

Japan's Response to the Zionist Movement in the 1920s

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Introduction

In 1920 the Executive of the World Zionist Organization in London decided to send its first emissary to East Asia. The envoy travelled more than 30,000 miles over Australia, China, Japan, Manchuria, and India, visiting local Jewish communities to talk of Zionism and raise finance for the Jewish National Fund. Seven years later, the Japanese Ministry of War dispatched its staff officer to Palestine on a fact-finding mission.

What motivation was there for these two seemingly unconnected visits?

This article traces the historical background to these missions and makes clear Japan's early commitment to Zionism, thus shedding some light on the unknown parts of the history of the Zionist movement in the 1920s.

I Historical Background

Modern Zionism arose in Europe in the nineteenth century, calling for the return of the Jews to Palestine. Most literature on Zionism deals with the Jewish communities in Europe and America where the Jewish people had long been under such severe conditions as assimilation and anti-Semitism. The few references to those of non-European countries in terms of their contribution to the establishment of the Jewish state do not enter into the details of their communities. East Asia is one of those little noticed areas in the history of Zionism.

The history of the Jewish communities in East Asia goes back to the mid-nineteenth century, when China and Japan opened their doors to foreigners. After the Opium War of 1840-42, China was forced to open her ports to foreigners. From that time British merchants and traders, including Jews, came to Shanghai and Hong Kong, where they settled. Among the early Jewish settlers were such families as Sassoon, Kadoorie, Hardoon, Yehuda, and Ezra, mostly from Mesopotamia and India.¹ Soon they established trade networks in the main port cities of China and Japan. The Jewish population in China numbered about 175 in 1895.² The main center of Jewish activities in China was Shanghai, where the Sassoons had established a solid base by the middle of the nineteenth century.³ In due course, the Jews in Shanghai built their first synagogue and founded a branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association in 1898.⁴ The activities of the Jewish community in Shanghai varied from the benevolent to the political. Concerning charities, they attempted to rescue their

fellow believers of the "orphan colony" in Kaifeng.⁵

It was, however, in the political field that they had more weight. In the wake of the world-wide expansion of the Zionist movement, they established the Zionist Association in April 1903.⁶ Also, in that year the Shanghai Zionist Association was represented at the Sixth Zionist Congress held at Basle.⁷ Immediately after its establishment, the Shanghai Zionist Association took an active role in spreading Zionism throughout the Jewish communities of East Asia. They started publishing a biweekly organ, *Israel's Messenger*, in April 1904.⁸

The influx of Jews into Japan began in a similar way. With the opening of ports after Commodore Perry's expedition of 1853, Jewish traders settled at Nagasaki, Yokohama, and Kobe.⁹ From the late nineteenth century, Nagasaki was the leading Jewish center in Japan. It was said that in the early 1880s the Jewish population of Nagasaki numbered more than 50 families.¹⁰ They built Beth Israel synagogue in 1894¹¹ and founded a Jewish benevolent society in 1901 to provide aid for poor Jews at home and abroad.¹² About 1902 a branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association was founded there.¹³ The Nagasaki Zionist Association was established on 6 May 1906 with 15 members.¹⁴ During the Russo-Japanese War, the Nagasaki Jewish community offered aid to the Russian Jewish prisoners of war interned in Japan, including the supply of Hebrew books.¹⁵ Despite these energetic activities, Nagasaki's economic importance declined rapidly owing to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War: the commercial trade with the continent stopped; the main economic activities of the Jews were transferred to Kobe, Yokohama, and Tokyo. The synagogue was sold in 1924.¹⁶ This was the last transaction of the Jews of Nagasaki. However, throughout the War, world Jewry stood on the side of Japan in the hope that it would lead to Russian defeat. The American banker, Jacob H. Schiff, assisted in the floating of the Japanese war loans abroad.¹⁷ Chaim Weizmann, later first president of Israel, wrote in his autobiography that he was wrongly taken by a Japanese chemical student at the laboratory of Manchester University to be a Russian despondent at the news of the naval battle at Tsushima Straits.¹⁸

II Japan's Commitment to Zionism

During World War I, on 2 November 1917, British Foreign Minister Arthur J. Balfour wrote a letter to Lord Rothschild declaring that the British Government favoured "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." After the issuance of this Balfour Declaration, the Zionists took steps to gain world-wide support for it.

