

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and Japan A Brief History

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Introduction

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (hereafter RCK) has been celebrated as one of the “Founding Fathers” of European integration more in Japan than in contemporary Europe. This unique situation in Japan is understandable; his mother Mitsuko was a celebrated Meiji-era born woman, who has become a legend for Japanese xenophiles. There are many books, plays, TV series on Mitsuko. A recent example is the solo-play by Ms Kazuko Yoshiyuki, which was performed also on the 100th anniversary of RCK’s birthday in Gstaad in 1994. Another recent example is the girly comic (*manga*) by Waki Yamato published in 1996, entitled “Lady Mitsuko”. This “Mitsuko” legend has not only affected Japanese women, but also Japanese historiography on European integration; almost every textbook on the EU begins with RCK’s Paneuropa, which might be rather exceptional in contemporary Europe.

However, RCK himself is not paid as much attention in Japan as his mother is. Nowadays, some interesting aspects of the relations between RCK and Japan are almost forgotten; that is, for example, RCK’s influence on Japanese policy toward Asia in prewar Japan, and his relations with Dr. Kajima, the former prime minister Hatoyama, and Sôka-gakkai in postwar Japan.

My presentation today deals with those aspects of Euro-Japan relations and their influences on both sides.

1. RCK’s reception in prewar Japan

1) Morinosuke Kajima

Morinosuke Nagatomi (later Kajima) was born in 1898 as the fourth son of a rich landowner’s family in Ibogawa, Hyogo (which is famous for its *sômen*). He graduated from the Imperial University of Tokyo and entered the diplomatic service in 1921. He was posted to Berlin as a cadet diplomat between 1922-25. On the ship going to Europe, he met Seiichi Kajima, who would

be his father-in-law some years later.

In Berlin, his main tasks were to gather and analyze information on German politics. He happened to read the article of RCK (*Pan-europa: Ein Vorschlag*) in the *Vöössische Zeitung*, and reported its content, with excitement, to the ambassador, Kumataro Honda. Ambassador Honda seemed uninterested in the article, but he surprised Morinosuke with the words, “I know Richard. I knew the Coudenhove-Kalergis when I was posted to Vienna. I will let you meet him, if you want to.” When RCK visited Berlin some time later, Ambassador Honda arranged the meeting between Morinosuke and RCK at his residence. Morinosuke was quite excited not just by talking with RCK, but also with his wife Ida Roland. Morinosuke was not just moved, but almost felt admiration for RCK. Morinosuke wrote an article entitled “New Aristocracy” published in February 1925, which was inspired by RCK’s book *Adel*.

Just before coming back to Japan in 1925, Morinosuke visited RCK in Zell am See, central Austria. According to Morinosuke, RCK told him, “ I will organize Pan-Europe; you shall organize Pan-Asia. One day when our tasks are accomplished, then we, Pan-Europe, will present Indonesia to you for our friendship.”

When Morinosuke arrived in Japan, he had almost finished translating *Pan-europa* into Japanese. Though he had some difficulty in finding a publisher for the translation, he finally managed to publish it in 1926 from the Japanese Association for the League of Nations.

About the same time, he got married to Ume Kajima. He was posted at the Embassy in Rome between 1926-8, and after coming back to Japan, he quit the diplomatic service and ran for the House of Representatives in 1930. He advocated “Pan-Asia” during the election campaign, but nobody in the Hyogo 4th constituency understood what he said. After the bad defeat, he became active in his family enterprise, Kajima-Gumi, which he managed to make into one of the biggest construction companies in Japan. He also got a doctorate from the University of Tokyo for his thesis on diplomatic history and worked as a commentator for international affairs from time to time on the national radio or in journals.

Ironically, RCK and Morinosuke went the opposite way from that time. In 1938, the headquarters of Pan-European Union was assaulted and occupied by Nazis, and RCK was forced to go into exile in the USA in 1940. On the other hand, Japan became an ally of Nazis Germany in 1938. Morinosuke tried to influence Japanese policy toward East Asia, first as a commentator, and he entered the Konoe government in 1942. Until then, his Pan-asian concept had been more influenced by German “Lebensraum” ideology than RCK’s Pan-europa. I can’t tell at this moment if Kajima knew about RCK’s activity in exile, or if RCK knew about Kajima’s activity, as I haven’t found any documents so far. However, the letter exchanges between RCK and Kajima in the post-war era strongly suggests that both sides lost contact completely.

