

論 說

The life of KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi and its Lessons for Our Times

— A Liberal Critic of Japanese militarism
during the Second World War —

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This article was drawn for my lecture at University of California, Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies Center for Japanese Studies at May.4, 2000.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am very pleased to report on my recent research at this Institute. First, I thank Dr. Andrew Barshay, the Chair of the Center for Japanese Studies, and the Center staff, for accepting me as a visiting scholar and giving me the chance to report here.

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This report has drawn on my following books and articles.

- 1 : 'Kaisetsu' in ; KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi 'ANKOKU-NIKKI', Iwanami Shoten, 1990.
(YAMAMOTO Yoshihiko ed., KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi The Diary of Darkness, Explanatory)
- 2 : 'Joshou' in ; KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi no Seiji-keizai shisou, Ochanomizu Shobou, 1996.
(YAMAMOTO Yoshihiko, KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi and his Thought of Peace and International Relations, Beginning Chap.)
- 3 : 'KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi no jiyuu-shugi to heiwa-shisou' in ; Nihon Kosho Kumiai Kaihou, vols. 39-40, 1996-97.
(KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi, his liberalism and thought for peace)
- 4 : 'KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi no Jānarizumu ron' in ; Shizuoka Daigaku Keizai Kenkyu vol. 1 No.3-4 1997. (KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi on Journalism)
- 5 : 'KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi no shogai to jiyu-shugi, heiwa-shugi' in ; Apendix KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi Senshuu, Nihontoshō-senta, 1998.
(KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi and his life, liberalism and thought for peace)
- 6 : 'Senjika jiyuu-shugi-sha no chugoku ninshiki' in ; Chikaki yori vols. 34,35 1998-99.
(A Liberalist during the War Time)

Let me also print out that following the Second World War, many works on modern thinkers neglect KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi and his works. One of reasons is that he died immedi-

ately before the end of the war, and for this reason many scholars have not researched him. But his thought is still very important. And even if a few scholars mentioned him, almost all treated him as a critic of Japanese foreign relations. I think this treatment is not sufficient because KIYOSAWA's focus was broad, including foreign relations but also culture and political tendencies based on education, economic growth. Needless to say, he was distinguished as a critic on foreign relations and he regarded himself as a critic in that area.

Looking at his works, we recognize his idealistic tendency of his thinking and his broad view of the social sciences. He, in fact, rejected power politics in international relations. And he strongly hoped for peaceful and non-militaristic relations owing nations faced with building a new international organization, the United Nations.

Recently, we have a comprehensive and compact work on KIYOSAWA's writings and life. It is a book titled KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi written by Dr.KITAOKA Shin'ichi published by Chukou-shinsho. Dr.KITAOKA wrote in it that he was indebted to my articles on KIYOSAWA's early life. KITAOKA's mention gave me much honor and pleasure. But Dr. KITAOKA, too, treated KIYOSAWA as a critic or specialist on foreign relations. But here I will treat him as a broad thinker concerning civilization.

And I think KIYOSAWA was a realist and at the same time an idealist, in other words, a realist through idealism. About this point Dr. KITAOKA was not always aware. But without recognizing this, we cannot adequately understand KIYOSAWA's thought. Lacking this point of view, Dr. KITAOKA now often calls for a so-called realistic understanding of foreign relations and political issues. It is like a thought from the angle of the cold war era, if I may say. But though we need realistic thought, it must be backed up by idealism, which is capable of recognizing the tendency of real relations to change. KIYOSAWA's opinion was at that time radically liberal and revolutionary (or progressive) conservative if I could express so. This is the reason why he rejected absolutely standardization, thought [leaded; controlled] by government or state, but he very strongly inclined to pluralism and diversity.

Dr. KATO Shuuichi as a distinguished critic often mentioned that the intellectual world in Japan today is very similar to the 1940's militaristic tendency and many academicians and historical revisionists merely swim with the current, just as newspaper writers on politics. I will return later to these points.

Outline

1 [Preface: Japanese Politico-economic Conditions at the Present Time and KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi]

Over a half century has passed since the end of the Second World War. Japanese capitalism made great steps on the economic growth from 1950s to 1973. In the latter year was named the 'First Oil Shock' the Middle East War broke out. This was the fourth time since the Second World War that the Arab nations and State of Israel fought over the territory and religious relations.

Since that economic crisis, the Japanese economy has passed from the export-oriented economy based on the capitalistic market economy that formed after the land reform and by the dependency of vast enterprises exterior money poured from the indirect financing system of banking, to the long term unstable and depressive condition of the 80s and, especially, the collapse of the 'bubble economy' since the spring of 1991 to now.

The bubble economy collapsed mainly because of the failures of governmental economic policies since 1980s. For example, we may point to maintaining low central bank rates, the policy of allowing high prices of land, the selling of vast national assets on land through privatization of the national monopolies beginning with the National Railways and NTT, the introduction of consumer tax system and as the result, continuing high foreign exchange rates, partly because of dependence upon the US guidance. Enterprises got dead drunk on the speculative investments in land and stocks.

Especially the banking system including major banks have fallen into financial confusion despite the vast national funds poured into them. That policy was much criticized to introducing moral hazard by many specialists. Though Japanese economy and political effects have participated to the Group10 or G7 since the Crisis.

