professors at Columbia said, "Arabs just did not exist to Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) any more than American Indians did to White settlers." Certainly we live no longer in the age of Manifest Destiny. Even the U.S. looked fascistic when they

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took expansionist actions under the banner of Manifest Destiny, notably against American Indians. What occurred in Vietnam was not unrelated with this fever of self-righteousness, either. Manifest Destiny is a racist or chauvinistic motto fit only for a Hitler. Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany quipped last year that Begin was becoming more and more like Hitler, presumably because both seemed to him to share the Manifest Destiny theory in believing that their respective peoples were Chosen (by whatever myth) and entitled to do anything for their own mythical mission even at the sacrifice of other peoples and in defiance of international opinions.

About Israel's annexation of the Golan, Tokyo's Yomiuri Daily News wrote in its editorial that "with each move made by Begin does the perspective of peace in the Middle East recede."⁽³⁸⁾ The Golan is certainly vital to the defense of the Galilee, and the extremely diminutive size of Israel would necessitate a special type of periphery defense. This could be the reason why Begin's tough transactions with the vacillating U.S. Government are so popular among the Israelis. "Hu gever" ("He is a man") is the way they talk about him, and eventually their majority gave support to his decision to invade into Lebanon beyond the 45-mile zone. But his seeming oblivion of the original Zionist ideal of ethnic coexistence and his dependence placed acceleratingly on military might rather than on other peaceful means, are likely to cause confrontations not only between Jews and Arabs, but also between Israelis and American Jews, because, as Arthur Hertzberg points out in his essay on Begin, "American Jewry have traditionally argued that Israel is a moral cause, consonant with America's highest ideals—helping people to rebuild their lives and creative communities to flourish."⁽³⁹⁾ The Israelis might retort that a gap between power and moral does not occur in Israel alone, but their past history as a most incisive accuser of nationalistic injustices functions as a mirror held up to their own much too elated nationalistic poses now.

This short survey of the Jewish Question in Japan has shown

that it is impossible for the general public to entertain antisemitic ideas spontaneously, and that they could do so only under active influences exerted by ambitious demagogues. As it is generally not Jews themselves that form any direct cause of antisemitism, they are passed off as conspirators against national or global welfare. This is why antisemitic arguments become so abstract. Now what would happen if some Jewish nationalists adopted a similar strategy of passing off serious Gentile critics of Zionism as antisemites, or conspirators against Jewish welfare? While antisemitic diatribes are easily refutable, anti- or rather non-Zionist criticism may contain some truth, Zionism in this case denoting the development of the Jewish sector at Arab expense. If such non-Zionist advice should get easily connected with antisemitism, this might drive well-meaning Gentile friends to resentment against Jewish self-righteousness. I wish this was only my groundless apprehensions. If the Japanese learned something from their wartime experiences, it is above all the horror of falling into nationalistic self-righteousness, which could easily lose sight of a sound international perspective, and put the whole nation on the road to ruin. This is why I expect more voices of criticism on Jewish nationalistic excesses to arise especially from American Jewish intellectuals who have traditionally aspired to strike a balance between Jewish rights and universal, supra-ethnic interests.

NOTES

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- (1) Eidelberg, Joseph: *The Japanese and the Lost Tribes of Israel* (Givatayim, Israel: The Sycamore Press, 1980), p. 23.
- (2) *ibid.*, p. 72.
- (3) *cf.* Miyazawa, Masanori: *Nihonjin-no Yudaya • Isuraeru Ninshiki* (*Japanese Perceptions of Jews and Israel*), (Kyoto: Showado, 1980), p. 43.