The Shanghai Zionist Association approached three Asian nations im-

mediately. Following the endorsements of the Declaration by Siam (Thailand) and China, Japan gave her statement to the Shanghai Zionists via the French Embassy in Tokyo in December 1918.¹⁹ Furthermore in January 1919, by request, the Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, Chinda Sutemi, sent an official letter to Chaim Weizmann.²⁰

Japanese Embassy,
London
6th January 1919

Sir,

In acknowledging the receipt of your Note under date of the 3rd instant, I beg leave to state that I am authorised to make the following declaration in the name of His Majesty's Government.

"The Japanese Government gladly take note of the Zionist aspirations to establish in Palestine a national home for the Jewish people and they look forward with a sympathetic interest to the realization of such desire upon the basis proposed."

I may add for your information that His Majesty's Government had an opportunity in December last to make an identical statement in reply to the representation made on the subject by the Zionist Organisation at Shanghai.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
(Signed) T[sic]. Chinda

Ch. Weizmann, Esq.,
Zionist Organisation,
35-38 Empire House,
175, Piccadilly W.1.

Although deliberately worded, Japan's statement was taken as a letter of support for their cause by the Zionists not only in Shanghai but also in London. With these international endorsements of their aspirations, the Zionist leaders set out to strengthen their campaign at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. In *the Statement of the Zionist Organization regarding Palestine*, which the World Zionist Organization submitted to the Peace Conference, Japan was mentioned along with other governments which approved the Declaration.²¹ In April 1920, four Allied Powers—Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—met at San Remo and formally approved the allocation of mandates in Syria and Lebanon to France and those in Mesopotamia and Palestine to Britain. At this crucial moment, the Shanghai Zionist Association wrote to the Japanese Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya:

At this moment the Supreme Council at San Remo is expected to say the last word in favor of our National aspirations, to which Jews throughout the world look forward with intense eagerness and impatience.

It is indeed a pleasant opportunity for the Asiatic Powers to identify themselves closely with the rejuvenated Asiatic Nation, now, happily

destined to be restored to its ancient glory, and re-affirmation of your future policy towards the latter will be hailed with intense joy and satisfaction by the whole House of Ancient Israel.

Earnestly hoping that your Excellency will direct a few lines on the eve of the realization of our two thousand year old dreams, and assuring your Excellency of our profound aspiration for the benefits which you already conferred on our Nation.²²

In response to this, Uchida wrote a reply:

Accept my hearty congratulations on the achievement of your two thousand year old aspirations. Have followed with keen interest the progress of your movement for which you now enjoy the well-earned reward.²³

This constituted another Zionist diplomatic victory. On 24 July 1922, the League of Nations finally confirmed the mandates for Palestine and other areas. But two months earlier the Shanghai Zionists had resumed a more active approach to the Japanese Government. Nissim E.B. Ezra, Honorary Secretary of the Shanghai Zionist Association and Editor of *Israel's Messenger*, asked the Japanese Foreign Minister to support the Palestine mandate in his two letters. In the letter dated 9 May, Ezra, looking back to the past support of Japan, wrote as follows:

...The delay in the ratification of the Palestine Mandate by the League of Nations has, unfortunately, greatly impeded the reconstruction work in Palestine and gave an opportunity to the agitators to advocate for [*sic*] the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration...it would be a graceful act on the part of your Excellency to give further public expression of your sympathy with and interest in the cause of the Jewish people and your approval of the terms of the Palestine Mandate...I earnestly hope that your Excellency will kindly cable instructions to your Ambassador at Genoa [*sic*].²⁴

Also in his second letter of 19 May 1922, Ezra took the matter up again:

I earnestly hope that your Excellency will again give further public expression of your sympathy with and interest in the cause of the Jewish People insofar as they relate to the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine...Hoping that your Excellency will kindly favor me with a reply and thanking you.²⁵

In reply to these letters, Foreign Minister Uchida gave an instruction to Funatsu Tatsuichirō, Japanese Consul-General in Shanghai to deliver a sympathetic reply to Ezra. Funatsu extended the full support of the Japanese Government to Ezra on 8 June 1922:

...I am directed to inform you that, in conformity with your request in the former to the effect that the Japanese Delegation makes a sympathetic declaration on behalf of the establishment of the Jewish National Home when the ratification of the terms of the Palestine Mandate shall be discussed at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations now in session at Geneva, Japan will consider this project favourably, should the question be placed before the meeting for deliberation.²⁶

Four days later, the Shanghai Zionist Association decided to inscribe the name of Foreign Minister Uchida in the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem.²⁷