Here we return to the factors of the previous economic growth in Japan. One of the prime factors of the great economic growth since 1950s is not to militaristic, but pacific direction owing to the leading of the General Head Quarters under the Occupied Power since after the war till 1952 when the occupied system was ended. Here I will explain of the low

cost petroleum imported from the Middle East mainly by the American enterprises under development of the US militaristic 7th fleet oppress upon these countries since the fall of the nationalistic government of Iran at 1953.

Of course, in order that Japanese people had experienced three times attacked by the A-bomb or H-bomb, most of the people very hated militarism, strongly intended to live under the peace conditions. Former two were Hiroshima and Nagasaki disasters at Aug. 6th and 9th 1945, as 'half victims'. Latter was the fishing ship 'Happy Dragon' disaster (as Dr. Ralf. Lapp named) at the Bikini Islands of the southern Pacific Ocean at Mar. 1st 1954, as 'pure victim'.

Though, but for the latter profound and unhappy accident, our nation's economy should turn to a some militaristic structure, because just before the serious accident a crew had died of being bombed, the ruling group of industry was strongly eager to special demands of the US military procurement at Japan after the Korean War from 1950 to '54 and to increase of public finance pouring into military items. These facts can be minutely found in the KEIDANREN's (the Federation of Economic Organizations of Japan) journals 'Keizai Rengou' at those days.

At the Korean War Japanese military in fact was reconstructed as a supplementary troop to the US Army named Police Reserve (in Japanese 'Keisatsu Yobitai') under the order and guide of the GHQ, mainly leaded by the United States. That troops became lately belonged to the National Defense Agency (in Japanese 'Boueichou'). Regarding as above arguments, I have wrote and publicized on my book 'Modern Japanese Economic History', 1992 and in the article at 'the Contemporary History of Japan' vol.3, 1990, edited by the Society of Historical Sciences (Rekishigaku-kenkyu-kai).

But Japan's recent attitudes toward politics, economics and international relations have been seemed as more militaristic and have threats toward Asian nations just as where pre-war Japanese militarist power invaded. That is under a heavy sickness for Japanese political and economic culture today, I have been thinking so.

I will very strongly want to point that especially revisionism toward modern Japanese history denies those historical facts and so-called genocide to Chinese, or is eager to underestimate to those accidents, as followings; the Nanjing Atrocities, the militaristic

invasions to Korea, which had been continued since the latter half of the 19th century starting the aggressive invasion toward Kanghwa do, in Japanese 'Koukatou-jiken'!!) at 1871, and neighboring Asian nations and so on. And Our Government still has not officially apologized heartedly and compensated for the personal responsibilities to it. Then our succeeding generation should take over those war responsibilities for victims. It is because the United States and Germany have compensated survivors of the Jewish, and Japanese American Concentration (or Relocation, internment as more exactly expressed) Camp system since 1950s and 80s.

On my research toward it, I think the Japanese American became the historical subject of human right even at the oppression under the internment years and especially immediately after the war. Obviously to say, they were educated in the American democracy and the diversified society. But native Japanese have not affluently chances to learn of the human right and justice, because they have been in the so-called unification society. In short, the Japanese American and native Japanese clearly different existence toward the democracy and human right. The Japanese American have learned to need insistence of the selfness in the diversity and the position of the minority.

But as though these above Japanese reactionaries today are very active and extremely, but Japanese democratic civil and academic powers are still strongly owing to the Japanese Constitution established 1948 by the Occupation Powers and Japanese anti-militaristic, pacific and democratic movements from lessoned by former militaristic politics at those days. Firstly, the development of reactionaries was occurred by the historical revisionists. Secondly, the factor or emerge of the revisionist is by the becoming greater power and instability of economic development of Japan (they say Japan is a greater power). Thirdly, at last, that is the cooperative relations between labor and capital. The last factor has been constructed by the changes of time on the economic growth in Japan since the latter half of the 1950s.

Immediately after the Second World War, the Occupied Powers oriented the system democratization of Japan. For that aim, they promoted the development of labor movement. But facing the cold war, they didn't more prefer to democratize of Japanese society, especially after the beginning of the Korean War. They brought up the cooperation group in the

labor movement under the flag-mark of anti-communism. At these points, we should to see Michael H. Gibbs "Struggle and Purpose in Postwar Japanese Unionism" published by the Institute of East Asia Studies UCB. And not only their factors, but also since the start of modernization, Japanese people has not affluently be able to acquire the conscience of class. So that perhaps occurred their educational system through which everyone thought to be able to promote his social status and the rapidity of economic development. A little of abilities to promote have been making their lacks of class conscience.

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, by which provision, not to threaten to other countries in the result of conflicts of nations, for solution of them, not to use military force, and for Japan not to maintain military, naval and air forces or armament, and the other provision of the equality for right between male and female sexes of the Constitution are symbols toward the pacifism, disarmament and democracy.

These Articles, especially Article 9, were brought by the old rulers at the compromises to the Occupation in the stead of maintaining the Emperor-system as a political integral symbolic position on the nation. The provision of the Article 9 is very similar to the provision of the convention heading of the Secretary of the State of the US (Kellog) and the Minister of the Department of the Foreign Relations of France (Briant) at 1928. Because, as conjectured, its proposal was made by SHIDEHARA Kijuurou and the others of his group, who were one of the Japanese foreign officials since the interwar period.

