

The Collaboration of the Asian Community and Social Change in the Asia-Pacific War ; the Interaction of Imperialism, Nationalism and Socialism

Kawaji, Kinuyo(Waseda University)

Introduction

This paper explores history of the political thought of Asian Community in the period of the Asia-Pacific War from the viewpoint of socio-cultural change. This thought, cooperativism(*kyōdō-shugi*), is the attempt of social integration in Asia by state power from above and popular mobilization from below through a long process of total war. In this process, common problems and aims are set; de-colonization and autonomy would realize by cooperation and interdependence in the region, which means modernization and socialization to overcome modernity as imperial-nationalism. It is the paradoxical but some intentioned effect of the war. Of course, the Asianistic thought was ideology to veil Japanese imperial invasion, and that is needed to be more strictly analyzed for reflective knowledge to reconcile and establish mutual trust among nations in Asia that is the product of modern history of colonialism. In the same time, it is the unfulfilled dream that must be handed down to our generation. In addition, it would be suggestive to post-cold war system that the regional order is designed as the third way between liberal capitalism and communism, because both were equally based on national particularism under imperial cosmopolitanism. The end of the regional order was to avoid conflict and inequality, and to construct the transnational system of security and symbiosis practically, guaranteeing autonomy in the overlapping levels of region, states, social organizations or groups and individuals in the world.

The logic of cooperative social body in “the position of society as a whole”, penetrated inside and outside the nation, for going into partnership in Asia should need the change of Japanese society. Having doing so, the Asia regional order would change the world system. Therefore, this paper shall examine the theory of cooperativism in Asia and inside Japan, concentrating on two major ideologists; Ozaki Hotsumi(1901-1944) and Miki Kiyoshi(1897-1945), both were the members of the Showa-Kenkyukai which was think tank advising Konoe Fumimaro(1891-1945) and theorizing this logic.

1. Thoughts of the East Asian Cooperative Community and the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere

In the modern history of Japan, there were many thoughts of Asian solidarity which were

linked to Japan's imperialistic expansion in Asia. These thoughts are collectively called Asianism (*Ajia-shugi*)¹. But in the process of Asia-Pacific war, integration of Asia liberated from imperialism of the West as formal slogan was set first. This meant critical change in idea and recognition of Asia and in Japan herself in terms of politics, economy, society and culture, for the 20th century's total war needed mobilization of people in all realms of life. Popular mobilization also needed voluntary cooperation of people within and across nation-state in Asia. It could be realized only by the means of rendering resistance collective conversion through autonomic self-control of intermediate associations that functioned as a "puppet" like Manchukuo. As Kamei Katsuichiro (1907-1966) said below at the intellectual conference of "overcoming modernity" (*kindai-no-tyōkoku*), which theme gave meaning to the Pacific War, the so-called "Greater East Asia War" (*dai-tōa-sensō*) at that time in Japan, and functioned as the main part of "ideological warfare" in the total war.

It [modernity] subsists in ourselves and doesn't clearly exist in the symptom of consciousness, and so, a person is willing to become sacrifice for it. Today so-called the enemy ideology of Britain and America is nothing to this magic. It would be the first importance to discern whose puppet is me imagining that I am doing ideological warfare by sermon, propaganda and slogan.²

"Ideological warfare" really was the war against immanent self, modernity. Modernity connotes the imperial-colonizing power of unification or standardization in Japan where various cultures by class or status, locality of community etc. used to coexist. By modernization, these differences were rendered disproportion between progress and stagnation inside Japanese society, in the then word, "dual lives". Then, from disproportional development, these pre-modern remnants were imagined the lost Japanese culture against "exoticism", modernity. In the same time, these were objectified as inefficient and irrational ones to overcome, too.

. Total war couldn't escape this trend, or rather, head for complete modernity, preaching overcoming modernity by reviving traditional Japanese spirit. Preaching the liberation from colonization and poverty, Japan tried to colonize and standardize the society of imperial territory from the center to the periphery, and vice versa; *Gleichschaltung*. In

¹ In contrast to conventional honorary treats as Asian pioneer, Takeuchi Yoshimi treated "Ajia-shugi" as a whole. See, Takeuchi Yoshimi, *Nihon to Ajia*, Tokyo: Chikumashobō, 1993.

² Kamei Katsuichiro, "*Gendai Seishin ni kansuru Oboegaki*", Kawakami Tetutarō, Takeuchi Yoshimi, et al., *Kindai no Chokoku*, Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1979, p.6.

the material level, control economy as war footing accelerated industrialization led by monopoly capital (*zaibatsu*). And with it, war-time socialized welfare system of redistribution, medicine, sanitation, recreation and the rest normalized people's lives through social organizations of corporation and local community³. Social organizations to which individuals necessarily belonged for life and rise of status was functional taker and supplier of distribution and redistribution of public policy, representing individual-organizational interests, led by and utilizing officials, and leading individual members as sharing common destiny. Welfare is material, but, by deficiency of necessities, it became mostly movement of ideology to generate people's needs for it.