On 4 March 1923, the ceremony for the presentation of the Diploma of the Jewish National Fund on which the name of Count Uchida was inscribed, took place in Shanghai. Japanese Consul-General Funatsu was present on behalf of Foreign Minister Uchida at the ceremony. *Israel's Messenger*, the organ of the Shanghai Zionist Association reported how the ceremony was carried out.²⁸

At the ceremony, Rabbi W. Hirsch expressed the thanks of Zionists to Japan for the support which she had accorded to the Jewish cause and hoped that Japan would continue to befriend the Jews. He also hoped that Japan would never permit the taint of anti-Semitism to besmirch her escutcheon.²⁹ Next N.E.B. Ezra delivered an address and presented the Diploma to Funatsu. In his speech Ezra stressed the achievement of Foreign Minister Uchida as follows:

Count Uchida, like other statesmen of our time has taken interest in Zionism. His first public sympathy with our aims was made known in a special cable message to our Association when the Council at San Remo had ratified the Balfour Declaration. Our Association had approached Count Uchida on various occasions in the past with a view to befriend our cause and were always given a cordial reception...³⁰

In reply, Funatsu said that Japan had all along been friendly disposed towards the Jewish Nation and had not hesitated to endorse their national aspirations.³¹

Again, in 1927, on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, Ezra approached the Japanese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tanaka Giichi asking that Japan would again issue a renewed expression of her sympathy with the objects of the Declaration and thereby demonstrate her goodwill towards Jewish National aspirations in Palestine.³² Tanaka instructed Yada Shichitarō, Japanese Consul-General in Shanghai, to transmit his reply:

...hearty congratulations on the steadily progressing organizations of the Zionists and on the remarkable advancement of the Jewish nationalistic institutions which they have achieved in Palestine.³³

III Zionist Emissary to East Asia

In 1920, the Central Executive of the World Zionist Organization in London, fully realizing the urgent necessity of establishing networks with the Jewish communities of East Asia, decided to send a mission there. Immediately after the San Remo Conference, Israel Cohen, Director of Publicity and Propaganda of the Organization, was asked by the Executive to pay a visit to the

Middle East, Australia and the Far East.³⁴ Israel Cohen was then in charge of conducting the correspondence of the Zionist Central Office and the Jewish National Fund with the Zionist organizations in English-speaking countries.³⁵ Cohen accepted the invitation, and left London on 15 May 1920, continuing his journey until 8 May 1921. The whole account of his mission is contained in his two books.³⁶

The purpose of the mission was, in the words of Israel Cohen, "to expound the import of the Balfour Declaration, that pregnant creation of the Great War, and to invoke material support for its practical realization."³⁷ He carried letters of introduction from such Jewish and English notables as Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, Lord Rothschild, Max Nordau, Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Herbert Samuel, W. Ormsby-Gore, and Sir Alfred Mond.³⁸ What the Zionists expected from Cohen's mission was revealed in some of these letters. Weizmann's letter details the expectations of the Zionist leadership:

I am very grateful to you for accepting the important mission of proceeding the Jewish communities of Australasia, India and the Far East. I attach the very greatest importance to the spreading of the knowledge of the recent remarkable developments in our Movement among these influential Jewish communities...The Jews of the British Empire are, and may well be, proud of the great role they will be called upon to play in the development of their ancient homeland. The responsibility for the success of this enterprise will rest in the first place, on English-speaking Jewry and I trust you will receive the unstinted support of all those Jews who are privileged to come in contact with you and to hear from you an account of the successes achieved by the Zionist Organisation in recent times.³⁹

Lord Rothschild also said in his letter to Cohen dated 9 May 1920:

Now that the Mandate for Palestine has been accepted by Great Britain, the time has come for the whole Jewish community the world over to forget their differences and to work together with all possible zeal to make the reestablishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine a reality and a triumphant reality.⁴⁰

Israel Cohen held meetings, raised funds for the restoration of Palestine and propagated Zionism all over the East. Stirred by the events following the Balfour Declaration, the Jewish communities in the East received the first Jewish envoy with considerable enthusiasm.