This idea had the coincidence to the Occupation Powers because they wanted to rule in safety and pacific with old ruling group of Japan. And this idea was the same of that Joseph Grew, the Deputy Secretary of State of the US at the end of the war. He was the Ambassador of the United States to Tokyo at the just beginning of the Pacific War. Perhaps he was very intimate or known to KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi (as following report will say on his disputes), for at that time KIYOSAWA was a temporary staff (in Japanese, 'shokutaku') of the Foreign Ministry, postal ministry and ministry of naval force at those days KIYOSAWA insisted as followings ; after the war on the reconstruction of Japan, it should be maintained the Emperor-system re-made into a symbolic system not a monarchic system since the former Constitution (that is in Japanese, Dai-Nippon-Teikoku Kenpou) had passed at 1889.

Simply speaking, he was a successor of Prof. YOSHINO Sakuzou's thought, as pointed

after. He did as a temporary staff often lectures on international affairs and domestic politics with implicitly anti-militarism for each regional peoples of nation through the war under the inspection of the police and military powers when sometime he prohibited writing and publishing.

KIYOSAWA was afraid of the corruption of the old system (militaristic regime), that is the stability of the national integration. His afraid was based on the confusion of the national integral. From that reason, then, he wanted to reconstruct using some integral function of the emperor-system. Of course, his keeping protection of the Emperor-system was based not on monarchic and militaristic at the War era but on democratic and symbolic just as in England, that is Yoshino's idea.

Here on a Journalist and Critic I intend to invite strongly insisted pacifism between the United States and Japan under the barbarous, fanatic and fascistic oppression of militarist government at the Second World War. His name is KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi as above mentioned a little.

2 [The Birth of a Liberal Journalist focusing on international relations and peace]

KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi was born on the Hotaka Plateau (the foot of the Northern Japanese Alps Mountains, in Japanese literally 'abundant rice crops') of Nagano Prefecture (that is called generally 'Shinshu') in 1890 as a middle farmer's (that is, small or middle-scale land owner's) son. After graduating primary school, he studied at private school (shi-juku, in Japanese) from 1903 to 06. It was named KENSEI-GIJUKU (in Japanese meaning : grown-up through study) and taught by IGUCHI Kigenji. IGUCHI was a very pious Christian. And he was one of the founders of the education method based upon liberalism in Japan (known as 'Shinshu jiyu Kyouiku'). Many liberal teachers learned from him during the Taisho-era and the pre-war Showa-era.

IGUCHI's father was a member of a political group called the 'Shoukyou-sha' society (meaning ; 'promote rights') which was a representative group within the national movement for popular rights. He was very kind comrade of UCHIMURA Kanzou. UCHIMURA

is one of the most famous Christian (non-church) thinkers in modern Japan who oppressed the war between Japan and Russia (it lasted from 1904-05). UCHIMURA called the KENSEI-GIJUKU 'the smallest village school in Japan'. But IGUCHI at the same time studied Confucianism. IGUCHI seemed to be simultaneously a Confucian, Christian and liberalist ! He taught through various methods East Asian, Japanese and Western and urged to students to live with strong beliefs to their own (in Japanese ; shi-nen ni ikiru). That is, he taught the verification of ideas and approaches by their results. So KIYOSAWA learned very hard the importance of variable thinking methods from IGUCHI, at that 'small village school'.

IGUCHI energetically encouraged his pupils to emigrate to the American Northwest in the 'spirit of Pilgrim Fathers' as 'conscientious common' people or common farmer at 1906. At those days, since the last years of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, Japanese emigrant movement to the United States was at its peak. KIYOSAWA agreed with his Teacher Iguchi, becoming a working emigrant to Tacoma near Seattle, Washington, in 1906. He worked as a fry cook in Tacoma and Seattle immediately after arriving. At the same time he was eager to seek new knowledge, and he entered Tacoma High School and the Whittworth College (but on my inspection in 1995, I could not find his name the lists of entering students at the College, now located at Spokane in the Northeast of the state of Washington. That school was located at Seattle on his arrival).

A very active and aggressive anti-Japanese movement was underway in KIYOSAWA's days at Tacoma and Seattle just as in California. He wrote to Iguchi that people looked down upon him calling him "Jap" everywhere he went. Notwithstanding his feeling of humiliation, he placed his hope in President Theodore Roosevelt. The President often warned that the western states should not discriminate, hate and expel Japanese people. However the President was never an anti-racist. Because America accepted various political directions of thought, and the ruling power protected persistently freedom and tolerance toward different nationalities mainly from Europe, KIYOSAWA believed that American valued diversities and respected various opinions. Perhaps he thought that would be called 'American democracy'. Perhaps he thought so.

Later he became a writer and correspondent for a few Japanese American newspapers published in Seattle, Los Angeles and San Francisco from his living at Tacoma days till

returning from there to Japan in 1918 and after. (He wrote continuously and very often for those papers till the mid 1930's).

He very strongly and positively learned through living in the Northwest its liberalism, pragmatism and especially its pluralism. For example, he translated some of John Dewey's works on liberalism and often cited from his educational ideas. I think KIYOSAWA learned Dewey from on his books, for I have not direct evidence on this point.

He returned to Japan at 1918 as wrote above. That year the Rice-riot movements occurred (that is so-called in Japanese ; 'Kome-soudou'). These were the symbolic social movements of the Taisho (the Taisho-era) Democracy, and in colonial Korea in 1919, people resisted Japanese rule under the slogan of 3.1 (Mar.1st) Long Live independence day (sam il dong nip man sae). And the same year Japanese military troops intervened in the 'Great Russian Socialist Revolution' of 1917 [along] with the US and others in support of provisional anti-revolutionary governments. Japan's so-called 'petit-bourgeois', especially intellectuals, wanted political freedom, a democratic system and anti-militaristic policy (seemingly a reflection of the miserable results of the First World War).