In the mental level, the policy and campaign of the subjectification to the Emperor (*kōminka*) gave identity as the same and equal being under the Emperor's reign (*ikkun-banmin*), even though there were many differences and inequalities of hierarchically social structure. Accompanying extension of imperialistic war in Asia-Pacific region, this ideology was expanded from Japan to Asia-Pacific as "eight cords, one roof" (*hakko-ichiu*) i.e., all the world under one roof, which term was quoted from the Japan chronicle edited in 720 but reinterpreted as the universal idea of humanism. It was not only to justify Japanese invasion of Asia but also to be accepted by the entire world as noncolonial interdependent regional system for coexistence and co-prosperity (*kyōzon-kyōei*).

Under these conditions, the imperial nation including old and new colonies, were coerced to be "willing to become sacrifices" as subject for nation-state, and resistance was oppressed as non-nation (*hikokumin*) inside community to self-control as the "puppet" of sovereign state or, in Hujita Shozo's word, petit-emperor (*shō-tenno*)⁴. So, in Japan, there have been the senses of victim of the war for which many Japanese were deprived of lives as human resources, forms national identity and pacifism since post-war period. Secured by bilateral alliance between America and Japan under the Cold War system, the national pacifism lacked dialogue about responsibility of the war for Asian people, even though post-war settlement was done in inter-governmental level by reparations or economic assistance with apology and regret. It generates the differences of recognitions and understandings for each other, which express conflict of nationalism over historical issues⁵. However, in retrospect, the differences were deep-rooted, probably since the opening of

³ See, Yamanouchi Yasushi, Koschmann, J. Victor and Narita Ryuichi eds., *Sōryōkusen to Gendaika*, Tokyo: Kashiwashobo, 1995.

⁴ Hujita Shozo, *Tennōsei Kokka no Shihai Genri*, 2nd ed., Tokyo: Miraisha, 1974.

⁵ This historical problem in present Japan, see, Takahashi Tetsuya eds., *Rekishī Ninshiki* Ronsō, Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2002.

each country to the world, the West and Asia, in the late nineteenth century. In the same time, as the double effects of the war, long-time misrecognition and so misunderstanding each other were reflected and revised for real need to resolute for deterioration of China-Japanese relations and for the problem of governance that was caused and enlarged by no end Japanese expansion.

The Pacific War, for which beginning the conference of “overcoming modernity” held, was broke out from the Attack of the Pearl Harbor in Hawaii in 1941, and intelligence bureau of Japanese government officially named it “Greater East Asia War” including the China-Japan War from 1937, which name was also prohibited with censorship by GHQ in 1945. But it was begun in the process of the Japanese invasion of China to construct cooperative wider-sphere, *Groberaum*, in East Asia since the Manchurian Incident in 1931. According to Japanese opinion led by the Army in that time, encountering the Great Powers’ economic blocs of protectionism since the Great Depression in 1929, and the unexpected, prolonged Chinese War of Resistance against Japan assisted by the Great Powers, Japan was excluded in this trade bloc, and so the immediate need for Japan was expansion of life-sphere, *Lebensraum*, to the China continent, and after the deadlock of the China-Japan war, to Southeast Asia and the Pacific islands to break so-called ABCD Coalition (America, Britain, China and Dutch). However, in Ozaki’s word, “this very course has been probably necessary result of the way of development of Japanese capitalism since over 70 years”⁶; Japanese urge to expand was caused by the needs to prevent all risks of modernization⁷. Trying to illuminate this, Ozaki argued that Japanese policy for continent “results from Japanese urge forces for continent, and adds up to correspond to increase of capitalist Japanese state powers=forces of production”⁸.

Deriving “necessary way” from the progress of industrialized capitalist society, that is, modernization in terms of socio-economy, Ozaki attempted to explain inclusively that Japanese urge for expansion to the China continent was caused by the way of Japanese specific development, that was “high speed” and so “more disproportional than major industrialized states of British and America”⁹, saddled various risks in this modernization

⁶ Ozaki Hotsumi, “Choki Kosen no Yukue”, *Ozaki Hotumi Chosaku Shu*, vol.2, Tokyo: Keisoshobo, 1977, p. 95.

⁷ Concerning the idea of “prevention” that prevailed in Japan during inter-war period, see, Serizawa Kazuya, “*Ho*” *kara Kaihosareru Kenryoku*, Tokyo: Shinyosha, 2001. In the present day, the idea of “risk” to prevent covers all of the world society. In different terms, Beck treats this condition. See, Beck, Ulrich, Azuma Ren trans., *Kiken Shakai*, Tokyo: Nikishuppan, 1988.