In Shanghai, with the largest and strongest Jewish community in East Asia, the Jews warmly greeted their guest from a distant land. The Shanghai Zionist Association devoted seven pages of the December 17th issue of *Israel's Messenger* to Cohen's visit. The dominating element of the Jewish community of Shanghai was originally Sephardic, but after World War I many Russian Jews fled and settled in Shanghai. The Jewish population now amounted to 1,000 in all. There Cohen attended several meetings and gave speeches on

such topics as "The British Mandate for Palestine." At one meeting he raised about £7,000 (the price of those days) for the restoration of Palestine.⁴¹

On 3 December, Cohen set sail for Japan, landing at Kobe on 8 December.⁴² At first he intended visiting Nagasaki where an old Jewish community existed. However, as its Jewish community had dwindled to four or five souls and it would have taken several days to go to Nagasaki, he decided to go directly to Kobe.⁴³

Cohen stayed in Japan from 8 to 18 December. He held two meetings for the local communities at Yokohama and Kobe.⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, no records exist of his meeting any Japanese Government officials, since the Shanghai Zionists had already maintained relations with the Japanese Foreign Ministry. But he called upon the British Ambassador in Tokyo, Sir Charles Eliot and discussed the question of possible emigration of Russian Jews from Yokohama to Palestine.⁴⁵ Generally speaking, the Japanese people were indifferent to the visit of the Zionist envoy. The reports of the Japanese newspapers showed a remarkable lack of knowledge of the Jews and Zionism. For example, when he gave his first speech at Yokohama, some Japanese newspapers printed sensational reports. *The Tokyō Asahi Shimbun* carried the headline: "A meeting of the Jews was held at the office of Yokohama Jewish Association to consider the establishment of the Jewish Kingdom."⁴⁶ *The Kokumin Shimbun* had the following headline: "The judgement for the reconstruction of the lost Nation at the meeting; Mr. Cohen, Jewish royal family, weeping for the Holy Mission."⁴⁷ In spite of those headlines, Israel Cohen seemed to be slightly disappointed at finding little enthusiasm on the side of the Jews in Japan. In a report submitted to the Zionist Executive, he stated that he "cannot expect that Japan will be a reliable productive source of support," because of the small and unsteady Jewish population and their less than enthusiastic attitudes.⁴⁸ He left Japan on 18 December 1920 sailing for Pusan. From Pusan he continued his journey to Seoul, Mukden, Changchun, Harbin, Tientsin, and Peking.⁴⁹ Finally he returned to London on 8 May 1921.

This mission was a memorable achievement for the Zionist organizations not only in the West but also in the East, as noted by Cohen some thirty years later: "...it was the first time in Jewish history that the emissary of a great organization accomplished such an extensive and peculiar journey for the Jewish national cause, and likewise the first time that several of the communities included in the itinerary were ever addressed upon that subject."⁵⁰

IV Japanese Army Officer in Palestine

As lamented by Israel Cohen, there was no special concern about things Jewish in Japan. It was the turbulent events accompanying the close of World

War I that were finally to awaken an interest amongst the Japanese.⁵¹

With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, Russia left the war in the spring of 1918. Japan and other allies intervened in the Revolution, dispatching their expeditionary forces to Siberia. In the course of this intervention, Japanese army officials in Siberia were confronted with the influx of refugees fleeing from the Revolution. Among them the White Russians were sometimes hostile to the Jews because the former believed that the Revolution was caused by the Jewish conspiracy. Large volumes of anti-Semitic literature, including the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, were brought into Japan by those who were sent to Siberia as interpreters and made contact with the White Russians. Some of the Russian experts, who were attached to the expeditionary forces, felt a kind of nostalgia towards the Russian Empire largely because of being educated at Russian schools. Therefore, such false stories as "Jewish peril" and "Jewish conspiracy" easily spread among the Japanese officials dispatched to Siberia.⁵² Although most anti-Semitic publications were translated from foreign sources⁵³ and did not cause a stir among the general public in Japan, the Japanese authorities became more cautious of the increasing numbers of Jewish refugees in Manchuria.

An early expert on Jewish affairs was Major Yasue Norihiro, who served in Siberia largely due to his Russian ability. Yasue, one of the first army-consigned graduates of the Russian course of the Tokyo School for Foreign Languages, was interested in the Jewish problem through his army service and collected relevant materials.⁵⁴ After returning to Japan, he began to publish articles including "Yudayakoku Kensetsu Undo (The Movement to Establish the Jewish State)" under a pseudonym.⁵⁵ Some of his articles were noticed by War Minister Shirakawa Yoshinori. Owing to the recommendation of General Shirakawa, Yasue, then in the General Staff, was dispatched by the War Ministry to Palestine and Europe for a fact-finding mission on the Jewish problem.⁵⁶

