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THE FACES OF JAPANESE ANTI-SEMITISM. “A BUBBLE ANTI-SEMITISM”?

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ABSTRACT

The beginnings of Japanese-Jewish relations date back to the second half of the 19th century. Even though back then the Japanese treated the Jews and other foreigners in Japan equally, over time, a distinctive sense of separateness developed in relations between the Japanese and the Jews. Although those relations were developing in terms of Japanese culture, the elements of European culture were also influential, among the others, prejudices, stereotypes, reluctance, and even hate towards the Jews that developed over the centuries. The Japanese quite quickly learned about numerous views on the Jews that had an impact on their society. It is worth mentioning William Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice* or famous in Europe *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. The influence of an anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda should be treated in a different way; even though it had an impact on the perception of the Jews by the Japanese, it did not lead to the development of hate and its culmination: the acts of terror against the Jews. Starting from the 1930s, anti-Semitic publications were published in Japan and, with they are still published from time to time in the contemporaneous times. Since anti-Jewish polemics of some of the representatives of the Japanese world of science and culture from the 1960s and 1970s were rather unnoticed, what was the content of anti-Semitic Japanese publications from the second half of the 1980s – publications that attracted attention of the Western media?

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The first signs of the economic crisis in Japan could be observed in the second half of the 1980s. The crisis resulted in activating mechanisms which have had a long tradition in European culture; however, this tradition was much shorter and less developed in Japanese culture. To be particular, it comes to anti-Semitism which was motivated by economic and financial factors.

An author of a book *A History of the Jews* Paul Johnson relied on source texts. He proved that over the centuries, on account of their financial and business abilities, the Jewish community was perceived as a kind of capital investment that could be confiscated as the need arises under sometimes ridiculous pretences. In the medieval England: “The secular lords tended to treat the Jews as personal property, to be farmed; not only their incomes but, in case of necessity, their capital too were there to be plundered”¹.

In the context of this paper, the attitude of Pope Innocent III is remarkably interesting. “He had argued in his Lateran decrees that, because of their unscrupulous use of money power, the Jews had reversed the natural order – the free Christian had become the servant of the Jewish slave – and government must restore nature by imposing disabilities”².

P. Johnson emphasises that social and political transformations which took place in the next centuries did not change the attitude towards the Jewish community. „In the 1870s anti-Semitism was fuelled by the financial crisis and scandals (...)”³. In the next decades the crisis was still perceived in the light of “the Jewish responsibility” and this perception was most popular during the times of the Third Reich.

Western experts tried to explain the reasons behind Japan’s economic crisis in the 1980s. In their analyses they raised some crucial issues.

In the late 1980s, on the heels of a three-decade long “Economic Miracle”, Japan experienced its infamous “bubble economy” in which stock and real estate prices soared to stratospheric heights driven by a speculative mania. Japan’s Nikkei stock average hit an all-time high in 1989, only to crash in a spectacular fashion shortly after, causing their real estate bubble to collapse and throwing the country into a severe financial crisis and long period of economic stagnation known as the “Lost Decades”⁴.

¹ P. Johnson, *A History of the Jews*, Harper Perennial, New York 1988, p. 205.

² S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century*, Hermon, New York 1966, p. 108, [in:] P. Johnson, *A History...*, p. 214.

³ Paul Johnson, *A History...*, p. 395.

⁴ Jasse Colombo, *Japan’s Bubble Economy of the 1980s*, June 4, 2012, <http://www.thebubblebubble.com/japan-bubble>, accessed: 20 January 2017.

Richard Werner analysed the policies of the Japanese banking sector. This is what he said:

The Bank of Japan announced that it was abandoning direct credit controls in 1982. Since then, the monetary policy literature on Japan has focused on formal policy tools, such as interest rates. This paper presents empirical research on the actual implementation of monetary policy by the Japanese central bank. The emphasis is on the period in the mid- to late-1980s when monetary policy was stimulatory and real-estate-related lending expanded rapidly, and the period in the early 1990s, when asset prices fell, resulting in the subsequent banking crisis and recession⁵.

This was echoed by another expert, Clyde Prestowitz. "Prestowitz was referring to the gravity-defying rise of Japanese stock and real estate values during the late 1980s. That phenomenon is now known as the 'bubble economy', and its collapse has left Japan economically crippled"⁶.

In his book *The Bubble Economy: Japan's Extraordinary Speculative Boom of the '80s and the Dramatic Bust of the '90s*, Christopher Wood discusses problems of the Japanese banking sector:

During the "Bubble Economy" Japanese banks borrowed extensively in the Euro-dollar markets, 186 trillion Yen by June of 1990. Despite being the largest banks in the world these Japanese banks were having to pay a premium in their borrowing, the so-called "Japanese rate"⁷.

And:

Japanese banks opened American branches which earned very low rates of return, about 2 percent on equity. They did most of their lending in the peak of the American real estate market and consequently suffered extensive losses when property values declined and loans went bad. By 1992 the Industrial Bank of Japan (IBJ) and the Long-Term Credit Bank

⁵ R. A. Werner, *Monetary Policy Implementation in Japan: What They Say, versus, What They Do*, "Asian Economic Journal", June 2002, [www. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com), accessed: 20 January 2017.

⁶ B. Lindsey, A. Lukas, *Trade Policy Analysis NO. 3*, July 31, 1998, <https://www.cato.org/publications/trade-policy-analysis/revisiting-revisionists-rise-fall-japanese-economic-model>, accessed: 20 January 2017.

⁷ Ch. Wood, *The Bubble Economy: Japan's Extraordinary Speculative Boom of the '80s and the Dramatic Bust of the '90s*, The Atlantic Monthly Press, New York 1992, <http://www.sjsu.edu>, accessed: 20 January 2017.

(LTCB) each had three to four billion dollars of loans on property that was “under water”; i.e., not meeting payments⁸.

Brink Lindsey and Aaron Lukas stated a very important point in relation to the Japanese economy, namely that “(...) Japan was not playing by the normal rules of Western capitalism, it was useless to employ rules-based trade negotiations to open the Japanese market”⁹.

Uno Masami was a main ideologist of Japanese anti-Semitism in the 1980s and an author of two significant books on the subject of the Jews as a threat to the world order (these books will be described later in this paper). He pointed out the aspect of disparity among Japanese and European policies concerning financial management. An article written by U. Masami was entitled *Scenario for Great Depression Produced by Jews. Uno Masami's Inside Report on Jews*. It was published in a periodical “Big Man” (ビッグマン) in September 1987. In his article, he analysed the economic situation in the world in the context of Japanese problems. U. Masami wrote: „A Japanese banker discussed this problem with the European bankers and their unanimous opinion was that the money would never be paid back and the Japanese bankers could not understand why they had formed such a view. This proves that the European bankers see the realities objectively while their Japanese counterparts see them with ‘optimistic observation’ based on Confucianism”¹⁰.