⁸ Ozaki, “Nihon no Tairiku Seisaku to Manshu-Hokushi Mondai, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*

process. The recognized political, economic and social risks that structured real needs for Asia was such as deficiency of resources, relatively small market for overproduction and oversurplus capital, surplus population of the poor including peasant lost land and the unemployed, class conflict and Soviet's threat from the route of North China—Manchuria—Korean Peninsula as a whole. It was thought that these risks could be resolved or prevented by forming Asian regional order.

Like this, total war entailing general mobilization ultimately aimed at change of modern society. In the Showa-Kenkyukai's pamphlet titled "Principles of Thought for a New Japan", the objective was insisted below.

The extension of China Incident has led to revealing the impossibility to resolve the Incident without national reformation increasingly. Indivisible relation between the resolution of the Incident and national reformation requires that the problem of national reformation should be also grasped from the viewpoint not only of nation but of unity of East Asia including Japan, Manchukuo and China.¹⁰

Because in Asia, especially in China, there were complex interests of imperial states including Japan, so-called "international relations"¹¹, the innovation of Asia would need one of Japan and the world, and have the "world historical meaning"¹². For Japan, the World War II was the Asia war from the first to the last, and meant the war for liberation of Asia from the Western imperialistic supremacy by Japanese imperial power of "leadership" to assist independent development in regionally interdependent system. Of course, allied Western states such as Germany and Italy were Japanese partners of the war, unless they intervened in Asia. Therefore, for conscientious or innovative intellectuals were apprehensive that this war might be the war between established Powers of imperialism over Asia. Because, from intuition and their knowledge of socialism, many intellectuals knew that class domination of bourgeoisie, landowner or imperial state over the weak with oppression and exploitation must have been injustice. Even though socialism was oppressed and abandoned, "innovation" of Japanese Fascism which movement, in part, targeted "defeating privilege" (*tokken-daha*) was expected by the converted as the effect of the war. In fact, to win "ideological warfare" against the Western power in Asia, that is, making the war have the "world historical meaning", and to get

¹⁰ Showa-Kenkyukai ed., *Shin Nihon no Shiso Genri*, in *Miki Kiyoshi Zenshu*, vol.17, Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1968, p. 507.

¹¹ The theory of "international relations" in Japan during inter-war period and after, see, Sakai Tetsuya, *Kindai Nihon no Kokusai Titsujo Ron*, Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 2007.

¹² Ozaki, *Zikyoku to Taishi Ninshiki*, *op. cit.*, p.69.

support and cooperation of Japanese and Asian people by presenting reliable universal idea, Japan had to change herself from mimic character of the Western imperialism, even though it would result in failure. Its ideology could date back to the theory of the East Asian Cooperative Community (*Tōa-kyōdotai*) in the late 1930s;

The integration of East Asia was enabled by China's liberation from the yoke of the Western imperialism, and Japan must devote herself to this China's liberation through this time Incident [Japan-China Incident]. Needless to say, Japan must not commit herself in imperialistic invasion. Rather, taking the chance of this Incident, Japan herself is required to proceed to new system beyond commercialism of capitalistic economy. The resolution of the problem of capitalism is the most important issue for all states of the present world.....Thus, in speaking of the time, resolution of the problem of capitalism, and in speaking of the space, realization of integration of East Asia, are the world historical meaning that this Incident should have.¹³

In the effort to form Asian solidarity through Asia-Pacific War, the possibility of social change from inside Japan and Asia to the entire world was discovered.

Therefore, this ideology should become real meaning for conscientious intellectuals who learned the modern Western knowledge and had ambivalent thought for it; Kamei said that “ since the Japan-China Incident , it have warned not to submit to the exoticism.....At least, it is no doubt that the Greater East Asia War gives rise to the decision against conventional confusion.”¹⁴

2. The Geneology of Showa-Kenkyūkai's thought

Takeuchi Yoshimi insisted that “overcoming modernity” which was the ideology of so-called “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere” (*Daitōa-kyōei-ken*) had appeared since 1941 after the frustration of “East Asian Cooperative Community” in the late 1930s¹⁵. However, it didn't appear suddenly to justify Japanese aggressive war. Of course, it had missed a important part of previous thought such as the effort of awaking voluntary movement from below and avoiding the war by mutual negotiations, and, therefore, had led to fanatical ultra-nationalism which was criticized as Japanese pre-modern character

¹³ Ibid., p. 510.

¹⁴ Kamei, *Kindai no Chokoku*, p. 5.

¹⁵ Takeuchi, *op. cit.*

with “overcoming modernity” caricatured in the post-war period.¹⁶ Thus, Asianism was memorized as the main cause of Japanese Fascism with evil image. But now the memory of the war is gradually fading.

