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SOCIALISM IN JAPAN

IN spite of the bad reputé into which, among all conservative people, Socialists in Japan fell after the wholesale execution and imprisonment of Kotoku and his following, in spite of the vigilant efforts of the government to check their activities, and in spite of some of their influential representatives having been forced to retire into an inactive obscurity, the Socialist leaven is fast spreading, now that labor is asserting its rights in so bold, and sometimes so reckless, a manner. At this juncture, it may be of interest to pass in review the more prominent Socialists in Japan on the basis of information gathered from various sources, including, in particular, *Yuben* (Eloquence) for October and the *Chuo Koron* (Central Review) for July. Chief among those who openly profess Socialism are the men and women belonging to the three groups of the *Shin Shakwai* (New Society), the *Baibun-sha* (Hackwriters' Club), and the *Roso-kai* (Old and Young Society). Individually, there are Mr. Yano Fumio and Professor Abe Isoo, two elderly gentlemen who soar serene above the turbulent rank and file of the younger Socialists, Mr. Osugi Sakae, well known for his naughty behavior toward public procurators and policemen, Mr. Arahata Koson, who has lately often come to public notice because of his police-interrupted lectures on labor problems, and others.

The *Baibun-sha* was originally a business partnership, as its name, which means literally writing-selling office, suggests, but it soon became a centre and club of Socialists. Two of the leaders, Messrs. Sakai and Yama-

kawa, left the club last spring, carrying with them the magazine, *New Society*, which it had been publishing. Mr. Takahata and his sympathizers remained where they were, and started a new monthly organ, *Kokka Shakwai Shugi*, or *National Socialism*.

Mr. Sakai is a man of somewhat over fifty. Quiet and shy, he would be more in his element as editor of a home journal, which he formerly was, than as a leader of militant Socialism. He coöperates with Mr. Yamakawa in editing the *New Society*, besides writing copiously in another Socialist magazine of the name of *Shakwai Shugi Kenkyu* (Study of Socialism) and contributing to many magazines. At the rate at which he is now supplying the literary market, he must be making a good income. The same remark holds good of other writers of the same tendencies. Never before have their writings been in so great a demand as they now are.

Mr. Takahata has been repeatedly mentioned in the *Japan Chronicle* as an able expositor and translator of Marx's writings. He was formerly a Christian pastor. Mrs. Yamakawa is also a well-known writer on Socialist lines.

The *Baibun-sha* section seems to be more closely connected with the *Roso-kai*, while the *New Society* men are more intimately concerned in the *Heimin Daigaku* (Commoners' University), which, besides publishing the purely scientific Socialist magazine, *Study of Socialism*, gives an occasional series of lectures by prominent Socialists. We have had on several occasions to report the dissolution of lecture meetings at this 'university,' over one

hundred policemen being sometimes employed to disperse a little audience of thirty or so.

The *Roso-kai* (Old and Young Society) is a group of Imperial or national Socialists with the staff of the magazine *Dai Nihon* (Great Japan) for its centre. Mr. Kawashima Seijiro, the editor of the magazine, was formerly on the *Niroku* newspaper and is known as a great authority on naval topics. He is not a very radical Socialist, contenting himself as he does with advocating the nationalization of land.

'To establish Socialism in Japan under the Imperial standard of brocade,' is his favorite phrase—an essay in 'harmonization,' indeed. The society meets once a month and is very heterogeneous in its composition, as its name indicates, including such men as General Sato and Admiral Kamiidzumi. It seems that the members of the society are wedded to State Socialism, in the belief that the national organization of the country is really based on the principles underlying that form of Socialism, though it is somewhat hard for a superficial observer to find where the analogy lies. It is said that even a certain police officer who was present at one of the meetings of the society had the satisfaction to admit that there was no danger to be feared of a Socialism of that kind. Some time ago we reported a speech delivered at a meeting of the society, in which the speaker suggested the advisability of all landowners returning their lands to the Emperor much in the same fashion as the feudal lords gave up their fiefs at the time of the Restoration.

In addition to those belonging to the three groups just named, there are several other well-known professed Socialists. Mr. Yano Fumio is a courtly gentleman of a variegated

career who successively filled the posts of a newspaper editor, vice-president of the Progressionist party (under the then Count Okuma), Minister to China, and an official in the Imperial Household. It was as early as 1902 that he published his popular book, *New Society*, suggesting that all organs of production should be bought up by the state with permanent bonds, and seven per cent interest paid on such bonds out of the production, the balance to be distributed among the workers in proportion to the amount of work done. Professor Abe, one of the most amiable characters and fascinating speakers Japan has ever produced, is a member of the Fabian Society. His views are closely akin to those expounded in Mr. Webb's *Industrial Democracy*. Being a Christian (now a Unitarian, though formerly a Congregationalist pastor), he has less faith in material alleviations than the majority of the Fabians. It may be added that although he is a professor at Waseda, we do not believe that he gives lectures on Socialism there. Formerly policemen used to visit the college from time to time in order to ascertain that he was not lecturing on that dangerous subject. He is a great favorite with the student class, but his affability and his alleged want of executive courage are believed to disqualify him for the rôle of a militant leader of Socialism.