It is not the first time in the Japanese history that the so-called Western world and the Japanese differently assess “the Japanese problem”. In order to better understand the Japanese people who act upon the principles of Confucianism, it is crucial to mention an example which could be utterly incomprehensible to the representatives of the Western world. A characteristic feature about Japan’s political rhetoric from the times of the so-called “Meiji Restoration” was (and which was proved by the above example, still is) emphasizing the primacy of spirit (Asian spirituality) over matter (Western materialism). This attitude was supposed to be the guarantee of victory. An explicit example of such an irrational attitude – from the European point of view – is an explanation of the reasons why Japan entered the war with the USA.

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ B. Lindsey, A. Lukas, *Trade Policy...*

¹⁰ U. Masami, *Scenario for Great Depression Produced by Jews. Uno Masami's Inside Report on Jews*, “Big Man”, September 1987, p. 176.

Japan likewise put her hopes of victory on a different basis from that prevalent in the United States. She would win, she cried, a victory of spirit over matter. America was big, her armaments were superior, but what did that matter? All this, they said, had been foreseen and discounted. "If we had been afraid of mathematical figures", the Japanese read in their great newspaper, the "Mainichi Shinbun", "the war would not have started. (...) Even when she was winning, her civilian statesman, her High Command, and her soldiers repeated that this was no contest between armaments; it was a pitting of our faith in things against their faith in spirit"¹¹.

The Japanese response to the problems of the banking sector was the publication of several books. It was the authors' intention to denounce the real causes of the crisis, for which – as they were trying to prove – the Jews were responsible. The Jews, who had a secret plan to take over the world. Higashi Kiyoshi, a reporter of the "Sekai Nippo", wrote in his article *Books on "Judea" are selling well; A main pillar is a historical view on the world conquest; A mysterious persuasion on "Japan's Fate"*: "Books on Judea are selling well. This move stands out in publication circles, where 'Books are not selling' has become a set comment. Why Judea now?"¹²

Among those best-sellers were: *How to Read the Hidden Meaning of Jewish Protocol* by Yajima Kinji, *The Miracles of "Tobler" Which Will Conquer the World* by Teshima Yuro or *Make Money with Stocks the Jews Aim at* by Itagaki Hidenori. All these publications were mostly focused on "historical views on the Jewish conspiracy" showing it from many perspectives and relying on solid sources, such as *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*.

U. Masami – who was mentioned above – was the director of the Osaka Middle East Problems Research Center and the one who stirred up the most controversy and many polemics both in the West and in Japan. It is also worth mentioning that in the paper *Antisemitism, An Annotated Bibliography*, there is a following note: "The Christian pastor Uno Masami has been a leading anti-Semite"¹³. This note will have an important meaning for many Western commentators who will try to prove that U. Masami's anti-Semitic attitude was influenced by the eternal antago-

¹¹ R. Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, Secker & Warburg, London 1947, p. 22.

¹² H. Kiyoshi, *Books on "Judea" are selling well; A main pillar is a historical view on the world conquest; A mysterious persuasion on "Japan's Fate"*, "Sekai Nippo", February 16, 1987, p. 12.

¹³ S. S. Cohan (ed.), *Antisemitism, Volume 17: An Annotated Bibliography*, K. G. Saur, München 2004, p. 304.

nism between the Jews and the Christians which has had a long tradition in European culture and whose source was the Bible that described the life of Jesus who was crucified and killed by the Jews.



A photograph of a counter in one of Tokyo's bookshops with publications devoted to the Freemasons and the Jews – the so-called “Jewish corner”.

In April 1986 U. Masami published his first anti-Semitic book *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Sekai ga Miete Kuru* translated into English as *One Begins to Understand the World, When One Comes to an Understanding of Judea* (translated also as *If You Understand the Jews, You Will Understand the World* – this version is most frequently used by the authors of critical publications). In November 1986 U. Masami's second book about anti-Semitism was published. The title of the book was *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Nihon ga Miete Kuru* translated as *One Begins to Understand Japan, When One Comes to an Understanding of Judea* or *You Will Understand the Japan If You Understand the Jews*.

In his book *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Sekai ga Miete Kuru* (also translated as *World with Understanding of Jewish Power* or *To Understand the Jews is to Understand the World*), U. Masami leaves no doubt about his real intent.

The titles of the subsequent chapters introduce some kind of systematics that helps the reader to understand the essence of the problem: Chapter I – *Expensive Yen, Cheap Dollar is Designed By Secret Jewish Power*, Chapter II – *Korea’s Rapid Growth is Arranged*, Chapter III – *The US is a Jewish Country*, Chapter IV – *Japan-US Relation is Japan-Jew Relation*, Chapter V – *Jews Made Peace With China Again*, Chapter VI – *Japan, 1990s Scapegoat*¹⁴.



The advertisement of U. Masami’s book *If You Understand the Jews, You Will Understand the World* (*Yudaya ga Wakaru to Sekai ga Miete Kuru*). The phrase which corresponds to the title of his first book is also the title of his second book *You Will Understand the Japan If You Understand the Jews* (*Yudaya ga Wakaru to Nihon ga Miete Kuru*). Another phrase that was intended to convey the current situation is: “During the times when the Jews had a hold over plunging Japan”.

U. Masami reminds us about the USA’s activities of an economic nature and explains the real intent of them by trying to determine a logical sequence of events. He claims that after World War II the USA’s strategy was to change Japan into “a factory of the world”: the Japanese manufactured good products, whereas the Jews took over the distribution and made profits of it¹⁵. What’s more, the USA wanted to invest in China and South Korea in order to destroy Japan.

¹⁴ U. Masami, *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Sekai ga Miete Kuru*, Tokuma Shoten, Tokyo 1986.

¹⁵ Similarly, the Chinese currently claim that their reason for performing such actions is the disrespect towards them from the Western world. The Chinese nationalists accuse the West, primarily the USA, of treating China as a source of cheap labour force and limiting their access to the newest technologies.