However, the ideology of “overcoming modernity” was also generated through all intellectual’s fortunes, and marked with each of previous thoughts. Including romanticist like Kamei, many conscientious intellectuals had once learned Marxism as a kind of fashion or common sense in the academic community during the inter-war period. Although recognizing the need of modernization to make a clean sweep of semi-feudal remnant in disproportional development of Japanese modernization, they converted its negation of modernity into negation of the West and affirmation of non-Western or pre-modern self in the process of expansion of the war under thought control; they returned to the Japanese and the Asian as magnified self with nostalgia to reject imported modernity including liberalism and socialism, in a integrated word, to “overcome modernity”, which was enabled only “by modernity”.¹⁷ This conversion forced by police state power, however, was not simply submission to the logic of *Kokutai*, the national polity meaning the Emperor system, and not necessarily “disguise”¹⁸, but self-reflection and cultivation of critical sense for modernity and formal Marxism seen as “abstract cosmopolitanism”, discovering the chance of social change in the process of war.

For example, the members of Showa-Kenkyukai were young ace intellectuals those who experienced conversion from liberalism or communism, and gathered around Konoe Fumimaro whose leadership as prime minister executing the program of control and mobilization against the established powers—such as political party, bureaucracy, the military, new and old bourgeoisie of monopoly, medium sized and small companies, landowner and so on—on the basis of the mass organization was expected. Therefore, intending realization of their policy plan, Showa-Kenkyukai became think tank of Konoe

¹⁶ For example, Maruyama Masao, *Gendai Seiji no Shisō to Kōdō*, enlarged edition, Tokyo: Miraisha, 1964.

¹⁷ As to Japanese romanticist, see, Hashikawa Bunzō, *Nihon Romanha Hihan Josetsu*, Tokyo: Miraisha, 1965. “Overcome by modernity” was Kobayashi Hideo’s word at the conference of “overcoming modernity”, and its feature of Japanese Fascism is examined by H. Harootunian. See, Harootunian, Harry, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

¹⁸ As to determination of “disguise-conversion”, see, Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyukai eds., *Tenka: Kyōdo Kenkyū*, vol.1-3, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1959-1962. In this work, Tsurumi Shunsuke treats Ozaki Hotsumi as “disguise-conversion” (vol.2, pp.74-91). But this determination is based on the charge sheet from the viewpoint of the end of Ozaki’s activity. So, it is needed to see Ozaki’s words more deliberately, not as false, and to understand Ozaki’s character which differs from ordinary Marxist.

cabinet. The Showa-Kenkyukai was formally set out with expectation to the formation of Kono cabinet in 1936 and was dissolved in 1940 following the formation of Taisei-yokusankai, the Imperial Authority Assistance Association, which was aimed at national consensus of all wings and the practical organization for voluntary-cooperative participation/mobilization of all the nation, too.

As one of the members of Showa-Kenkyukai, Miki Kiyoshi, humanistic Marxist, was arrested for sheltering communist friend and was dead in cage in 1945. And as the same member's Ozaki Hotsumi, Asianistic Marxist, was arrested and executed in 1944 for so-called Sorge Incident, giving confidential information to spymaster Richard Sorge for Soviet. Converted but retaining some Marxian thought by their conscience, they advocated the "innovation" of social formation to cooperative one, calling for "the time of emergency" (*hijo-ji*).

As Carl Schmitt theorized "*Ausnahmezustand*" (the state of emergency) and supported the Nazis¹⁹, the advocates for this idea tried to break through a standstill of liberalism that had meant pluralism, internal split and the Great Powers-centered internationalism during the inter-war period, especially after the Great Depression in 1929, and to prevent communism that was inner risk of liberalism persisting only by destruction and creation; revolution. Fascism was often explained as "quasi-revolution"; based on the middle class turning conservative as the central agent; class struggle turned to be the needs of standard living and the sphere of life, *Lebensraum*, against the economic bloc of "owner states", deriving a hint from the thought and movement of socialism, especially from syndicalism and its philosophy of life²⁰. It appears to be contradiction and, therefore, is often forgot with the memory of massacre that, in the period of total war, the value of life, objectified as human resources and subjectified as human rights, was mostly emphasized before everything, and social welfare system has been established ever since.

Cooperativism should have been "Oriental humanism", explained by Showa-Kenkyukai in its pamphlet of "Principles of Thought for a New Japan", which was mainly described by philosopher, Miki Kiyoshi.

¹⁹ Schmitt, Carl, Abe Teruya and Murakami Yoshihiro trans., *Kenpo ron*, Tokyo: Misuzushobo, 1974, and also Schmitt, Tanaka Hiroshi and Harada Takeo trans., *Seiji Shingaku*, Tokyo: Miraisha, 1971.