Major Yasue boarded the Hakone Maru at Yokohama, set sail for Palestine on 24 October 1927,⁵⁷ accompanied by Rev. Sakai Shogun,⁵⁸ on 21 December they arrived at Jerusalem.⁵⁹ They toured all over Palestine and met British and Jewish figures including the British High Commissioner Lord Plumer, Chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive Frederick H. Kisch and Chief of the Arab Department of the Zionist Executive Chaim M. Kalvarisky.⁶⁰ In Jerusalem they were guided by a Jewish journalist working for *Haaretz*, Moshe Medzini, who showed them the development of the Jewish settlements.⁶¹ On 15 January 1928, they left Jerusalem and went to Beirut.⁶² There they parted, on their ways to Europe with Sakai going to Rome.⁶³ Upon his return in May 1928, Yasue published several books on his travels.⁶⁴ In these books he ad-

mired the rapid development of the Jewish communities in Palestine and related his strong impression of the elated nationalist consciousness of the Jewish people.

Throughout the 1920s, however, it is doubtful to what extent the Japanese and the Zionists understood each other. Anti-Semitic literature still continued to appear in Japan. It was not until the 1930s that the Jewish problem came up to the surface again in the context of international politics.

On 18 September 1931, the Manchurian incident occurred and was followed by the establishment of Manchukuo in the following year. Japan's position in the international community definitely deteriorated due to these strong measures, leading to her isolation and finally to her withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933. On the other hand, the new influx of Jewish refugees into Manchuria from Central Europe increased after the establishment of the Third Reich. Moreover, the economic difficulties of Manchukuo were not improved. It was under these conditions that the Japanese military authorities and the Far Eastern Jews approached each other and tried to use each other's influence. Colonel Yasue as an expert on Jewish affairs came to the fore again.⁶⁵ Such developments will be discussed on another occasion.

NOTES

- 1) David Solomon Sasson, *A History of the Jews in Baghdad*. London, Alcuim Press, 1949, Chapter 33.
- 2) Quoted in Löwenthal, "The Jews in China: An Annotated Bibliography" *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 24 (1940) p.168-169.
- 3) Stanley Jackson, *The Sassoons*. London, Heinemann, 1968. p.23-25.
- 4) Nissim E.B. Ezra, "Shanghai" *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2.
- 5) For the Jewish community of Kaifeng, see the following literature: W.C. White ed., *Chinese Jews*, 2nd ed. New York, Paragon Book Reprint, 1966; H. Kublin (compiled with an introduction), *Jews in Old China: Some Western Views*. New York, Paragon Book Reprint, 1971; H. Kublin (compiled with preface and introductions), *Studies of the Chinese Jews: Selections from Journals East and West*. New York, Paragon Book Reprint, 1971; R. Löwenthal, *op. cit*; E.I. Ezra with a preface by A. Sopher, *Chinese Jews*. Shanghai, The China Press, 1926; D.D. Leslie, *The Survival of the Chinese Jews: The Jewish Community of Kaifeng*, *Monographies du T'oung Pao*, Vol. 10. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1972; M. Pollak, *Mandarins, Jews, and Missionaries: The Jewish Experience in the Chinese Empire*. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980; N. Robinson, *The Jewish Communities of China in Dissolution*, mimeo. New York, Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress, November 1954.