U. Masami explains the existing – in his opinion – correlations between the USA and the Jews in the subsequent chapters. The USA is being controlled by the Jewish power in political, economic and cultural fields. The conclusion which can be drawn is that “the one that controls the USA controls the world”. In his book *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Nihon ga Miete Kuru*, U. Masami tries to elaborate on his thesis and justifies it:

6 out of 15 million of Jews live in the USA, the mecca of the world’s capitalism. The USA is politically and economically run by groups of powerful monopolistic capitalists. Japan is different when it comes to the management of the nation. The USA’s five biggest monopolistic capitalist groups are under Jewish capital:

1. Rockefeller Group
2. Morgan Group
3. Du Pont Group
4. Mellon Group
5. Citicorp and New York Financial Group

The scope of power of this East Coast Jewish establishment can be understood by the fact that the world’s leading enterprises are under their control. (...) And all 13 enterprises are associated with five big Jewish ‘zaibatsu’¹⁶.

While trying to explain to his readers the essence of danger connected with the “Jewish conspiracy”, U. Masami referred to the Japanese historical experiences¹⁷. He reminded contemporary Japanese people that “The Rus-

¹⁶ U. Masami, *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Nihon ga Miete Kuru*, Tokuma Shoten, Tokyo 1986, p. 109–110.

¹⁷ Between 1918 and 1922 (during the so-called “Siberian Intervention”) Japanese Army officers had a chance to learn about the reports of the so-called “White Russians” who escaped the October Revolution and forced their way through Siberia. They claimed that the October Revolution was orchestrated and led by the Jews – Lenin, Trotsky and others who tried to implement the Jewish plan to subjugate the world and to establish Jewish control. Their stories made an enormous impact on Japanese Army officers who stayed in Siberia. The Japanese, influenced by Russian stories, connected, for the first time, the Jewish activity with communism. Anti-Semitism became synonymous with anti-communism. A Polish Japanologist Jolanta Tubielewicz wrote that “Hate towards communists was the common element” of divided and conflict-

sian revolution was led by Lenin and Trotsky. Both of them were Jews. The Jews living in Russia and abroad also supported the revolution. (...) The conclusion which can be drawn is that the Russian revolution was, in reality, a revolution led by the Jews who wanted to obtain freedom. In fact, the most important members of the revolution were Jews"¹⁸.

It must be pointed out that similar accusations were present in Japanese-Jewish relations after 1940. They were made by the Japanese nationalists and the representatives of the army of the pro-German faction.

In July 1941 a general officer Shiōden Nobutaka¹⁹ published his theses on aspects concerning the Jewish activity in the context of Japanese-American relations. The most important part of his theses was to prove that the Jewish masonry tried to take over the world.

In September 1942 an article of one of the high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Shiratori Tōshio – was published in a Japanese newspaper "Yomiuri – Hochi". In his article, he explained the causes of the war with the USA:

The aim of the Jews is to establish hegemony over the world, by the grace of "Jehovah" they racial god, in order to force mankind to worship that deity. (...) This scheme is absolutely incompatible with our imperial institution, which seeks to bring the world under one roof. (...) The present war is therefore the struggle between the Japanese and the Jews²⁰.

In December 1942 the editorial of the daily "Tokyo Shinbun" charged President Roosevelt with being the "running dog of Jewish imperialists, who form the general headquarters of world Judaism"²¹.

ed Japanese political elites. Jolanta Tubielewicz, *Historia Japonii*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1984, p. 410.

¹⁸ U. Masami, *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Nihon...*, p. 167,

¹⁹ Shōden Nobutaka (1878–1962) was a general officer. He graduated from the Imperial Japanese Army Academy in 1899. He served in the Imperial Guard and stationed in France as a military attaché from 1914 to 1918. At the beginning of the 1920s he served in the Special Operations Department of the Kwantung Army. During his stay in France he came into contact with the case of Captain Alfred Dreyfus – a French officer of Jewish background who was accused of spying for Prussians. Over the years, it was proved that the accusations were forged. He was one of the main propagandists of the Jewish conspiracy theory. In 1936 he translated *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*.

²⁰ B.-A. Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese: The Successful Outsiders*, Charles E. Tuttle, Tokyo 1992, p. 174.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

The above examples show that U. Masami's theses were nothing new during the times of crisis in Japanese-American relation and that was pointed out by the commentators of the events which took place in the second half of the 1980s.

In the context of the events that took place at the end of the 1930s and led to the war between Japan and the USA, it is worth mentioning U. Masami's opinion on the causes of the war. In chapter IV (*Japan-US Relation is Japan-Jew Relation*) he tried to prove that Japan was forced to attack Pearl Harbor. As a result, the USA managed to unify public opinion, entered the war, liberated the Jews in Europe and defeated Japan – a growing power in the Far East²².

According to U. Masami, a rapprochement between China and the USA was another example of the "Jewish conspiracy". Restoring the diplomatic relations between the USA and China brought reconciliation to the two groups: the American International Jewish Capital and the Chinese Communists. Japan was a common enemy of China and the Jews.

However, U. Masami's remarks on the Jews in the context of the Third Reich's activities and Hitler were most outrageous for the Western commentators and became a direct cause of the attacks from the Western press. In his book *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Sekai ga Miete Kuru*, he wrote: "Hitler was an unlucky man (...). He did not intend to kill the Jews but he did not have another choice"²³.

The above remarks were not the only remarks on the Third Reich's activities against the Jews. U. Masami returned to the problem many times during his public appearances and lectures. David D. Goodman – a professor of Japanese and comparative literature at the University of Illinois at Urban Champaign – decided to analyse U. Masami's statement con-

²² Uno Masami's theses on the causes of the war between Japan and the USA were confirmed in a book *Day of Deceit. The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbour* by Robert B. Stinnett. He served in the US Navy from 1942 to 1946. Based on declassified documents related to those events he said that the main tenet of Roosevelt's politics was to provoke the USA to commit an open act of aggression in 1941. The reason for such measures taken by the US government was the opposition of the vast majority of US society who were against the US involvement in the war in Europe. The US political and military communities were aware of the fact that the possible victory of Nazi Germany in Europe would be a real threat to the USA. On no account did Robert Stinnett's conclusions and remarks point out the US measures taken in relation to the "Jewish conspiracy".

²³ U. Masami, *Yudaya ga Wakaru to Sekai...*, p. 198.

cerning Nazi activities. He pointed out one of the most controversial parts of that statement.

He idealizes Hitler and Stalin and says that the Holocaust is the Jewish propaganda. He argues strenuously that while they did in fact kill millions of Jews, Hitler and Stalin did so only as a last resort, in self-defense, to protect their nations from the Jews threat. Uno concludes that if Japan is to survive, it should emulate Hitler and devise policies that will protect of the Japanese "Volk" ("minzoku no rieki" is Uno's phrase) from the insidious Jewish menace. He urges the Japanese to awaken to the fact that they will not understand the world or Japan's place in it until they understand that the principal opposition in the world is not East versus West or North versus South, but the Jews versus the World²⁴.