²⁰ There are many determination of Fascism, totalitarianism, corporatism, mass society, state monopoly capitalism, total war system and so on. All attempt to explain the same phenomena, from different positions and viewpoints. In the earlier period of post-war times, Fascism was given negative images such as anti-liberalism and anti-communism both were the main axis of collision. The notice of middle class was traditional method of the theory of class conflict.

Contrary to Western humanism based on the thought of “humanity”, Oriental humanism was rather based on the thought of “nothingness” or “nature” or “the heavens”. Moreover, Oriental humanism tries to attain rational order of society through the ethical way based on self-discipline. It also valued everydayness.....[it] goes to the way beginning from things near to self.....Because Oriental culture in general has the characteristic of the culture of *Gemeinschaft*, it is appropriate for the ground of the culture of new cooperative community. Especially, its humanism has the meaning beyond nations, and reflection for it should become the foundation to form new culture of East Asia.²¹

This “Oriental humanism” would be followed to Nishitani Keiji’s “subjective nothingness”(shutaiteki-mu), and philosophy of cooperativism to philosophy of the world history which was theorized by Kyoto school, Kyoto University’s philosopher around Nishida Kitaro. Nishitani described that “the position of subjective nothingness is the way consistent with three realms of technique, ethics and religion, the religious position such as to be opened through national ethics under actual vocational activity”.²² Harry Harootunian precisely pointed, “subjective nothingness” could redirect “people back to a disposition where they would voluntarily “dissolve the self and serve the public(messhi hoko)””²³. And the total national power of this volunteer would be mobilized by “moralish energy”, which led to spiritualism.

However, it was the same project of cooperativism. The public, the position of society as a whole, was emphasized increasingly over fifteen years of the “time of emergency”, and justified programmatic policy of social control presuming future welfare of all person and forced people to be “willing to become sacrifice”. Because the public was in crisis and “crisis of conscience”—conscience is the imperative of the social value—, which was seen as the result of liberalism, individualism, capitalism and socialism as only selfish, particular interests of the society as a whole. The sense of the crisis had been shared both conservative and progressive elite of officials, the military and intellectuals etc. since inter-war period, and nationalized as needs for war-time social control order.

“Subjective nothingness” did not mean negation of subjectivity which had been lacked in traditional community or Buddhism’s selfless moral. So, the development of “personality” was continued to be needed, that wasn’t selfish and atomic individual but valuable for the public society such as technical accomplishment, capability of living and working. In the

²¹ Showa-Kenkyukai, *op. cit.*, p. 514

²² Nishitani Keiji, “Kindai no Chokoku shiron”, Kawakami Tetutarō, Takeuchi Yoshimi, et al., *Kindai no Chokoku*, Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1979, p.27.

²³ Harootunian, Harry, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

pamphlet of “Principles”, “liberalism as egoism must be kept out, but liberty must be respected.....Commercialism must be controlled, but personal self-discipline, originality must be respected. And about political liberty.....its essential significance to take up the public opinion must be made the most of”²⁴. Its basis was, as Tosaka Jun pointed then²⁵, liberalism; the dualism of liberation and oppression of self-control.

3. Cooperativism and the Effect of the China-Japan War

When the China-Japan War began in 1937, Konoe was prime minister to whom Showa-Kenkyukai advanced policy as think tank. The members of Showa-Kenkyukai opposed extension of this war, and advised Konoe to go into peace negotiations with China and the US that were the principal opposition to Japanese invasion in the Chinese continent, and to decide to conclude “conventional confusion” of internal and external situations. However, supreme command was in the hands of the Emperor(*tenno*); under Meiji constitution, prime minister was only “primus inter pares”, a mere fellow minister assisting the Emperor. Nevertheless, it could be said that no one of political responsible persons for the war endeavored to reconcile China with Japan and to avoid war against the US except him. Because he tried to be nationally political leader, and killed himself as war criminal understanding his responsibility for failure of the Japan-China Incident disposal²⁶. In the same time, he was also like a “puppet” for those who hope to realize respective visions through his leadership in specialized societies.

The Konoe government changed the policy for China from the announcement of “No deal with the Nationalist government” on January 16, 1938 to one of the “New Order in East Asia”(Toa-shintitsuzyo) to China on November 3, 1938 below.

[The construction of the New Order was that] Japan, Manchukuo and China collectively construct the relation of mutual aid partnership over politics, economy and culture etc., as a core, aiming at the establishment of international justice, joint prevention against communism, the creation of new culture and economic integration in East Asia. This is the reason to stabilize Asia and contribute to progress of the world²⁷.

²⁴ Showa-Kenkyukai, *op. cit.*, p. 524.

²⁵ Tosaka Jun, *Nihon Ideorogi Ron*, Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1977.

²⁶ Sakai Saburo, *Showa-Kenkyukai*, Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1992.