- 6) See Maruyama Naoki, "Chūgoku no Yudayajin Shakai to Shionisuto Undō (The Jewish Communities and Zionist Movement in China)" *Shōgaku Tōkyū* 33: 2-3 (December 1982).
- 7) *Ibid.*
- 8) The first issue of the *Israel's Messenger* appeared on 22 April 1904. Later it was issued monthly. After the interruption from February 1910 to September 1918, it reappeared on 27 October 1918 lasting until 17 October 1941. Many of the *Israel's Messenger* are kept at Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem. All the issues from 1904 to 4 April 1907 are microfilmed at the National Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- 9) For the early settlements of the Jews in Japan, see Herman Dicker, *Wanderers and Settlers in the Far East*. New York, Twayne Publishers, 1962, Chapter 6; Hyman Kublin, "Star of David and Rising Sun" *Jewish Frontier*, April 1958; M.I. Swartz, "Jews in Japan" *Hadassah Magazine*, October 1975; Albert Parry, "The Jews in East Asia" *Asia*, September 1939; S.D. Lessner, "The 'Whiteley' of Nagasaki" *Israel's Messenger*, 11 August 1905.
- 10) M.I. Swartz, *op. cit.*
- 11) N.E.B. Ezra, "Nagasaki" *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 9.
- 12) *Ibid.*
- 13) S.D. Lessner was unanimously elected president. *Ibid.*
- 14) Nagasaki was mentioned as one of the newly established Zionist organizations in the report submitted to the Seventh Zionist Congress. *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VII. Zionisten-Kongresses und des Ausserordentlichen Kongresses in Basel*. Berlin, Juedischer Verlag, 1905. p.38. The president was S.D. Lessner. *Israel's Messenger*, 18 May 1906. It was affiliated with the Federation of American Zionists. *Israel's Messenger*, 16 November 1906.
- 15) Some 30,000 Jewish soldiers fought in the Russo-Japanese War. The legendary Jewish hero, Joseph Trumpeldor was injured at Port Arthur, taken prisoner and interned in Japan. See Meron Medzini, "Jewish Nationalist in a Japanese Prison Camp" in *Historical and Social Studies, Studies on Japanese Culture*, Vol. 2. Tokyo, Japan Pen Club, 1973. See also Dicker, *op. cit.*, p.163, and "An Episode of Port Arthur" *Israel's Messenger*, 14 July 1905.
- 16) Parry, *op. cit.*; Swartz, *op. cit.*; Harold Soref, "Jewish Life in Japan Today" *The Jewish Chronicle*, 4 October 1957; "Nagasaki Synagogue for Sale" *Israel's Messenger*, 9 February 1923.
- 17) In April 1906 when Schiff arrived in Japan, he was received by the Emperor Meiji and invested with the insignia of the Order of the Rising Sun. Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters*, Vol. 1. New York, Doubleday, Donan and Company, 1928. p.227-228.
- 18) Weizmann wrote, "[The Japanese] came over to me and silently pressed my hand

in condolence," while he noted that "it was not until some years later that I felt able to explain to my acquaintances what my real feelings had been about the Russian defeats." Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, Vol. 1. Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949. p.102-103. This Japanese student was not identified, but probably he might be Matsubara Koichi of Tokyo Imperial University (later professor of chemistry). Courtesy Peter Lowe of Manchester University.

- 19) The letter from Roger Maugras, Charge d'Affaires of French Embassy to E.S. Kadoorie in Shanghai, says: "... the Imperial Government informs me, and I have the honour to advise you, that it is pleased to learn of the ardent desire of the Zionists to establish in Palestine a National Jewish Homeland, and that it will accord its sympathy to the realization of your aspirations." *Three Asiatic Powers Complete World Endorsement of the Jewish National Movement*, foreword by the Hon. Charles S. Lobingier. Shanghai, Shanghai Zionist Association, 1919 (National Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem).
- 20) The Ambassador's initial was typed as "T" instead of "S", probably due to a typing error. Copy, Z4/2039, Central Zionist Archives (C.Z.A.), Jerusalem. The same copy is also kept at Weizmann Archives, Rehovot. For more details, see Maruyama Naoki, "Balfour Sengen to Nihon (The Balfour Declaration and Japan)" *Hitotsu-bashi Ronsō* 90: 1 (July 1983).
- 21) Compiled in M.W. Weisgal ed., *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, Vol. 9. Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, 1977. Appendix II, p.395.
- 22) N.E.B. Ezra, Honorary Secretary of the Shanghai Zionist Association to Viscount Uchida, 27 April 1920. Tokyo, Foreign Ministry Archives (F.M.A.).
- 23) Viscount Uchida to Ezra, 12 May 1920, F.M.A.
- 24) Ezra to Uchida, 9 May 1922, F.M.A.
- 25) Ezra to Uchida, 19 May 1922, F.M.A.
- 26) Funatsu Tatsuchirō to Ezra, 8 June 1922, F.M.A.
- 27) D.E.J. Abraham, Vice-President of the Shanghai Zionist Association and Ezra to Uchida, 12 June 1922, F.M.A. See Maruyama, *op. cit.*, note 20)
- 28) *Israel's Messenger*, 9 March 1923.
- 29) This is concerned with the pogroms against the Jews which occurred in Vladivostock in June 1921. For this, N.E.B. Ezra appealed to the Foreign Minister Uchida to protect Jewish life and property in Vladivostock and other areas. Ambassador Ishii at Washington also cabled to Tokyo to take steps to afford protection of life and property to the Jews in Vladivostock. In response to this, the Japanese Consul-General gave the assurances in his letter dated 25 August: "The Japanese Government has decided to take all the necessary measures to forbid further pogroms in Vladivostock" *Israel's Messenger*, 2 October 1921.
- 30) *Israel's Messenger*, 9 March 1923.