This poses the question: How did the Japanese react to U. Masami's theses and remarks? However, there is no simple answer to this issue.

In April 1987 a corporate magazine "Petite Saison Seibu" published an advertisement for U. Masami's lecture of June 3, 1987 that took place at Hotel Okura:

Japan is swayed in the great disquieting factors such as the recession due to the high yen value, hollowing of industries, and the fate of capital flew into the United States, as a country with accumulated debts. Mr. Uno, who dynamically grasps the world trend based on his understanding of the world as well as his newly added view on Jews vs. the world, gives advice to those who have just become full-fledged members of the society how to survive the present unsettling time. This is a seminar full of true and flexible ideas specifically planned for the freshmen of the society. Do not miss it²⁵.

A report from one of the scientific conferences with U. Masami's participation appeared in the "Asahi Shinbun" (it was included in the extensive correspondence from March 1987): "[Uno Masami] has become a very popular lecturer". And next:

The hall which accommodates 600 persons was full with salaried men wearing business suits among them some young women who paid 2000 yen for admission ticket. On the platform Mr. Uno explains in Kansai

²⁴ D. G. Goodman, *Japanese Anti-Semitism*, "World & I", November 1987, p. 403.

²⁵ Petite Saison Seibu – April 1987 – Advertisement for M. Uno's lecture of June 3, 1987 at Hotel Okura.

accent Jewish menaces: “Jewish are controlling the United States, Jewish capital is trying to invade Japan”. And the audiences nod in agreement²⁶.

The magazine published opinions of other participants of U. Masami’s lecture: “I deal with Jews and what Mr. Uno Says confirms my impression”. “I recommend my subordinates to read his books”. “There must be a conspiracy behind the current recession caused by the soaring value of the yen. His theory is quite clear and easy to understand”²⁷.

Taking into account information concerning the amount of sold copies of Uno Masami’s books (650 000 – 1 000 000 copies)²⁸, it has to be admitted that his opinions on the Jews concerning conspiracy theories – a Jewish “shadow state” – were very popular among the Japanese. However, we should not forget that U. Masami was not the only author of such publications. We therefore have to make an attempt to explain the reasons of such a great interest in U. Masami’s theories and similar theories of other authors.

Undoubtedly, Japan’s economic problems led to the rise of concern among Japanese society. People expected the explanation of that state of affairs. In April 1987 a conversation took place in the editorial office of the “Tokyo Keizai”. The experts discussed the current situation of Japanese society. Introduced as “K – a foreign news correspondent” said: „ (...) now the situation in Japan is severe because of high value of the yen and most Japanese feel that foreign countries are mounting an attack against Japan”²⁹. But then – the answer to the public demand came. The authors indicated – in a simple and convincing way – the reasons for that state of affairs and explained the causes of Japan’s economic problems often using ingrained thinking patterns and stereotypes. Certainly, one of those stereotypes arose from literature, mainly *The Merchant of Venice* written by William Shakespeare. This 16th century play was translated into Japanese in the 1880s and it was

²⁶ Reported by S. Taiji, *Strange Boom of Business Books*, “Asahi Shinbun”, March 28, 1987, p. 3.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ The number of sold copies is mentioned by D. D. Goodman in his publication from November 1987. He also said that “(...) although Japanese publishers routinely overstate sales in their advertising, even if the number of copies is only half what the publisher claims, sales have still been phenomenal”. – D. G. Goodman, *Japanese...*, p. 401.

²⁹ *Analysis of Jewish Menace Boom*, “Tōyō Keizai Weekly”, April 25, 1987.

first shown to the public in 1883³⁰. Matsufuji Kozue – a leading staff member of the Japan-Israel Women's Welfare Organization and a wife of a former diplomat at the Japanese Embassy in Israel – was convinced that the image of a Jew (Shylock) had an influence on Japanese perception of the Jews. Then the image became a stereotype and finally, in the 1980s it became an inspiring factor in "the literary accomplishments" of authors such as U. Masami. Matsufuji Kozue claimed: "The typical Japanese concept of a Jew is 'The Merchant of Venice' (...) which portrays Shylock, the central figure, as a money-grabbing, ruthless individual. (...) Such a concept of Jews is deep-rooted with the Japanese"³¹.

The analysis of a professor Saido Seiichiro presents this problem as follows:

A large majority of the people read it with the feeling that – "It may be possible to see the world in this way", and I think that just some of the people, who are amateurs of the international situation, believe its contents. When trying to elucidate big changes and complex situations, the general public is made to feel that it understands fully, when some clear-cut views are expressed in a strong tone. I think that in a certain meaning, it resembles the newly rising religious sects. The public jumps to the founder who speaks clearly and simply about complicated things, in the midst of a situation fraught with uneasiness³².

Observing the polemics among the Japanese intellectuals, one need to agree with the opinions of professor Saido Seiichiro that "the amateurs of the international situation" accepted without question anti-Semitic theses; however, the Japanese, who had knowledge about complicated international relations, treated U. Masami's revelations with caution, criticised them and accused him and other authors of certain distortion.

One of the authors of reserved polemics was Araki Nobuyoshi – a senior researcher at Nippon Shinyo Ginko (Japan Long-Term Credit Bank) who said that "(...) it is dangerous to attempt an explanation in terms of movement of only international Jewish capital"³³.

³⁰ Read more on this topic: D. G. Goodman, M. Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind, The History and Uses a Cultural Stereotype*, Lexington Books, Lanham, MD 2000, p. 29–36.

³¹ H. Tomaru, *Japanese Ignorance About Jews Seen at Bottom of Misunderstanding and Lingering Prejudice*, "The New York City Tribune", April 24, 1987, p. 1.

³² Editorial comment by S. Shincho, *Bank of Personnel Are Reading "When You Understand the Jews, You Start to See the World"*, March 16, 1987.

³³ *A last-ditch fight to save the yen; The Jewish capital conspiracy theory*, "Yomiuri Shinbun", January 17, 1987 (Morning Edition), p. 7

A. Nobuyoshi's remarks on the danger to the Japanese banking system posed by Jewish capital indicate that the understanding of U. Masami's opinions on the Jews is rather limited. For people who know the Japanese way of expressing opinions which is one of the most important elements of the so-called cultural code, the statement of A. Nobuyoshi (even though it does not contain clear and visible criticism on U. Masami's theses) indicates that the causes of the crisis do not lie in "the attacks from Jewish capital" that were aimed at Japan. A. Nobuyoshi's remarks disagree with the opinions of U. Masami and similar authors.