²⁷ “Kokumin Seihu to Iedomo Kyohisezarumune no Seihu Seimei”, November 3rd, 1938, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs ed., *Nihon Gaiko Nenpyo narabini Shuyo Bunsho*, 2nd vol., Tokyo: Harashobo, 1966, p. 401.

The “New Order” in Asia and Japan would be formed by organizing people’s needs that were converted and led by state power, as the access of top-down, through community or social organization, such as family, local area community, trade union and company to nations, as the access of bottom-up. Cooperativism was back up this “New Order”. In national level, “what cooperativism emphasizes is voluntary cooperating. Cooperativism requires realization of the whole control by forming organization from below.....the leader required by cooperativism is not despotic autocrat and not the person who is out of touch with the masses, but rather the person who goes into nation, educates nation, takes up nation’s demands and organizes them by leadership”²⁸ . And in Asian regional level, “cooperativism thinks that the world is realized only by mediation of independent nations, and, therefore, national cooperation is needed at first, and cooperation of nations is realized through like cooperation of East Asia nations, based on restraint of geographic and historical conditions initially”²⁹. And what the new idea of “leadership” meant was that “the New Order in East Asia is constructed by the Japanese initiative”³⁰; the leader was not sovereign but like educator or assistant, and rule was invisible and some hospitable.

The theory of the East Asian Cooperative Community is modified and idealistic thought, and incomplete dream. But its limitation is the assumption of Japanese hegemony and end up to comfort guilty conscience for ruling.

As seen the appearance of Asian “New Order” or “Community”, the chance of Japanese modification of the thought, ironically, came from the Japan-China Incident in 1937. As Ozaki pointed out, “ “the East Asian Cooperative Community” that appeared as means to realize the “New Order” under the present condition is certainly the historical product of the proceeding process of China Incident”³¹ . Calling for cooperation to construct community of mutual interdependence mostly received resistance from China.

In fact, Japan couldn’t survive without China and the US opposing Japanese policy for the Chinese continent. Both were the largest trade partners for Japan, and exchange of goods fostered mutual penetration of culture. Moreover, insecurity of Asian neighboring countries where main actors were the World Powers gave threat to Japan. Japan was the actor in Asia, too. And, without China and the US, Japan couldn’t but quest new trade partners in Asia on behalf of them, if Japan wanted to keep the level of development or

²⁸ Showa-Kenkyukai, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 588.

³¹ Ozaki, “ “Toakyodotai” no Rinen to Sonoseiritu no Kyakkanteki Kiso”, *op. cit.*, p.310.

grow more. However, the self-contradicted insistence of one-sided solidarity with invasion was not accepted. Hence, Japan encountered the limitation of the logic of “Japanese manner” prior national interests to dialogue, imperial nationalism, which wasn’t accepted by Chinese nationalism³². In reality, it was needed to modify the recognition and understanding for Chinese politics, economy, society, culture, and, in immediate but most important dimension, humanity with sympathy, all of which formed Japanese policies for continent and China-Japanese relations in both public and private sectors. In Ozaki’s journalistic sense, Chinese “national question” was most important appearance, which inclusively represented all of the factors featuring Chinese society; Ozaki grasped that Chinese nationalism of thorough resistance against Japan would be the movement of the people to unify the state and nation, and of unique modernization which should liberate China herself from the fetters of Chinese “semi-feudality” and “semi-coloniality” caused by imperial capitalism³³. “In the process of the war of resistance”, Ozaki pointed, “it is the fact that China was politically and economically weakens the powers as a whole, but it was seemed that national cohesion was enhanced greatly”³⁴. Moreover, “in effect, China is paying off feudal powers one by one”³⁵, and “there is possibility that the unification in China combines with the course to non-capitalistic development”³⁶, because the destruction of market economy by Shanghai Incident and Japanese invasion needed inland economy with industrialization and land reformation, and the power of Chinese Communist Party was increased by mobilization of peasant’s approval.

Corrective recognition and understanding of China and other Asian region was also needed for the design of the third way between liberalism and communism. This design would be realized by Asian social solidarity. Because Asian society was commonly coerced to be semi-feudal structure and semi-modernization by subordination to the West World Powers whose colonial policy was liberalism, and because modern liberal society was at crisis by its own contradiction, proving its limitation in the Great Depression and social conflict, common aims in Asia should be independent of imperialism and interdependent among Asian region for the autonomic development. This project seems to be another way to “grand theory” of world history on progress and development represented with the ideology of liberalism and communism. The theory of the East Asian Cooperative Community was to criticize both ideologies as “abstract cosmopolitanism” that led to

³² Ozaki, “Shina Jihen Daisanki”, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

³³ Ozaki, *op.cit.*, pp.48, 65, 69-72, 87,

³⁴ Ozaki, “Choki Kosen no Yukue”, p. 99.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³⁶ Ozaki, “Haiboku Shina no Shinro”, *op.ct.*, p.87.

unified control, colonization over the world³⁷.