Mr. Osugi and Mr. Arahata are champions of Syndicalism, and the dread of the authorities and the police. Mr. Osugi—a young man of thirty-five—declares himself a prison-made man, for like Messrs. Sakai, Yamakawa, and Takahata, and many others, he early served his apprenticeship in prison for the crime of Socialism. Even latterly various charges have been brought against him in order, it is said, to remove him to a safe place

and so prevent him from taking part in the labor troubles, but those charges have all fallen to the ground in the preliminary stage with the exception of that of striking and wounding a policeman employed in dogging him — a case which is still pending. He has just started a new monthly called *Rodo Undo* (Labor Movement).

The above are perhaps the most notable figures among Japanese Socialists, although there are other stars of lesser lustre; but this brief account of Japanese Socialists would be incomplete if we omitted the names of Dr. Katayama Sen, Mr. Nishikawa Mitsujiro, and Mr. Kinoshita Naoe, who were once very active and well-known agitators in the field, but whose names are now buried in obscurity. Dr. Katayama, who gained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in some American college, supporting himself during his studies by means of manual labor extending over many years, was one of the most important figures among Japanese Socialists from 1897, when the 'Social Problems Investigation Society' — the first society of the kind in this country — was founded, to 1903, when he somehow lost his popularity. Subsequently he went to America where it is said that he is now working as a cook, while editing a Socialist magazine. Mr. Nishikawa Mitsujiro, a graduate of Waseda College, once the most violent of the set and also an eloquent and energetic agitator, withdrew from the arena some years ago, either giving up the work as a bad job or deeming it wise to keep quiet and wait, turning his energy in a totally different channel, for he is now occupied with writing books on health and on fasting as a means of promoting health — something like the American Socialist, Upton Sinclair. But it appears that he has recently emerged from his re-

tirement and is playing a secondary part under the banner of State Socialism. Mr. Kinoshita was likewise a stirring speaker and incisive writer in the cause of Socialism. He also brought out several novels for propaganda purposes which were once in great fashion, though now absolutely forgotten, like their author himself.

Having briefly treated of more prominent professed Socialists, past and present, we may now say something about others who, without openly professing to be Socialists, are yet generally looked upon as such. One of the most conspicuous figures among them is Mr. Kagawa Toyohiko of Kobe, a young man of thirty-three, of rare capacity and much learning, a student of labor problems for many years, an influential member of the Yuai-kai, a benefactor of the poor in Shinkawa, and now a voluminous contributor to magazines on the subject of labor problems (the considerable amount of money which he makes in this way being, we understand, spent for the benefit of the poor among whom he lives) and chief secretary of the Osaka Labor Union. He is an advocate of Guild Socialism, and his writings are much admired for the clearness of exposition and warm-hearted treatment which characterize them.

Other learned supporters of Guild Socialism are Dr. Kawada Shiro of Kyoto University and Dr. Kitazawa Shinjiro of Waseda College. Professor Kawada formerly published *An Essay on Socialism*, *The Capitalistic Spirit*, and *The Problem of Woman*; but official interference caused all of them to go out of print. When Mr. Ohara, a millionaire philanthropist of Kurashiki, in Okayama Prefecture, lately organized and richly endowed an institute called the Ohara Labor Institute, he asked Dr. Kawa Kami of

Kyoto University, the editor of the highly popular Socialist magazine, *Study of Social Problems*, to become its president, but the proud professor declined to accept the offer, considering it beneath his dignity to have anything to do with an establishment coupled with the name of an Ohara.

Further, both in Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities and the private colleges of Waseda and Keio, there are many professors who are interested in Socialism. Dr. Nitobe of Tokyo University, for instance, is a marked man because of the strong articles he contributed to *Shin Nihon* (New Japan). Perhaps Dr. Nitobe and Dr. Miyake, the veteran editor of *Japan and the Japanese*, may be regarded as two

great, though not professing, elder Socialists, as Mr. Yano and Professor Abe are two great professed elder Socialists. The audience of a lecture meeting held by the *Reimei-kai* (Enlightenment Society) was struck by the way in which the old philosopher outstripped other lecturers, members of that society of advanced thinkers. Dr. Fukuda and Dr. Kawakami are said to want to be recognized as great exponents of Marx, but feel disinclined to be considered as scholars possessed of dangerous ideas, although this disinclination may have nothing to do with their official position—one as Professor at the Tokyo Higher Commercial School, and the other as Professor in Kyoto Imperial University.

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LORD GREY OF FALLODON

BY FRANK FOX

EDWARD GREY, son of a soldier, grandson of a distinguished statesman, was educated at Winchester and Balliol, and from early boyhood showed a bent toward the contemplative life and the open-air life. He was fond of poetry and of fishing; neither taste suggests the stern stuff of which ambition is made. Of his love for fly-fishing there is public confession in a book from his pen which for clear and sweet English is worthy of the good company of Izaak Walton. His love for poetry is more of a secret. But it is a real force in his life. It is not merely that conventional love of poetry which follows the public verdict to admire a classic.

Winchester — which was once judged by a British statesman as 'indubitably the best public school in England, for those who have been to Eton, to Harrow, and to Rugby always give it the second place after their own school'—has sent some great men into British public life, but it is not exactly the school to make a lad a 'careerist.' Balliol has more an atmosphere of politics, successful politics. 'He was one of Nature's Balliol men,' was the witty summing up in an Oxford Union debate of a public man who is almost the complete antithesis of Lord Grey.

But Balliol College had given the future Foreign Secretary no taste for