Mentioned above S. Taiji – an author of an extensive report on the Jewish threat theories which is the main underlying idea of U. Masami's publications and similar publications by other authors – quoted the statements of two Japanese intellectuals in his article. The statements were an important part of general Japanese polemics. Yamamoto Shichihei of "Yamamoto Shotan" was a publisher of *Japanese and Jews* which became a best-seller in 1970. He assessed the substantive content of the ideas presented by U. Masami: "It is troublesome that books based on neither materials nor evidence are selling. I do not know what kind of a person he is. However, his books will only lead to unnecessary misunderstanding and cause the Japanese people to be looked down on"³⁴.

Itagaki Yuzo – a professor at Tokyo University – was even more determined. This is what he said about U. Masami's books: "He is using the Jews as an excuse for the uneasiness on the future of our economy. His books are so bad that the intellectual level of the Japanese people may even be questioned"³⁵.

Kunihiro Masao was a professor at Sophia University. His opinions were similar to I. Yuzuo's opinions. K. Masao claimed that the popularity of U. Masami's books may have been "(...) another sign of growing Japanese resentment toward America. (...) The resentment finds an immediate outlet in the Jews. (...) Of course not every American is of Jewish descent, but many Japanese erroneously associate Jews with America". And: "[The popularity of U. Masami's books] is simply another sign of the terrible intellectual immaturity of the Japanese reading public"³⁶.

³⁴ Reported by S. Taiji, *Strange Boom...*, p. 3.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ A.P., *Author Says Japan's Woes a Jewish Conspiracy*, "The Mainichi Daily News", April 1, 1987, p. 12.

K. Masao pointed out an important element of the polemics that included U. Masami's theses and that was mostly discussed by the critics who represented Jewish societies and who tried to answer the question whether the anti-Semitic attitude among the Japanese means the reluctance towards the Jews or the USA. It will be discussed in the further part of this paper.

With regard to the assessment of the intellectual level among the readers of U. Masami's books, it is worth mentioning an opinion of Muramatsu Takeshi that was published in "The Japan Times": "As long as many Japanese continue to harbor absurd views of the Jewish people, there is no way the world is going to be seen 'clearly'. This specter now threatens to isolate this country from the world community. Can we afford to let it?"³⁷.

U. Masami's books and his public appearances during which he attacked the Jews and, de facto, the USA were the cause of many publications and appearances of the representatives of the Western world who tried to attack U. Masami and the representatives of the Japanese government (in a more direct manner than the Japanese) for – in their opinion – a lack of decisive response.

An example of such sharp polemics could be an extensive article *Jewish Conspiracy Groundless. Rockefeller a Jew? Never!* written by Herbert Passin – a professor of Sociology at the Columbia University. An article was published in a newspaper "Bungei Shunju". H. Passin thoroughly analysed the substantive content of U. Masami's two books. He focused on accusations formulated by U. Masami against the Jews.

According to the general assumption that "Mr. Uno's conspiracy idea is based on the assumption that the Jewish capital is controlling the world's economy", H. Passin maintained that "This assumption itself is childish and groundless. (...) The outstanding characteristics of Mr. Uno's ideas are that they are not supported by facts. Even if he tries to fortify his arguments they are too weak"³⁸.

In a chapter of his article entitled *Jewish Protocols a Fake*, H. Passin undertakes polemics with U. Masami's ideas concerning *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* treated by him as a source material. An American scientist claimed: "Mr. Uno's ideas stem from the fantasy that the Jews

³⁷ M. Takeshi, *Japan's Nazi Specter*, "The Japan Times", June 8, 1987, p. 1.

³⁸ H. Passin, *Jewish Conspiracy Groundless. Rockefeller a Jew? Never!*, "Bungei Shunju", April 1987.

control the world. It is all right for Mr. Uno to indulge in fantasy for his personal pleasure, but problems arise when he tries to systematize his fantasy. (...) In such case the simplest explanation is the conspiracy. In America and Europe traditionally there is an idea of the 'Yellow Peril'. Even today there exists a cheap conspiracy idea of 'Japan & Co'. However, do those who believe in the Jewish conspiracy have right to laugh off the conspiracy by 'Japan & Co?'". H. Passin finished his critique referring to the author in the next sentence: "I believe that anyone who entertains such a wild idea as the Jews conspiracy to control a world is ignorant of the world history and the reality"³⁹.

U. Masami's theses in which he tried to prove that „[the fact that] 6 million Jews were massacred is a Jewish propaganda”, especially the question: „Can such atrocities be condoned if the massacred Jews numbered only 3 million or 1 million?” evoked the most emotions in H. Passin. His answer was as follows: "I believe that such racist ideas are very dangerous. This is a way to discriminate against a people by national or racial reasons. This was exactly how Hitler's mind worked. (...) I was flabbergasted to learn that a man holding such racist ideas does exist in Japan and that book written by him is a bestseller at 5000,000 copies". At the end he added: "Mr. Uno's book is uncivilized. I hope that Japanese readers will realize who the real conspirator is. Japan's reputation is at stake. It won't do any good to Japan if 'You understand Mr. Uno You Can Comprehend Japan'"⁴⁰.

Similar accusations and charges formulated against U. Masami were present in almost every article written by H. Passin, regardless of profession. It should be pointed out with scientific objectivity that in spite of the fact that professor Yamaguchi Yasushi undertook substantive polemics with accusations concerning the promotion of racism – to be particular, Nazi-like version of racism (it will be discussed in a further part of an article) – there were many Nazi elements that were present in a discussion on the situation in Japan, especially the "Jewish conspiracy". An unknown organization with a name that can be translated as "An Association of Natural Socialists, a Study Group on National Philosophy" hung out a Nazi swastika flag in a Tokyo district Ginza. It displayed anti-Semitic and nationalist slogans.

³⁹ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁰ *Ibidem.*



A slogan on the left: “Protect Japan from an influx of foreigners. Expose the plots of the Freemasons!!” A slogan on the right: “The ringleaders responsible for the sudden rise in land prices are international industrialists trying to take over Japan’s industry. Protect Japan from the international Jewry”. “An Association of Natural Socialists, a Study Group on National Philosophy” signed the slogans.