- 31) *Ibid.*
- 32) Ezra to Tanaka Giichi, 29 September 1927, F.M.A.
- 33) Yada Shichitaro to Ezra, 2 November 1927, F.M.A. Also *Israel's Messenger*, 2 December 1927.
- 34) Israel Cohen was born in 1879 in a religious family of Manchester and died in 1961. He wrote many books including *Jewish Life in Modern Times* (1914), *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller* (1925), *The Zionist Movement* (1945), *Contemporary Jewry* (1950), and *A Jewish Pilgrimage: An Autobiography of Israel Cohen* (1956). In his autobiography, Cohen noted, "The Executive lost no time in deciding that among the urgent measures to be taken was the despatch of emissaries to North and South America and other parts of the world to expound the implications of the Balfour Declaration and to raise the funds that were necessary. They invited me to undertake a mission for this purpose to Australasia and the Middle and Far East." I. Cohen, *A Jewish Pilgrimage: An Autobiography of Israel Cohen*. London, Vallentine, Mitchell, 1956. p.173. (Hereafter *JP*)
- 35) *Ibid.*, p.80-81.
- 36) Cohen, *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller*, and *A Jewish Pilgrimage*, Chapters 11 and 12. His itinerary included the Netherlands, Hungary, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Japan, Korea, Harbin, Peking, Singapore, Indonesia, Burma, and India.
- 37) Cohen, *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller*. London, John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1925. p.vii. (Hereafter *JJT*)
- 38) *Israel's Messenger*, 17 December 1920.
- 39) Weizmann to I. Cohen, 13 May 1920, Israel Cohen Papers, A213/12, C.Z.A.
- 40) Rothschild to Cohen, 9 May 1920, Israel Cohen Papers, A213/12, C.Z.A.
- 41) *The North-China Herald*, 4 December 1920.
- 42) Israel Cohen to Mrs. Cohen, 8 December 1920, Israel Cohen Papers, A213/12, C.Z.A.
- 43) Cohen, *JJT*, p.136, see also *JP*, p.81 in which he mentioned that the Nagasaki Jewish community had passed away before he visited Japan in 1920.
- 44) The formation of a Zionist Society was formally resolved upon at the occasion of Cohen's meeting in Kobe, but owing to the fluctuating character of the little Jewish colony this failed to come into being. Cohen, *JJT*, p.154.
- 45) Cohen, *JJT*, p.148; *JP*, p.200.
- 46) *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, 13 December 1920. See also Dicker, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
- 47) *Kokumin Shimbun*, 13 December 1920.
- 48) Cohen to the Zionist Executive of the Zionist Organization, dispatched from Harbin, 27 December 1920, Z4/2619, C.Z.A. The Jewish population of Japan numbered 1,000 in 1922, while that of China numbered 12,000 in 1921. *American Jewish Yearbook*, Vol. 35, 5694, p.248.