However, this theory couldn't help ending to abstract idealism.

Japanese imperial nationalism that the theory attempted to overcome by intervening in Asia problem, not by observing, had realism for abstract idea of self interests and risks of self-colonization; modern knowledge.

4. Ozaki's eyes for the real and future

In recent years, as the background of China-Japan closer relations, Ozaki's recognition for China has been reviewed³⁸. Ozaki's characters immanent in objectively cognitive method are above-mentioned journalistic sense to grasp the time's current and its whole image, and extraordinary sympathy for China which can be seen between the lines everywhere. About his background, he grew up in Taiwan with seeing Japanese rule and governance of colony. After graduation of Tokyo Imperial University, he enter Asahi shinbun newspaper, and stayed at Shanghai as correspondent of this company during 1927-1932³⁹. He was devoted to communism from about 1925, but he didn't join Japanese Communist Party. So, his action was another way to communist in Japan, including collective conversion in 1933. Then he joined Showa-Kenkyukai during 1937-1941, and worked as part-time employee of Kono cabinet in 1938-1939. He was close to the center persons of government, and so, he could acquire or hear the information of state policy including secret classified one. Therefore, regardless of news control by state, his realism was based almost correct knowledge. However, because his viewpoint is for Chinese people, his analyses of Japanese policy and Chinese society seem to be objective even now.

Probably, although he insisted the need of Japanese correct re-cognition for real China to end up to the China-Japanese War, he might have expected the effects of destruction in Chinese and Japanese societies by the war that could sweep away "feudal" remnants and parasitic capital, and of Japan's defeat by Chinese resistance that would awake Japanese for self mistake of Japanese imperialistic consciousness and its history for the first time. If making the power of the masses increasing by the war, his project of social change would be realized below;

³⁷ Showa-Kenkyukai, *op. cit.*, pp. 522-526.

³⁸ Asada Kyoji, *Nihon Chishikijin no Shokuminti Ninshiki*, Tokyo: Azekurashobo, 1985, Imai Seiichi and Hujii Shozo eds., *Ozaki Hotsumi no Chugoku Kenkyu*, Tokyo: Ajiakeizaishuppankai, 1983.

³⁹ Ozaki Hideki, "Ozaki Hotsumi to Chugoku", *Ozaki Hotsumi Zenshu*, vol. 3, Keisoshobo, 1977, p. 386.

To make Japan realize change in the relations of antagonism against British and American imperialism, Soviet's assist would be needed, and, moreover, it is seemed to be ideal form that three members of China where the Chinese Communist Party would completely grasp hegemony, Japan where exodus would be realized, and Soviet would accomplish close alliance. As the core of the close union of three nations above, the establishment of national community of East Asia nations will be aimed for at first. Because the present East Asia includes a lot of colony or semi-colony, it is not realistic to think that these nations are immediately united as socialist states. As the core of close and friendly alliance, India, Burma, Thailand, Dutch Indochina, French Indochina, Philippine and others will enter politically, economically and culturally close alliance with three core bodies above.⁴⁰

Ozaki's unique design of regionally communist union is based on this recognition of unique character of Asian social problems.

It was too much comprehensible to Ozaki that the nature of Asian regional community was metamorphosis of Japanese imperialism. Hence, Ozaki criticized such tendencies as "resource-pursuitism" of economic-military invasion, very which made Asian society "semi-feudal" and "semi-colonial" structure. For Ozaki, national autonomy to establish self-foundation for was necessary condition, and, in the same time, regional solidarity was needed to assist formation of this condition, for the world society increasingly multipolarized and opened the other as functional differentiation was globalizing. He was not simply realist but idealist holding the grand design above that enabled him to recognize Asia more objectively with love. For him, the possibility of Asian alliance depends on presumption of internal revolution of the main regional parts of China, Japan and Soviet. This necessary condition or measure for Asia integration was his purpose, too.

The actual conditions of high ideal of construction of the New Order in East Asia are liberation of farmers at first by dismantling feudal agricultural society that constitutes content of Oriental societies.....Japan should innovate herself and, in the same time, create the conditions for high union of nations.⁴¹

Showing his understanding and direction to reformation of Chinese society that was

⁴⁰ "Kenji Jinmon Chōsho", *Gendaishi shiryō*, vol.2, Tokyo: Misuzushobō, 1962, pp. 203-204.