One of distinguished leaders of the movement was YOSHINO Sakuzo, a professor of politics at Tokyo Imperial University, and a leader of the social movement. YOSHINO strongly insisted on democracy under the Emperor-system (in Japanese, 'minpon-syugi') and the abandonment of semi-colonial Manchuria (Manchuria became the Japanese puppet nation 'Manchuu-guo' on Mar.1st of 1932). KIYOSAWA became a writer or reporter for the Chugai-Shougyou Shimpou Newspapers (later Nihon Keizai Shimbun), in fact, as the first director of the foreign division. He traveled very often to the north and Northeast China, Korea and European countries. Through those chances he had many interviews with political leaders abroad, for examples Chang Tso-lin (in Japanese, Chou-Saku-lin) and other Chinese military leaders, Mac Donald who was the first prime minister of the Labor Party Cabinet in Britain and Mussolini who was the prime minister and the leader of the Fascists group in Italy. Through these interviews, he perhaps more really developed flexible political attitudes to many historical and cultural traditions.

And through those experiences he believed that each nation had to learn from other nations in keeping and maintaining the international peace or non-militaristic relations. All

nations of the world should never have feeling of hostility to other countries, he so strongly insisted. And he stressed again that international relations were not quarrels but conferences, dialogues and meetings to adjust differences. In acquiring these ideas, it was very useful that he had learned from IGUCHI. In the fall of 1995, I visited a person, farmer 93 years old. He was one of the last pupils of IGUCHI. I was surprised he was a man of great intellect, and a reader of many books. And more, he had plural or variable method of thought. He said that was learned from IGUCHI. I am inclined to agree.

3 [From a Newspaper Writer to free-lancer]

After resigning from the Chuugai-Shougyo Shimpou (now the NIPPON KEIZAI SHIMBUN), he moved to the Asahi Shimbun newspaper as the vice director of project division at 1927. Though he was attacked barbarously by one of the ultra right wing groups and its propaganda sheet for his rejection of extremism, he was himself obliged to resign his position and to be a free lancer (sometime between Apr. and Sept.1929).

Then he organized liberal and democratic intellectuals, critics and writers. He held meetings named '27-kai' (in Japanese, 'ni-nana kai', since KIYOSAWA ordinary held meetings on the 27th day of every month) despite the oppression by militaristic power. Its members were ISHIBASHI Tanzan, SHIMANAKA Yuusaku, MIZUNO Hironori, MASAMUNE Hakucho, HASEGAWA Nyozeikan and so on. ISHIBASHI was the famous editor and the late President of Toyo-keizai-shimpou-sha, Publishers of the Oriental Economist, who was a thoroughly liberal journalist. SHIMANAKA was the president of the Chuou Kouron sha, Publishers. It published the monthly magazine 'Chuou Kouron', which was liberal in tendency in those days. MIZUNO was an anti-militaristic critic of military affairs, formerly an admiral of the naval force. He was a brilliant navy man at Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). Masamune was a writer of literature. HASEGAWA was a former writer for the Asahi Shimbun newspapers during the Rice riot movements, and lately a critic. Dr. Barshay discusses HASEGAWA in comparison to Dr. NAMBARA Shigeru in STATE and INTELLECTUAL in IMPERIAL JAPAN [the Public Man in Crisis] (The University of California Press, 1988).

I think the reason why KIYOSAWA organized the society so that its members could cooperate and maintain kindness under the barbarous oppression of the militaristic power, and positively to have chances to gain understanding of various attitudes and points of view.

Another character of KIYOSAWA's thought is complete insistence on equality between male and female sexes. He very often wrote and spoke of achieving equality of the labor conditions for both sexes, as in 1926 when he published his book titled 'Modan Gaaru' (in those days journalist and writers very often referred to the new age peoples as 'Modern Girls', abbreviated 'Mo-ga' or 'Modern Boys', 'Mo-bo'). He attached great importance to the drive for equality in the movement for social democratization and cultural development following the First World War. In those days almost all women had job chances in the silk industry or cotton spinning industry, especially in their early ages. But those jobs were offered without making plain the miserable conditions on wages and the working environments and so on. Men's working conditions were overwhelmed or oppressed to the women's.

Though he persistently spoke in public lectures and wrote for the press despite the growth of militarism in Japan, he was very often oppressed and officially prohibited for publishing. So at last he was unable to write openly against militarism and to seek freedom of speech. Then he wrote secretly his Diary, which was strongly critical of war and the Tennou-sei system (the political system of Emperor) and very frequently inserted stories from various newspapers and severe comments concerning them. That diary is now an important document of the war era. He was eager to publish the dark history of Japanese Militarism during the War (the Tojo Cabinet) after the achievement of freedom of speech and equality between sexes in the post-war era. He himself considered a specialist of foreign affairs at that time.

These Diaries were edited and published by HASHIKAWA Bunzo after the War (in 1971), but regrettably KIYOSAWA had died of disease just before the end of the war, on May the 21st, 1945. So he had long been forgotten in academic and political circles in Japan. As he writes, he intended to write his history of Japanese history of foreign relations during the War, using his Diaries. I have edited and published it, adding an outline of his life and works in a volume from Iwanami-shoten (titled 'Ankoku-nikki', in English, a Diary of Darkness, through he had titled his diary "Sensou Nikki" in English the diary of the war time).