In an official letter of 13 March 1987 to the Prime Minister of Japan Yasuhiro Nakasone, two American politicians: a member of the U.S. Congress Charles E. Schumer and a U.S. senator Alan Specter had manifested their discontent and dissatisfaction several days before H. Passin’s article was published. They adamantly demanded that the Prime Minister should make more decisive effort to stop the spread of open anti-Semitism in Japan and – according to them – false opinions, particularly: “Japan’s recent eco-

conomic problems are a result of a conspiracy by ‘international Jewish capital’. (...) We call on you – they wrote – to denounce this blatant anti-Semitism”. The most interesting sentence in the whole letter is probably: “We acknowledge that you cannot be held directly responsible for what citizens of Japan are writing or reading. And we appreciate Japan’s commitment to freedom of speech. However, the raw anti-Semitism now circulating in your country must not go unchallenged. If you do not act quickly to condemn these offensive notions, your silence may well be regarded as acquiescence or even approval. Racial and religious prejudice may begin with extremists, but the cancer can spread unless a nation’s leaders speak out unequivocally”⁴¹.

The next day the Japanese newspaper “Asahi Shimbu” reported the actions of American politicians in an evening edition. A Washington correspondent Iwamura informed about the letter written by a Democratic congressman Ch. E. Schumer and a Republican senator A. Specter. Iwamura did not shrink from citing both politicians: “(...) that they came to know that anti-Jewish books are selling well in Japan by reading an article ‘Bestsellers in Japan. Anti-Jewish Books’ written by Clyde Heberman, Tokyo correspondent and published in ‘The New York Times’”. With regard to the adamant demand directed to the Japanese Prime Minister, the newspaper explained that Y. Nakasone’s tardiness “(...) would mean that the Prime Minister himself either gave a tacit approval or is in agreement with such ideas”⁴².

The Prime Minister Y. Nakasone responded to their letter, although he did it in a way that was not expected by the authors. On 28 March the “Asahi Shimbu” published information concerning the stance of the Prime Minister: “(...) it was decided that the Government would send replies to the letter written by American politicians via the Embassy in Washington. It is said that on 21 March an instruction was given to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to prepare a reply: The Prime Minister stands for neither racial discrimination nor opposition to human rights, and the Government has no intention to instigate such things, either. However, there is a freedom of publication”⁴³.

A few days earlier Y. Nakasone gave an interview for “The New York Times”. He spoke about the rise of popularity of anti-Semitic moods in

⁴¹ A copy of the letter written by American politicians comes from private collections of Rabbi Michael Schudrich.

⁴² Iwamura, *Indiscriminate publications of anti-Jewish books are not permitted, US politicians send a letter to the Prime Minister Nakasone*, “Asahi Simbun”, March 14, 1987

⁴³ “Asahi Shinbun”, March 28, 1987, p. 3.

Japan ("the US and other countries are worried that anti-Semitism is becoming more popular in Japan") and as a head of government took a stance on the accusations raised by the Western mass media. He claimed:

1. Like democracy of your country, the freedom of thought and expression is guaranteed as a fundamental human right by the Japanese Constitution. Government cannot comment on each writing, but the mentioned publications don't represent our national morality. Also, they don't represent a view of our government.
2. Japanese government and Japanese people never agree with any racism, racial discrimination, and racial or religious prejudice. The attitude will never be changed. From this attitude we oppose calumny and prejudice against specified races or nations including anti-Semitism⁴⁴.

With regard to the official responses of the representatives of Japanese governmental clubs to the representatives of the U.S. government, it is worth mentioning one response given to the Embassy of the United States in Tokyo by virtue of its dissimilarity (to some extent) to Y. Nakasone's stance which was also a stance of many scientific and political communities.

On 31 March 1987 the "Soka Gakkai"⁴⁵ published an answer of Tomiya Akiyama who was a director of the International Office. It was the answer for the letter of 18 March, written by the representatives of the Embassy of the United States in Tokyo – James H. McNaughton and Blair P. Hall Jr. The letter was related to "(...) the recent publications criticizing the Jews that appeared in Japanese journalism and book, that were reported in 'The New York Times' and other US and European newspapers and periodicals". In a response director T. Akiyama wrote:

1. There is a phenomenon in the Japanese political, journalistic and economic arena to hedge the causes of the high-valued yen and the resultant economic stagnation, to place the blame on someone else, other than the USA, and to call for "Who are the bad guys" and "Who are the villains".
2. There have appeared from time to time publications both periodicals and books, in the past 40 years since the end of WWII, criticizing and condemning Jews as the villains, even as a menace. Actually, such "criti-

⁴⁴ *Interview with the Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone*, "The New York Times", March 12, 1987.

⁴⁵ The Soka Gakkai International Office of Public Information situated in Tokyo, Japan provides information and answers in response to questions from the media and researchers.

cisms” started to appear in the pre-war days of the 1930s during the war, and persistently in the post-war days.

3. I must say the roots are very deep; this phenomenon seems to be based on a sense of Japanese exclusivism, self-centeredness, nationalism, perhaps even latent fascism, and anti-communism.
4. So far in the post-war years there have appeared many assertions as to, for example, who conspired to let Japan wage war against the Allied Powers, who are the real powers behind the international petroleum capitals, and behind international finance. These assertions were mongered by the Japanese nationalists, who purposefully, intentionally, and to our regret, circulated these ideas fairly well in the minds of the Japanese public. There seems to be a good deal of “fertile soil” for such assertions, as books of this kind seem to be widely read by Japanese readers, especially in business.
5. It is very well known that there have appeared a great many prominent Jewish people, and Nobel Laureates in the fields of literature, philosophy, science, medicine and so on. There are mixed feeling of respect and jealousy, and at the same time, even a reaction of perceived menace.
6. The recent statements made by Prime Minister Nakasone on “The Japanese race” and former Education Minister Fujio on “Korea” were the manifestation and expression of the Japanese exclusivism that has existed since the feudal and Meiji eras. If one carefully examines them in comparison with the former (i.e. condemnation of the Jews) one can see that both stem from the same basis⁴⁶.

The above explanations are important due to the fact that they are similar to the statements of Japanese historians and political scientists who often expressed their discontent for the theses of the supporters of the “Jewish conspiracy” with regard to the political and economic actions of the Western powers against Japan in the first half of the 20th century. One of the examples is the statement of Y. Yasushi who was a professor of Political Sciences at the Osaka Municipal University: “ [U. Masami’s books] contain claims like ‘a strong yen is the first step in the Jewish take-over of Japan’; ‘an internationalization’ is a demand by ‘the international capital’; ‘a trade friction’ is a new ‘ABCD encirclement’ ”⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Tomiya Akiyama’s answer to Messrs James H. Mcnaughton and Blair P. Hall, “Soka Gakkai”, Tokyo, March 31, 1987.