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- (4) Sugita, Rokuichi.: *Higashi Ajiya-e Kita Yudayajin (Jews Who Came to East Asia)* (Tokyo: Otowa Shobo, 1969), p. 4.
- (5) *American Jewish Year Book 1982*, p. 288.
- (6) Kranzler, David: "Japanese Policy Toward the Jews 1938-1941", *Japan Interpreter*, Vol. 11, No. 4, Spring 1977, p. 515.
- (7) According to Professor Masanori Miyazawa Phase One of the debate on the Jewish question in Japan falls on the period ranging from late 1910's to early 1930's. I adopt his method of periodization without any reservations. See his *Yudayajin Ronko (A Study on Japanese Debates on Jews)*, (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1971, revised edition 1982), pp. 11-14. The attached 120-page-long bibliography is an indispensable guide to this field of research. This pioneer study was a great help in organizing the original lecture on which this paper is based. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Miyazawa for furnishing me through his work with necessary information in a manner reliably unbiased. All quotations from *Yudayajin Ronko* follow the pagination in the revised edition.
- (8) Ho Ko Shi (Yasue's pseudonym): *Sekai Kakumei-no Rimen*, (Tokyo: Niyusha, 1924) *The Protocols* was sandwiched between 80-page-long introduction and 120-page-long background explanation.
- (9) Tokayer, Marvin & Swartz, Mary: *The Fugu Plan*, (Paddington Press, 1979), p. 49.
- (10) *Benisu-no Shinon*, translated by Shoyo Tsubouchi, and first published in *Waseda Bungaku*, July 1906.
- (11) cf. Miyazawa, op. cit., p. 27. Hereafter Miyazawa's op. cit. refers to the book mentioned in note (7).
- (12) cf. Yoshino, Sakuzo: "Iwayuru Sekaiteki Himitsukessha-no Shotai" ("True Character of the So-Called Global Secret Society"), *Chuo Koron*, June 1921, pp. 41, 24 & 32.
- (13) Yanaihara, Tadao: "Shion Undo-ni Tsuite" ("On Zionist Movement"), *Complete Work of T.Y. Vol. 1* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1963), pp. 534-4.
- (14) *ibid.*, p. 551.
- (15) *ibid.*, p. 586.
- (16) Such as Kanzo Uchimura and Shigeharu Nakada.
- (17) cf. Miyazawa, op. cit., p. 59.
- (18) For example, see Minobe, Ryokichi: "Daisan Teikoku-ni Taizai Shite" ("Report from the Third Reich"), *Kaizo*, November 1934.
- (19) Muto, Teiichi: *Yudayaminzoku-no Tainichi Kosei* (Tokyo: Naigai Shobo, 1938)
- (20) cf. Kranzler: op. cit., p. 504.
- (21) Sugita: op. cit., pp. 46-7.
- (22) Miyake, Masaki: "Hitler-to Nihon" ("Hitler and Japan"), *Rekishi-to Jimbutsu* (Chuo Koron Sha), September 1973, pp. 167-70.

- (23) Yamashita, Hajime : *Kindai Doitsu Yudaya Seishinshi Kenkyu* (*Studies on Modern German-Jewish Thought History*) (Tokyo : Yushindo, 1980) pp. 28-9.
- (24) M. Takeyama, T. Takashima, A. Kawamura : "Nihon Rikugun-to Yudayajin" ("The Japanese Army and Jews—a Symposium"), *Jiyu*, June 1973, pp. 194-5.
- (25) Tokayer & Swartz : op. cit., pp. 58-9. See also Kranzler : op. cit., p. 513.
- (26) Tokayer & Swartz : op. cit., p. 75.
- (27) *ibid.*, p. 224.
- (28) Inuzuka, Kiyoko : "Yudayajin-wo Hogoshita Teikoku Kaigun", *Jiyu*, February, 1973. Captain Inuzuka's 1961 article is found side by side with hers.
- (29) *cf.* Inui, Tomiko : "Teiko-to Shi-to Ai" ("Resistance, Death and Love"), *Asahi Journal*, July 24, 1966, p. 38. Also quoted in Miyazawa, op. cit., pp. 136-7.
- (30) Muramatsu, Takeshi : *Tairyo Satsujin-no Shiso* (*Thought of Genocide*) ; (Tokyo : Bungei Shunju Shinsha, 1961), pp. 91-2, as quoted in Miyazawa, op. cit., p. 157.
- (31) Inukai, Michiko, "Kokuren-ga Sabakubekidatta" ("The U.N. Should Have Passed Judgment"), *The Asahi Shimbun*, December 16, 1961, as quoted *ibid.*
- (32) Miyazawa, Masanori : op. cit., pp. 160-61.
- (33) *cf.* Ishihama, Mikaru : *Shalom Israel* ; (Tokyo : Orion-sha, 1965), p. 312.
- (34) Miyazawa, op. cit., p. 174.
- (35) *cf.* Honda, Katsuichi : "Musabetsu Gyakusatsu-to Nihonjin-no Sekinin" "Indiscriminate Massacres and the Japanese Responsibility", *Ushio*, August 1972, pp. 100, 101 & 107.
- (36) Elazar, Daniel : *Community and Polity* (The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1976), p. 363.
- (37) See Itagaki, Yuzo : "Lebanon-no Senso-to Nihon" ("The Lebanese War and Japan"), *The Asahi Shimbun*, September 7, 1982.
- (38) "Golan Kogen-wa Dare-no Monoka" ("To Whom Does the Golan Belong"), *The Yomiuri Shimbun* editorial, December 20, 1981.
- (39) Hertzberg, Arthur : "Begin and the Jews", *The New York Review of Books*, February 18, 1982, p. 12.