Fortunately, this edition was reviewed many nationwide newspapers, some journals and three times on the NHK-TV and radio networks, owing to this his name has become known to many people in Japan. Further Dr. KITAOKA played a role. At that time he applauded KIYOSAWA's idealism. From this March to April as though a local paper, but one famous for its quality, the SHINANO MAINITI, has been publishing detailed columns on his life and works at long time. Often the newspapers have cited his views on the war and democracy from his diary around the surrender anniversary defeat every year, and once, an entrance examination of a national university contained an excerpt.

Now this diary was translated into English by Eugene Soviak and KAMIYAMA Tamie, and published by the Princeton University Press, in January 1999. And about two years ago I edited and published his collected works with the outline on his life, works and bibliography as 'KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi Senshu' in 8volumes from Nihon Tosho Senta Publishers, 1998.

In his thought we have discovered many lessons for our own time. His anti-bureaucratic, anti-simplistic or anti-uniformizing (*kachi no ichigenka ni hantai*) and democratic method for thinking always requires freedom in education and speech. But at that time Japanese moral education system relied on the simple thought method and promoted the national unity under the Tennou-sei system. KIYOSAWA opposed both the reliance on note memorization and the control by the government even the educational system that had begun in the 1880s. He wrote it 'national-owned education'. For this reason, Japanese international relations oppressing Asian countries or to hostility to the United States and European countries, in brief, only to attack or to oppress the other nations was believed to be foreign relations. In Japan, politics has tended to mean unity as oppressively defined by bureaucracy.

Here I have an example. Both Houses of Parliament passed bill on the national flag and the national anthem last year. The government has been indirectly requiring official organizations and local Governments to raise the flag and sing the song at official events without explicitly ordering it. If they don't agree, the government compels them to do so through financial inducement measures. And the ministry of education ordered public schools and national universities to do so. I think, in this case, the same political measures which KIYOSAWA identified in the political culture in Japan at the pre-war era [controlled;

reproduce] to operate. And in my opinion, Japanese national flag and anthem are famous or in famous as militaristic and anti-democratic symbols to Asian nations and Japanese people, especially in Okinawa prefecture and for the ethnic minorities, Koreans, Chinese and perhaps Nikkei-Brazilian (Japanese ancestry Brazilian) workers in Japan. The government's policy is not ordinary state action but fanatic as pointed out by KIYOSAWA.

Regarding his attitude toward the Emperor system, KIYOSAWA's reverence for the Tennou-sei was in general a common feeling or sentiment on the ISSEI the Meiji-tennou was their symbolic expression of the identity with Japan as motherland. The ISSEI is the first generation of Japanese in the United States. KIYOSAWA radically rejected the Shouwa-tennou because of the puppet of militaristic political leaders. For KIYOSAWA, Tennou-sei should be symbol just as the Meiji-tennou who consulted to surrounding political good-will leaders, he had never a dictator. This is his opinion, but I don't always coincide it.

4 [KIYOSAWA's point of views on colonialism and invasion of China by Japanese militarism]

At the invasion by the Japanese army of Manchuria (northeast China) beginning Sept. 18.1931, KIYOSAWA strongly criticized her foreign policies, especially her withdrawal from the League of Nations. He insisted on the collaboration and cooperation between Japan and the rest of the world's nations. But his weakness, I should pointed out, was his recognition of the rule of Manchuria under Japan. His thinking was that just as America had acquired Alaska through purchase from Russia in the latter half of the 19th century, Japan might occupy Manchuria peacefully, since she had only narrow territory to house in comparing with a vast of population.

He had been concerned with the territorial narrowness of Japan since 'the problem on privately owning land property act excluding Japanese living in the western United States' (that was the same prohibiting the owning of land by foreigner act) of 1920s. About 80% of them lived in the State of California. So, he still more argued for cooperation between Japan and China over natural resources in China, technologies from Japan, and labor power and market from China. This idea was the same as the policies by the major group of the

bureaucrats of the foreign ministry at that time, because his opinion was closely shared with them.

And this idea was identical to NISHIHARA Kamezou's idea concerning the political loans to China during the First World War. NISHIHARA was a political merchant, and he had closely relations to minister of finance SHOUDA Kazue, so he proposed governmental loans based on his idea of cooperation between Japan and China. The loan plan seemed based on economic, but in fact followed political logic, and after the loans were operated, were almost unpaid. Its aim was to maintain Japanese economic and political sway. (On this point, see YAMAMOTO.Y, 'The Japanese capitalism at the interwar period and the economic policies' 1989, especially chap3.)

But I think that, since the days of the First World War, Japan had been economically and politically invading China by forming ties with regional warlords in China, just as European countries and the United States had before the First World War. Because he was severely critical of American attitudes to the Japanese Americans, he had a tendency to accept Japan's economic imperialistic invasion of China. In his relativistic thinking, if the European and American imperialisms had special or colonial interests to the East Asia and others, Japan should too have rights toward those countries.