⁴¹ Ozaki, "Toakyoeiken no Kitei ni Yokotawaru Zyuyomondai", *Ozaki Hotsumi Zenshū*, vol.3, 1977, p.303.

composed of farm village mostly was indirectly for Japanese one. The common problem to resolve in China and Japan, or Asian region as a whole was found the agricultural social-political structure that called “the Asian”, “feudality” or “coloniality” ; what Ozaki pointed out as the Chinese=Japanese problem in agricultural structure was that network of landowner, commercial leech capital, bureaucracy or local leader and military clique were dominant over the masses of the poor peasant, and so “feudal” relation of community persisted and was reinforced by imperialistic capitalism that was more and more parasitic in colonies or “semi-colonial” developing area by giving loan to assist economic development in exchange for foreign liability caused by low price of exports, low wages of the poor and increasing interest payment for abroad, utilizing “feudal” despotism and segmented communities.

Therefore, he argued that “what must be important one of basic conditions for fundamental solidarity of Japanese-Chinese nations is fundamental resolution for Japanese-Chinese agriculture keeping step each other to some degree”.⁴² “Asian stagnation” must be modern phenomena that are unevenly distributed in Japan and China, even the West. It was expressed as “semi-feudal” and “semi-colonial” character by many modern intellectuals. Then, Ozaki showed that this character was connected with global imperial-capitalist system. If his recognition remained only recognition, nihilism would come. Fascism is nihilistic “innovation” that modern “risk society” cannot but do without revolution. In fact, the design for the future is no longer national design that would be broken by the iron wall of the real structured powers and knowledge of established nation-state. Therefore, in modern Japanese society, it was enabled Japanese revolutionist to think the future society as Asian design. Asianism was rightly or wrongly anarchy and free thoughts from national restraints by nature, seeking a new heaven and earth. In the same time, for Asianism has a possibility that internal change would be pressured from Asia, the thoughts of Asia solidarity would come to bear living meaning.

5. Conclusion

As the proverb goes, to struggle with the opponent needs to know the opponent. Historical irony is that the Asia- Pacific War generated a lot of area studies not only to win the war but to construct peace after the war. In the process of the war, as spheres to control was extended, the Japanese powers encountered resistance and unexpected difficulty about regional and domestic governance. Attempt to form order ended to destruction of it. The 20th century’s total war was thoroughly massacre internal and

⁴² Ibid., p.211.

external people. Experienced disorder of the world and nation-state inside, international organization and regional trade sphere under the East/West bloc after WW II were formed. In advanced nations, a happy wedding of economic growth with national welfare was based on regional disproportion and was threatened by the oil crisis. Now, after collapse of the Cold War system, globalization generates a new disorder or risks that reappear in internal society with the tear of welfare state. Therefore, regionalism also reappears to form autonomic but opened order across nation-states. As Showa-Kenkyukai pointed out, “on conventional East Asian history, there were not the same unity as Europe unified by tradition of Greek culture, Christianity, modern scientific culture and so on…….The unification of East Asia is now a new challenge to realize”⁴³.

Of course, culture including tradition and modern science is not limited to one region, because it has been formed by mutual exchange and sharing among groups, and changed by the times and spaces. Those who gathered in Showa-Kenkyukai familiarized themselves with modern science, Western classics or culture. Although each person had various thoughts, they formed a kind of small but opened intellectual community hoping to reform *in* system and to construct national and East Asian community⁴⁴. It is impossible to organize and integrate people forcibly like Fascism. In the same time, it is the problem that a lot of people are alienated from making a decision between elites. The old problem between “liberty from” and “freedom to” has yet to be resolved. Above all, the latter have been seen as freedom to nation; “daily referendum”. In Fascism, voluntary or subjective mind and action were needed to mobilize, but, in actual sense, participation to the public not to mobilize but to exist meaningfully must be secured. It has power to construct a “New Order” with constant deconstruction and reconstruction, because the construction of relations among different persons necessarily includes constant conflicts and reconciliations to coexist.

Finally, I want to think the meaning or reason to reflect the history of Asianism and Asian regionalism. As mentioned above, Asian regionalism for Japanese has ambivalence between invasion and solidarity, anti-modernism or anti-Western universalism and facilitation of modernization with the model of global standard, anti-Western imperialism and Japanese imperialism inside regional and domestic societies and so on. In other words, regionalism plays a role in ambiguous reply for the conflict of dualism, seeking the third way that enabled the established Powers to change in globalizing social system.

In the same time, historical context is also important, in which regionalism appears or disappears. Compared with the pre-war period, material condition is quite different now,

⁴³ Showa-Kenkyukai, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

⁴⁴ Showa-Dojinkai eds., *Showa-Kenkyukai*, Tokyo: Keizaioraisha, 1968, p. 27, 64.

and features of regionalism change and depend on times and spaces. However, the idea of Asian regionalism was all present in the war period, and the idea resulted in only idea. This is not only “historical problem” among nations which caused conflict of nationalism, but also frustrated dream. Both meanings are our legacy to reflect.