⁴⁷ Y. Yasushi, *A boom of anti-Jewish publications. A new appearance of nationalism? Background: Worry over the economic danger of a linkage with a feeling of superiority*, “Asahi

The above issues and disputes concerning "Japanese anti-Semitism" were discussed by non-Jews. (H. Passin claimed to be born in a Jewish family but he also added that he was not a Jew but an American). It is worth mentioning the opinions of the Jewish community that were sometimes entirely different and pointed out the elements ignored by the Western commentators. Professor Yoram Dinstein – a pro-rector of the Tel-Aviv University claimed that "(...) he found the expressions of anti-Semitism in Japan both mystifying and disturbing. He added that "(...) anti-Semitism in Japan was different to the historical anti-Semitism of Europe and the West. It was nonetheless a dangerous phenomenon"⁴⁸.

Professor Ben Ami Shillony, another Jewish scientist whose field of specialization is Japanese and Asian history – commented on U. Masami's books:

The books are a re-hashing of the anti-Semitic books which were published in Japan during the War. In actual fact, anti-Semitic sentiments in West Europe have points in common with its anti-Japanese sentiments too. In West Europe, a conspiracy by the Japanese people is being talked about with about the same degree of reality as the domination of the world by the Jews. I find it difficult to understand why Mr. Uno is falling in line so easy-going with anti-Semitism in West Europe, but I am not worried. In Japan, anti-Semitism will not develop into a social movement. It is an academic fad, and I am sure the Japanese people will be reading entirely different books next year⁴⁹.

Chaim Herzog, the president of Israel, expressed his opinion on the anti-Semitic moods in Japan in an interview published in "The Japan Times": „ (...) more Japanese tourists should visit Israel to diminish anti-Semitism in Japan. (...) Anti-Jewish sentiment was widespread in Japan because 'only 150 Jews' live here and Japanese people know 'very very little' about Israel. (...) Many Israelis respect Japan because of efforts by some Japanese during World War II to help Jews escape persecution in Europe"⁵⁰.

Ch. Herzog was not the only representative of the Jewish community whose comment on the current events was related to the history of Japa-

Shinbun", April 8, 1987. "ABCD encirclement" was one of the most important elements of the Japanese propaganda of 1940s. It was series of embargoes against Japan by foreign nations, including America, Britain, China, and the Dutch.

⁴⁸ *Racial Prejudice in Many Nations*, "The Australian Jewish News", April 3, 1987.

⁴⁹ *Resembles Newly-Risen Religious Sect*, "Shukan Shincho", March 16, 1987.

⁵⁰ *Israeli says travel could diminish anti-Semitism*, "The Japan Times", February 28, 1987, p. 3.

nese-Jewish relations and reminded the facts that testified about the Japanese sympathy and the willingness to help the Jews who lived in Europe during “Nazi nights”. Numerous authors reminded the activity of Japanese consul Sugihara Chiune, and even the Japanese government’s plans of the 1930s to settle hundreds of thousands Jews in the Far East, as a part of the so-called “Fugu Plan”⁵¹.

It does not mean that the Jewish intellectuals and politicians did not condemn U. Masami’s actions and actions of other authors who published anti-Semitic papers and books.

In April 1987 Charles Chi Halevi – a publicist from “The Chicago Tribune” advocated a boycott of Japanese products by American Jews⁵². Michael Schudrich who served as Rabbi of the Jewish Community of Japan from 1983 to 1989 “(...) was particularly critical of U. and his books, calling them ‘lies and garbage’”⁵³. In April 1987 Walter J. Citrin who was a chairman of the Jewish community in Japan said: “We are very upset by U. Masami’s remarks in Japanese publications, as well as his books”⁵⁴.

In the atmosphere of opposition and outrage – in contrast with the aggressive statements of many Western commentators – W. J. Citrin and Joseph Shulam – a religious activist and a co-founder of the Netivyah Bible Instruction Ministry were surprised at U. Masami’s attitude and his publications. Joseph Shulman wrote in a report on his trip to Japan from 27 April to 11 May: “There are many anti-Semites in the world publishing books which express their anti-Jewish feelings; the difference in this case is that I knew Mr. Uno personally, and the impression I had of him was that he is a friend of Israel and the Jewish people. The report that he had written an

⁵¹ “Fugu Plan” was developed in Japanese governmental circles at the beginning of the 1930s. The aim was to establish Jewish settlements in Manchuria. According to the Japanese governmental plans, establishing major Jewish colonies would economically enhance this region due to Jewish bank capital and intellectual potential. The plans were met with the approval and interest of Jewish communities. Read more on this topic: M. Hoborowicz, *The Selected Aspects of Jewish-Japanese Relations. The Face of Japanese Anti-Semitism*, “Security Dimensions: International & National Studies, Scientific Journal”, January 2016, no. 15, pp. 169–173.

⁵² Ch. Chi Halevi, “The Chicago Tribune”, April 28, 1987, [in:] D. G. Goodman, *Japanese...*, p. 407.

⁵³ Ch. Betros, *Japanese Being Taken Advantage Of*, “The Asahi Evening News”, June 23, 1987, p. 6.

⁵⁴ H. Tomaru, *Japan’s Jews Worried About Popularity Anti-Semitic Books and Lectures*, “The New York City Tribune”, April 15, 1987, p. 6.

anti-Semitic book did not fit the image I had of him. In addition, Mr. Uno center in Osaka had helped Netivyah, who I am affiliated with, financially and we did not want to be associated with an anti-Semite. An additional reason was that work posed a real problem because of Mr. Uno's friendship with Mr. Begin and Mr. Kadishai of the Israeli government"⁵⁵.

W. Citrin mentioned many times during numerous interviews his close and friendly relation with U. Masami. He tried to answer the question why a person such as U. Masami unexpectedly started to spread anti-Semitic views. He said: "I don't know whether there is anybody behind it, but is obvious that is a money-making proposition"⁵⁶.

Assuming that the population of Japan in the 1980s was approximately 128 of million people and the population of Tokyo – 27 million people⁵⁷, the number of U. Masami's sold copies of a book that ranged from 600 000 and 1.3 million (this amount is a matter of dispute and treated as a marketing gimmick of a publisher), in statistical terms, was not disturbing. For the Jews living in Japan and having any relation with this country, the number of the sold copies and especially the number of readers was disturbing.

The reason for popularity of anti-Semitic publications among the Japanese was sought in "(...) a very small number of Japanese people [that] are interested in Jews and come to the synagogues" as claimed W. Citrin. He added: "A very small proportion of Japanese know who Jews are. This is a danger". Rabbi M. Schudrich shared a similar opinion as W. Citrin: "Most Japanese have little knowledge or understanding of what Jews and Judaism are about"⁵⁸.