He argued that ; if Japan were criticized for her colonialism, the European and American colonialism should be also. It was just the same relativistic thinking. He had a tendency to be an economic imperialist but non-militarist, I think. And he insisted that international relations would keep the balance of powers. Here what I mean by economic imperialism is as follows ; he thought it was right that Japanese economic influence or sway extend to East Asian area. But he rejected militaristic imperialism. For example, he accepted the rule of the Northeast of China by Japan against American and European imperialist policies. I think, with that limitation, he based his theory on a classic idea of foreign relations that remains current even today. Elsewhere he accepted the theory of the balance of powers. He thought it was the realistic attitude toward the international relations at that time. Those days imperialist powers were able to ignore the oppressed areas and people.

But despite those weaknesses, the rightness of his criticism of Japanese militarist imperialistic foreign policies should be appreciated.

He, of course, said that colonialism or aggression into Asia didn't bring economic benefit to Japanese imperialism due to the rising cost of responding to resistance toward Japanese colonialism just as ISHIBASHI Tanzan insisted. Those ruling powers consisted of colonial governmental officials and military officials. He stressed the following. Japanese foreign policy should aim for equal and reciprocal trade relations, as was fitting for a nation depending on trade. And it should admit or approve the diversities of culture, history, and education of various nations. Foreign policies should be likewise. Up to that point, his thought watched the theory of abandonment of Manchuria, or colonialism that his comrade ISHIBASHI Tanzan and YOSHINO Sakuzou had strongly emphasized since the Taishou-era. KIYOSAWA added an international point of view to their opinions. But his point of view on colonialism had thoroughly critical. At this point, YOSHINO and ISHIBASHI were thoroughly critical, for they thought domestic democracy needed abandonment of colonialism abroad.

By the way I should mention that American President Truman ordered (Order 9066) the creation of the concentration camps or relocation camps to Japanese Americans during the Second World War from 1942 till the end of the war. The concentration camps were named the United States government. But by strictly expression, it should be named the internment camps. Even at that time, in American newspaper reports, they used the same words. KIYOSAWA wrote his diary at the very same time (from December 1942 to May 1945 immediately before his death). Concerning his diary, I make the following observation. In those days, he mainly wrote his radical criticism of Japanese antirational politics and barbarous militarism by the Tojo Cabinet, still more the comparison of American rationalism and Japan's anti-scientific and impracticable theory. Then for that reason, his criticism focused on current Japanese problem. But he must have known about America's concentration camps.

Immediately after the First World War he took up and criticized unconditionally both American anti-Japanese movements and Japanese irrationality. He severely and frequently attacked the problem in the Japanese American newspapers and the articles in Chugai Shougyo Simpo newspaper. But as a witness to Japanese emigration, he might not have wished to go deeply into the problem.

Then I should mention the prohibition land ownership by Japanese by the explanation

of the Japanese National American Museum' exhibition in Los Angeles titled by America's Concentration Camps : Remembering the Japanese American Experience. In 1913 and 1920, California passed Alien Land Laws prohibiting the first generation ISSEI from purchasing land. At last, in 1929, came what seemed their ultimate rejection Congress passed an Immigration Act barring further Japanese immigration. For the ISSEI, this act represented a great indignity. All their hopes and dreams for belonging in this new land now had to rest with their American-born children. The children, at least, had the rights of citizenship.

5 [On KIYOSAWA's liberalism]

Here I should discuss KIYOSAWA's liberalism. As argued above, he insisted on the relativistic attitude rejecting extreme tendencies to the left or right wing, in short, he stood at the center position sealing what Confucians call the mean (*chuyo*). And variable thoughts ought not to be controlled by oppressive power. The selection of thoughts should be decided by people with freedom of speech and publication. He believed that justice of the thought is decided on the competition between the variable thoughts without the oppression by governmental powers. On this point he resisted the abolition of communism by Japanese government. He said which thought was appropriate or not would be decided on the selection by people. According to these ideas, he protested against oppression by Japanese militaristic power toward communism and liberalism. He again and again said liberalism was the attitude of 'the frame of mind' (he wrote in Japanese 'shinteki-taido', in other words ; 'kokoro no motikata'), and he rejected both feudalism and communism. But he stressed that socialism was needed to keep liberalism because political liberalism would not be kept without economic equality.

The reason why he radically opposed communism was the dictatorship of the communist party of the USSR and Stalin as its top leader, and the denial toward variable methods of thought. He even spoke of communism as 'feudalistic communism'. He thought that liberalism in 19th century aimed at both political freedom and economic freedom, but liberalism in 20th century should be aimed at political freedom through economic liberalism against monopolistic economic powers. And he analogized the Tennou-sei to the rule of the

communist party over the Soviet Russia. Here he imagined the collapse of both Japan and the Soviet Union, because the existence of uniform society was difficult to attain. The society or state is to be plural or variable.

In short, he thought political liberalism faced a destructive crisis due to the monopolistic capitalism of the 20th century. Perhaps that idea is just now worthy sense, I think. His tendency to view of liberalism was similar to YOSHINO Sakuzou's. Thus he often called himself a successor of Dr. YOSHINO or 'I want to become Dr. YOSHINO of the Shouwa-era'.

6 [KIYOSAWA's criticism of journalism during wartime]

KIYOSAWA had very radical and severe criticism of journalism at war. Firstly, it had the inclination to flatter the general public. Secondly, at the same time, it did to the ruling powers. Why did these things occur?

He thought: The greater journalistic corporations became, the more they tended simply to follow the trend of the times. Bigger corporations should be supported by funds from advertisement flowing from big business. As a result, they would not try to risk new ideas or radical criticism of the governmental powers or the major corporations: especially, under the surveillance system that banned free speech on freedom, in writing and publishing.