2) Others

The publishing of the translation of *PanEuropa* was made possible partly because two prominent scholars on international law had helped Morinosuke: Hikomatsu Kamikawa at the Imperial University of Tokyo, and Kazuo Matsubara at Tohoku University. (After World War II, Kamikawa, together with Kajima, founded the Japan Institute for International Affairs.) Curiously though, both scholars were rather cautious toward RCK's *PanEuropa*. Kamikawa wrote in 1926, "PanEuropa will do harm to the League of Nations". This negative judgment was due to the fact that positive attitudes toward the League of Nations were dominant among Japanese intellectuals in the 1920s. At the latest in 1933 when Japan left the League of Nations, the tide had changed and scholars like Kamikawa had become more and more nationalistic.

However, Morinosuke's translation attracted some readers even in prewar era, which would influence the reception of RCK after the war.

2. RCK's reception in postwar Japan

1) Ichiro Hatoyama and YUAI (Young Men's Association for Fraternity)

After World War II, another important interlocutor between RCK and Japan appeared; Ichiro Hatoyama, who became the 6th prime minister in postwar Japan. He had been "purged" (banned from holding a public office) by the GHQ (American occupational force) in May 1946, just before he seemed about to be nominated as the prime minister. The reasoning for this purge was not really solid, which was often the case at that time.

The purge lasted more than 5 years. Those were the days of simple life and of deliberation for Hatoyama, as the Japanese saying "Seikô-Udoku" (working as a farmer on sunny days, reading books on rainy days) could best describe. Hatoyama worked as a farmer in Karuizawa, a summer resort which is located about 200 km north of Tokyo. One day, Hatoyama got a book of RCK. This copy of the book, "*Totalitarian State against Men*" reached Hatoyama after a long journey. RCK gave the book to Minister Kikuji Yonezawa in Lisbon, Portugal, in 1940, thanking him for his help in getting a visa out of Europe. Yonezawa gave the book to Shigeharu Matsumoto, who was a famous journalist and later founded the International House of Japan (Kokusai Bunka Kaikan). During his stay in Karuizawa in the summer of 1950, Matsumoto gave the book to Kesazo Ichimura, professor of Waseda University. Ichimura, as a nephew of Keiji Amemiya, a railroad tycoon, inherited vast estates in Karuizawa and opened the Cultural Village in Minamihara, where prominent scholars, intellectuals, and artists share the summer villas. (Nobuyuki Idei, the CEO of Sony, was brought up here as a son of a Waseda University professor.) As soon as Ichimura had a quick look at the book, he decided to recommend the book to Ichiro Hatoyama and cycled to Hatoyama's residence. Ichimura wanted Hatoyama to translate the book and publish it, which would be a rare case for a Japanese prime minister.

Hatoyama's translation of the book "*Totalitarian State against Men*" appeared in 1953, under the title of *Jiyū-to-jinsei* (literally, "Liberty and Life"). Hatoyama was moved especially by its last chapter, "Revolution for Fraternity". He decided to organize a movement for this revolution for fraternity, and he founded YUAI (Young Men's Association for Fraternity) in December 1953. These Association attracted young people who were interested in political activities and skeptical of left-wing movements. The membership amounted to nearly 100,000 at its height officially. In 1954, they had RCK as the honorary president. YUAI members were eager to study RCK's works and soon wanted to invite RCK to Japan. However, their eagerness could not be materialized easily, as the communication between Europe and Japan was tenuous and expensive at that time.

2) Kajima's 'rediscovery'

Kajima had been purged between 1946 and 1951 by GHQ as well. He, with his wife Ume, concentrated on activities for their construction company. He tried hard to modernize the Japanese construction business, and also to get grand state projects, with the help of their connections with prominent politicians. He was really an entrepreneur and made Kajima Corporation one of the biggest companies in Japan. One proof of his entrepreneurship is the Kasumigaseki Building (venue of the conference). At the time of construction of the building in 1965, few people believed that a skyscraper would be possible on a land of earthquakes as in Japan.

Let us come back to RCK and Japan. Thus, Kajima was quite busy in managing his company, and after his purge was lifted, he became a member of the House of Councilors (Upper House) in 1953. Though his wife Ume took over running of Kajima Corporation, Morinosuke became busier as a politician. In 1957 he became the minister for Hokkaido Development Agency in Kishi government. As I mentioned before, most probably, Kajima didn't know RCK's postwar activity until the late 1950s. As YUAI's relation with RCK strengthened, YUAI and Kajima came to know each other, through RCK's suggestion.