Due to the fact that "a little knowledge or understanding of what Jews and Judaism are about" were responsible for the rise of anti-Semitic moods, the representatives of the Jewish communities put forward particular solutions that would help to prevent similar situations in the future. One of the proposals was broadly defined education of Japanese society. The aims of that plan were presented by W. Citrin: "We have to help [the Japanese] to put into perspective that we are a very ancient people

⁵⁵ J. Shulman, *Report on Japan Trip from April 27 to May 11, 1987*. An original report comes from private collections of Rabbi Michael Schudrich.

⁵⁶ "The New York City Tribune", April 15, 1987, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Data by <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Dziesiec-najwiekszych-aglomeracji-swiata-1950-2015>, accessed: 20 January 2017.

⁵⁸ H. Tomaru, *Japanese Ignorance...*, p. 2.

with a venerated religious and cultural tradition, and that we are not a secret cabal controlling the world's press and financial community"⁵⁹.

D. Goodman believed that the measures that are taken should have a broader scope: "A Jewish center in Tokyo would have far-reaching influence beyond Japanese shores. Japan is the cultural leader of Asia that other Asian societies strive to emulate. Uno Masami's books have already been translated in Korean, and there is nothing to prevent the spread of the anti-Semitic contagion to other Asian nations. To fight anti-Semitism in Japan and to improve Japanese understanding of the Jews would be an effective first toward combatting anti-Semitism throughout Asia"⁶⁰.

These were not the only proposals. D. Goodman put forward a number of political, economic and social solutions that on the one hand would allow relieving tension between Japan and the West, especially the relation with the USA, but on the other hand would ensure mutual understanding of important cultural and economic elements that would eliminate similar situations in the future. Otherwise: "Further escalation of the US-Japan trade war, through boycotts and protectionism will be counterproductive"⁶¹.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the phenomenon of "Japanese anti-Semitism" from the perspective of several years. We need to answer the question: What was the political and social meaning of this unexpected rise of anti-Semitic moods in the second half of the 1980s? A Tokyo correspondent Lisa Martineau wrote an article *Bizarre bestsellers* that was published in May 1987. She wrote: "The Japanese, it should be said, are not anti-Semitic. During World War II the Nazis tried to persuade them to kill the Jews captured in conquered Manchuria: they refused. In Hiroshima, there is a monument to the victims of the Holocaust"⁶².

Rabbi M. Schudrich shared similar opinions in 1987. Looking back from today's vantage point, he makes similar assessments of those events: although anti-Semitic publications were published in Japan over the course of the next decades of the 20th century, actually, the Japanese were not and are not anti-Semites. He claims that during his work in Japan he encountered maybe 10–15 anti-Semites. Japanese anti-Semitism was purely verbal and had very limited extent. Anti-Jewish demonstra-

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 1.

⁶⁰ D. G. Goodman, *Japanese...*, p. 408.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² L. Martineau, *Bizarre Bestsellers*, "The Economist", May 24, 1987, p. 13.

tions were organized by the Japanese nationalists who received a great deal of attention by the media. A few people who attended them encircled the synagogue in Tokyo and shouted some anti-Semitic insults. The vast majority of Japanese society who had a little or no knowledge on Jews treated them in the past and treats them now as representatives of the Western world – foreigners. Den Fujita – the chairman of McDonald's Japan – said in 1987: "The Japanese don't like foreigners, any foreigners"⁶³. Similarly as other representatives of Jewish society, Rabbi M. Schudrich tried to answer the questions: What caused the rise of anti-Semitic moods and why did U. Masami start his anti-Jewish campaign? Even though U. Masami said officially: "I believe Jewish conspiracies are everywhere, only we don't realize them. But the true aim of my books is to solve the lost national confidence of the Japanese"⁶⁴, during his private conversation with Rabbi M. Schudrich in his office in Tokyo he admitted that money from the sales of his books (numbered in hundreds of thousands of dollars) was of a great importance.

Rabbi M. Schudrich mentioned that this "Japanese anti-Semitism" could sometimes even bring a smile to one's face. A certain Japanese man who – as he claimed – represented business communities, and was influenced by U. Masami's books, asked for a meeting with Rabbi M. Schudrich in order to make the Jews a proposal via him. Since U. Masami and other authors claimed that the Jews tried to take control over the world, people represented by the Japanese businessman would be interested in taking part in the world government.

⁶³ L. Martineau, *Jewish plot to destroy Japan*, "The Guardian", March 18, 1987. Complicated Japanese relations with foreigners have a long tradition in Japan. This tradition goes back to the end of the 16th century when Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1536–1598) took first steps to limit contacts with foreigners – mostly Christians – and thereby isolate Japan. His successor Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) started a large-scale action to expel Christian foreigners from Japan in 1614. In the second half of the 19th century the Japanese were forced to terminate their isolation policies which resulted in a strong reluctance towards foreigners. This reluctance will later dominate also in our times but with varying intensity. An expression of reluctance towards foreigners was a slogan written along with a Nazi swastika. It was an appeal to the authorities to protect Japan from foreigners. At the beginning of the 21st century discussions on Japanese-Jewish relations will have a different meaning as a result of demographic problems and connected with them economic problems that Japan has faced recently. Read more on this topic: M. Hoborowicz, *Imigracja – szansa czy zagrożenie?*, „Kultura Bezpieczeństwa. Nauka – Praktyka – Refleksje”, no. 22 (2016), pp. 168–180.

⁶⁴ Reported by S. Taiji, *Strange Boom...*, p. 3.

Therefore, the main question is still to be answered: Whether or not “Japanese anti-Semitism” in the 1980s was in its essence “a bubble anti-Semitism”? The analysis of the presented documents indicates that the answer to that question should be affirmative. Yes, it was “a bubble anti-Semitism”. As a confirmation of this opinion, I am going to quote the words of Brian Daizen Victoria – a Zen master, philosopher and a student of Kyodan – Zen Yasutani Roshi who analysed the issue of the anti-Semitic attitudes in Japan. He wrote:

Japanese anti-Semitism has always been superficial. It has been a putrid flower with shallow roots, springing from a cultural aversion to the nations of individual freedom and social equality, rather than from the grotesque, age-old rationale that ignited European pogroms⁶⁵.

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⁶⁵ B. Victoria, *Yosutani Roshi: The Hardest Koan, Tricycle*, “The Buddhist Review”, vol. 9, no.1 (1999), p. 67.

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