They often reported uncritically the "information" given to them by powers during the War. More of the public preferred short range news, gossip and temporary amusements. Thus journalism pursued sensationalism. Under such conditions, the character of journalism tended to reflect not quality of reporting but quantity of issues and writing with simple content. He stressed these pointed at the beginning of the militarist invasion of the Northeast China and Japan's withdrawal of the League of Nations. Above his views on journalism now more fitted to journalism in Japan today, or not? Surely Professor Gonda Manji, Senshu University, reported here just as the same last month.

Here I should report on the comparison between Japanese and the United States journalism during the War. By my inquiry America very often reported her defeats and victories against Japan on the war with much exactness, but Japanese reports were misleading due to inspection by governmental power. Moreover, Americans were informed of

negative developments, for example the internment of Japanese Americans and troubles and riots that resulted. I investigated this through inspecting San Francisco Chronicle and San Francisco Examiner from 1941 to 1945. We are surprised, even now, that Japanese journalism is more or less has dependent on ruling power which explains why it maintains intimate relations with its sources of information. Still more the 1944 earthquake in central Japan was not publicized in the nation under the control of power, but in America it was immediately publicized by newspapers.

7 [KIYOSAWA's comparative point of view on capitalism and socialism]

KIYOSAWA often made long-term trips to America and Europe in the 1930s. Those were made as a special reporter on London Naval Conference and as a representative of the Japan PEN Club to the International Meetings at Prague, Czech-Slovakia from Chugai Shogyo Shimpo newspapers and Chuo Kouron-sha, publishers. Co. On those travels, in America he experienced the World Economic Crisis (the Great Depression). At that time, He was too reported very often as a writer of Houchi-shimbun newspaper (now its successor is the Yomiuri-shimbun). Vast numbers of jobless people overflowed in the big cities and the heavy depression struck agricultural districts in America. That crisis attacked European, Asian, including Japanese and the colonial areas. But at the same time, Soviet Russia only experienced the great industrial growth, mainly based on the socialist policy of expanding heavy and chemical industries.

For that reason, economists emphasized that the crisis of capitalist world would cause great misery. But Russian economic growth was brought by the victims both in agriculture and politically oppressed criminals under the dictatorship of Stalin. KIYOSAWA thought it was just like the militaristic and feudalistic Tennou-sei. At that time, capitalist development encountered the structural changes by the rule of monopoly.

There occurred vast structural unemployment what caused by introduction of machinery and a stagnation of agriculture over the long term due to differences and unevenness of development between industry and agriculture. For those conditions, capitalism needed policies of social welfare and relief for agriculture. So KIYOSAWA thought. In short, he

believed that capitalism and socialism constricted each other.

With his relativism, KIYOSAWA founded the emerging of the welfare economy as the interim point between capitalism and socialism. On thinking of the world economy today, KIYOSAWA's points of view will remain useful and effective especially since the fall of the socialist world.

Just as Dr. Amartya Sen, born in India and a Nobel laureate on economics at 1998, has strongly stressed, for the relief of poverty, including the elderly and handicapped in the world, especially in under-developed nations and even in the developed under the capitalist market oriented economy, peoples or governments need a concept of welfare society. For example, he wrote just as the same in "Reconsideration on Inequality".

The basis of Dr. Sen's idea lies in his experience of flooding and poverty in boyhood. He looked back on his talking as above. In truth, the consideration of Dr. Sen is very similar to both KIYOSAWA's and Dr. J. Tinbergen. Dr. Tinbergen was the first Nobel Laureate on economics at 1964. He strongly stressed the contingency between capitalism and socialism on his book titled "The New Economy". At that time socialist Russia had very strong economic and technology growth immediately after the Sputnik Shock in 1957.

KIYOSAWA very often said in his writings that capitalist liberal and democratic needed to push for equality, especially in economic conditions of its members, as the ideology of socialism insisted. But he strongly rejected dictatorship as in existing socialist Russia. In those days, scholars and critics of economic society hardly ever recognized complexity or contingency in their views of capitalism and socialism. This was especially true of progressives.

He investigated American economy during the World Depression in 1930-31 while he stayed in America. At that time, he pointed out the importance of both V.I. Lenin's introducing market economy into early socialism at the beginning and J.M. Keynes's theory of employment and relief for the vast numbers of jobless during the World Depression (the Great World Economic Crisis). Thus he thought a mixed economy between capitalism and socialism. I think that argument was one of the newest in the academic field and for critics at those days. At my inspecting KIYOSAWA's old house several years before, I was surprised that he read broadly from Keynesian economics to Leninism, [needless to say, the Bible and

liberal thoughts on political sciences and education]. In those days academicians inclined to read books depending on special theory.

And using the occasion of his foreign visits, he often lectured in America and Europe, especially on the west coast of America where he had emigrated in his young days. For example, he spoke at San Francisco, Los Angeles, Stockton, Seattle, Sacramento, Fresno, Oakland and Spokane. On those occasions, he encouraged Japanese people living on the West Coast of America, and he was welcomed by many of them. [The reason of my visit to here is regarding as inquiring above information, the NIKKEI spirit and newspaper at the wartime.]

8 [The perspectives after the Second World War]

KIYOSAWA's persistent quest for international peace made him critical of the draft for the Charter of the United Nations at 1943. He said if the draft wanted to keep peace of the world forever, it should strongly claim the right for participation by the Axis powers, including Germany, Italy, and Japan.