Kajima seemed quite surprised to know that RCK was (alive and) so active after World War II. RCK must have been surprised to know that a young cadet diplomat had become a politician and owned the biggest construction company in Japan. In their correspondence in March 1961 (which were the first exchanges after W.W. II), both sides expressed surprise and wanted to see recent photographs. From that time, the old friendship was revitalized and Kajima became eager to publish the translation of RCK's works.

Kajima was also helpful for YUAI's relation with RCK. As he knew that YUAI found difficulty in inviting RCK to Japan, Kajima involved his old friend Yukinori Maeda, the president of NHK (National Broadcasting Corporation). Maeda was a foreign correspondent of Asahi Shimbun in the prewar era and acquainted himself with Kajima in Rome. Maeda himself was inspired by reading Paneuropa and established the Asian Broadcasting Union (a cooperation scheme) in the 1950s. He agreed to Kajima immediately for co-sponsoring RCK's visit to Japan.

3) RCK's visit to Japan

One may ask the reasons why RCK decided to visit Japan in 1967, after some 70 years since he left Japan at the age of 2. Three reasons could be pointed out. Firstly, the situation in Europe: French president de Gaulle's "chaise vide" policy against the EEC in 1965-6. Although RCK was supportive of de Gaulle's European policy, RCK found it more and more difficult to make his activities consistent with de Gaulle's, since European federalists came to regard him as "anti-European". The second factor was the increasing number of Japanese visitors to Europe; as the Japanese economy recovered and grew (traveling abroad was liberalized in 1964), more people could have a chance to visit RCK personally and reminded him of the invitation. The third and most direct reason might be for the Nobel Peace Prize. During his stay in Japan, Otto von Habsburg tried to work on the Nobel Prize committee in Europe. Some parts of RCK's visit to Japan were designed to play up his candidacy.

RCK's two weeks' visit to Japan in 1967 was quite sensational. He appeared twice on NHK's TV programs, and gave a series of lectures in Tokyo, Onomichi, Hiroshima etc. His activities were covered by the media in detail. He became a symbol of European integration (and world peace) and Mitsuko was labeled "Grandmother of the EEC". (Following Maeda's instruction, a famous NHK producer, Naoya Yoshida, made a documentary on Mitsuko and her seven children in 1972, with the most popular actress Sayuri Yoshinaga as "Mitsuko".)

4) Sôka-gakkai

During his stay in 1967, RCK met the president of Sôka-gakkai, Daisaku Ikeda. This meeting was arranged because RCK wished strongly, though Kajima or YUAI were reluctant. RCK was interested in Sôka-gakkai's rapid development, admiring that some religious faith in Japan was growing rather strongly, which would mark a sharp contrast with the European situation. According to RCK, he was struck by Ikeda's strong personality, and most likely, Ikeda was moved by RCK as well.

Sôka-gakkai invited RCK to Japan in 1970. This time NHK, the public broadcasting company, had to keep a distance from the religious organization. Nor were Kajima or YUAI involved. As a result, this second visit to Japan was virtually non-existent in the media. As I couldn't get enough documents so far, I can't tell what happened between RCK and Sôka-gakkai. Nor can I tell how their relations went afterward in detail: reviewing with RCK's archives, however, the relation between RCK and Japan seemed almost monopolized by Sôka-gakkai from 1970 until RCK's death in 1972. In 1971, the comic (*manga*) *Kalergi Haku* (*Count Kalergi*) was published by Ushio publishing, which is affiliated to Sôka-gakkai. This comic influenced the younger generation and therefore had a prolonged effect among Japanese people.

Closing Remarks

Even after RCK passed away, RCK's contribution to European integration has been commemorated from time to time, with "Mitsuko" being one of the favorite heroines of Japanese popular culture. Though mentioned much more frequently in Japan than in Europe, Japanese historiography has not paid proper attention to RCK himself. As "Mitsuko" is often labeled "Grandmother of the EU", RCK's achievements tend to be appreciated only idealistically.

As my presentation today tried to show, the relationship between RCK and Japan was far more complex; from Kajima's introduction of *PanEuropa* in the prewar era, Hatoyama's YUAI in the postwar era and Sôka-gakkai's admiration in the 1970s. These complex aspects need more research; whose results, I hope, will be helpful for the fruitful future of Euro-Japan relations.

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