- 49) Harbin was the largest Jewish center in Northern East Asia with a Jewish population of 10,000. In Tientsin there were three hundred Jewish souls. Cohen, *JP*, p.162 and 183.
- 50) Cohen, *JP*, p.175.
- 51) Hyman Kublin, "Star of David and Rising Sun" *Jewish Frontier*, April 1958.
- 52) Professor Kobayashi notes that "Jewish peril" was a by-product of Japan's intervention into Siberia, because most proponents were those involved in the Siberian expeditionary forces. Kobayashi Masayuki, *Yudayajin (The Jews)*. Tokyo, Seishin Shobō. p.238-280.
- 53) The Japanese Foreign Ministry published a booklet, *Yudayajin Mondai (The Jewish Problem)*, No. 3 of the Research Series of European Political Situation on 15 June 1922, which was translated from German sources. F.M.A.
- 54) Yasue Norihiro was born in 1888 in Akita and one of the twenty-first graduates of Military Officers' School. His classmates included Ishiwara Kanji and Higuchi Kiichiro. In 1938 Yasue became Chief of the Special Service Agency at Dairen. After the Soviet invasion into Manchuria in August 1945, he was taken to Siberia and died there in 1950. I am grateful to Yasue's eldest son, Yasue Hiroo, for permitting me to use his unpublished paper on his father.
- 55) Hōkōshi, "Yudayakoku Kensetsu Undō" *Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin*, 10 April 1926.
- 56) General Shirakawa was much interested in the Jewish problem. According to General Shiōden Nobutaka who wrote a lot of anti-Semitic books, War Minister Shirakawa supported and encouraged him to do research on the Jewish problem, especially their international influence. Shiōden Nobutaka, *Shiōden Nobutaka Kaikoroku (Memoirs)*. Tokyo, Misuzu Shobō, 1964. p. 201 and 206. Also Sakurai Chuon, *Taishō Shirakawa (General Shirakawa)*. Tokyo, Shōgakukai, 1933. p.577-578. In April 1932, when Shirakawa was at the Emperor's birthday ceremony in Shanghai, in his capacity as Commander of the Shanghai Expeditionary Force, a bomb exploded, injuring him and later led to his death.
- 57) Yasue Hiroo, telephone interview, 7 September 1984.
- 58) Rev. Sakai Shōgun (1874-1940) was educated in the United States of America. He was sent to Siberia as an interpreter. He wrote many anti-Semitic books such as *Yudaya Minzoku no Daiimbō (Great Conspiracy of the Jewish Nation)*, while he advocated "Nichi Yu Dōoron (The Japanese and the Jews are of the same origin)." For Sakai, see Miyazawa Masanori, *Yudayajin Ronkō (On the Jewish Arguments)*. Tokyo, Shinsen Sha, 1973. Sakai's ambivalent attitude towards the Jews seemed to be typical among the Japanese Jewish experts.
- 59) Yasue Hiroo, telephone interview, 7 September 1984.
- 60) Yasue Norihiro, *Kakumei Undō o Abaku (Inside the Revolutionary Movement)*, Tokyo, Shōka Sha, 1931. p.33, 59, and 70.
- 61) Moshe Medzini, personal interview, 8 December 1981, Jerusalem. Moshe Medzini

was born in 1897 in Irkutsk and died in 1983 in Jerusalem. He stayed in Japan for six months on his way to Palestine in 1919. He was asked by Kisch to guide the Japanese visitors largely because of his early Japanese experience. Further, said Medzini, "Yasue understood Russian well, while Sakai spoke only English. Thus I must translate for these two gentlemen."

- 62) Yasue Hiroo, telephone interview, 7 September 1984.
- 63) Strangely Sakai's name is not mentioned in Yasue's books.
- 64) Other than *Kakumei Undō o Abaku*, for example, *Yudayakoku o Miru (A Visit to the Jewish State)*, and *Yudaya no Chi o Fumite (A Trip to the Jewish Land)*.
- 65) Yasue was promoted to Colonel in 1937.

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要約

1920年代における日本のシオニスト運動への対応

丸山 直起

日本人がユダヤ問題と遭遇した最初の機会は、日露戦争のときであった。この戦争において、国内のユダヤ人迫害を強めるロシア帝国の敗北を望むアメリカのユダヤ系銀行家ジャコブ・シフは日本の戦債募集に協力した。しかし、日本、ユダヤ双方の関心が本格的に高まり、相互のアプローチが試みられるには第一次大戦まで待たなければならない。1917年11月イギリス政府はバルフォア宣言を発出、ユダヤ人のナショナル・ホームのパレスチナ建設に賛意を表明した。翌年日本政府もこれにならった。一方ロシア革命の結果、多くの難民が満州の各地に流入し、革命に干渉するシベリアの日本軍と接触、これを機に反ユダヤ文献が多数日本国内へ持ち込まれることとなる。1920年から21年にかけて世界シオニスト機構が東アジアにミッションを送るのは、これまで軽視されてきたオーストラリア、アジアのユダヤ人社会に対し、シオニズムを広め、あわせてパレスチナのナショナル・ホーム建設のための資金を募ることにあつた。同時にシベリア出兵後ユダヤ問題の重要性を認識した日本の陸軍省は、参謀本部の将校をパレスチナ、ヨーロッパへ派遣し、事情調査にあたらせたのである。極東とりわけ上海のシオニストは日本の影響力を重視したが、日本がユダヤ問題に真剣に取り組むのは、むしろ1930年代に入り、満州事変、満州国の建国、日本の国際連盟脱退と続く日本の国際的孤立、さらには満州国の財政状態の悪化から国際的ユダヤ世論とりわけアメリカのユダヤ人の影響力に活路を求めようとし、一方のユダヤ側もナチス・ドイツの登場後のユダヤ難民の救済のため、日本に接近する必要に迫られたことに端を発する。