This was perhaps the first critical essay to be written (at least in Japan) on the draft. Because of the denial rights given to the Greater 5 States on the Security Council and its hostile article toward the Axis powers. His belief in international relations was based on his relativist method of thinking, and so he could not accept both the denial system and the hostile treatment of the Axis. The points he criticized have become actual problems at recent time.

His other assertion argued the participation of the dominions in the United Nations. That was, in fact, the direction of the equality between independent and dependent nations, approaching the liberation of the colonial countries. Now we cannot hardly see imperialistic colonial system. If adding his points, we have to argue the need on Non-governmental organizations under the globalization. On this point Dr. Sakamoto Yoshikazu appropriately wrote several years before in his writings titled "Soutaika no jidai", in English "Ages of Relativization".

Especially and logically for KIYOSAWA, after the cold war between the US and the

USSR, with the development of the global economy, global militaristic and the denial rights of the powers should not be needed.

9 [Conclusions and perspectives]

We are just now in the era of the breakdown of the Cold War System since 1991. We should strongly hope to realize the peace of this World for the 21st century. But our Japanese political and economic conditions domestic are not so good, our influential and ruling powers behave as if they forgot the lessons of militarism at the wartime, and the postwar reparation for Asian peoples. Japan even now has not carried out appropriately the reparation of Asian war victims and the survivors.

But recently, a Japanese court rejected a claim for postwar personal compensation to Japanese government, on January 27 of this year. In that case, Korean girls at about 12 to 19 years old were performing forced labor in Japanese war enterprises on the condition of paying wages, but they even now have not received the promised wages from enterprises and the true or the hearted apologies by Japanese government. In short, the judgment of court denied completely plaintiffs sue. I had great surprise and even fright toward the Japanese reality.

I am the representative for the supporting organization of this lawsuit. The judgment is too out-of-date with the international current on those problems. This is why Japanese government and people have not adequately won the trust from Asian peoples. Some sincere and conscientious Japanese economists on quantitative theory, just as DR.MORISHIMA Michio, Dr. ITOH Mitsuharu, and Dr. UZAWA Hirofumi, think that if the nation were to compensate the Asians properly, it will win credit and collaboration from them as has Germany. To see or to think directly the reality of the historical past in Japan's relations with East Asia during the war is distorted due to the ministry of education system of textbook inspected, and denied by the historical revisionist group who intend to underestimate or deny the war crimes of Japanese militarism. This is well known through the IENAGA Saburou's Case, which has run for 34years.

And KIYOSAWA's criticism toward the Charter of the UN will be effective in creating

a new international peace-making organization in the early time of the 21st century, I believe this strongly. We must study more deeply KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi and his time.

KIYOSAWA often traveled to report on or attend international meetings in America and Europe. He lectured and made speeches to the public or Japanese American meetings on these occasions. He acquired approval especially from Japanese American society. And he wrote reports and articles on the international relations or efforts to stop the war and conflict occurring nations.

By the way, as regard as pointing above on historical revisionist group I add to say here. They stress strongly, Japan has become to be a great power, and then she should play a political and militaristic role in the international relations. And they say Japan should be a powerful position toward the so-called threatens of the North Korea and China. In short, the role of Japan in the eastern Asia should become a hegemony state. Additionally, Japan should not apologize to the war criminal responsibilities toward Asian nations, because western imperialist countries have not apologize their same criminals on the past. Japanese imperialism went just after their same way. The society for producing to a 'new textbook' on Japanese history (Atarashii rekishi kyoukasho wo tukuru kai) has been clearly insisting so. And Prof. Nishio Kanji who is a scholar of German literature said just the same on his book titled "National History", (Kokumin no rekishi) and KOBAYASHI Yoshinori in his comics titled "Sensou-ron" (On the war). NISHIO's book insisted that the world history is to be the changes or rise and fall of imperialistic powers, and imperialism has existed never apologize toward its historical criminal and invasion into the other country, then Japan too needs not to apologize. But this consideration is not adequately correct under the present international relations, for German toward the Jewish and the United States toward the Japanese lived in the nation during the Second World War. Obviously speaking, their intention has been just the same of the political right wing for many years after the war. Their opinion had tendency to deny the Japanese Constitution and the reformation for introducing democratic system. And it is truly hostile opposite toward the principle of peace and democracy on the Constitution. I believe the principle becomes reality stronger after the cold war. And the principle is just KIYOSAWA's hope to Japanese people.

I think, even if western nations, for examples, England, France and Dutch, have not apologized toward past some colonial policies through centuries, Japan should have actions as a representing the 21st century pacific and democratic nation as her Constitution regulates. This point of view is very correct to realize its idea of the constitution and build the international peaceful relations. By approaching on this way, Asian nations will have truly reliance upon Japan and realize the cooperation of the Asian area.

Kiyosawa wrote on his diary, the Japanese often forget historical past facts they had done at the war. Historical revisionists have the same kind of point of view neglecting the facts. KIYOSAWA strongly insisted not to use the international relation as not a threatening tool but pacific bargaining. But historical revisionists insist almost opposite point of view on out of date. I think war victims never forget the facts in consciousness. People never forget bothered victim, but forget to oppress toward the others.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am very happy to have been able to make this report, and I thank you for your kind attention. Thank you.

This report was made up through referencing by my works above mentioned and KIYOSAWA Kiyoshi's many works and writings.