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"HE WHO STANDS MOST ALONE"

The life and political philosophy
of Osaki Yukio

Douglas T. Kruse Jr.

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"HE WHO STANDS MOST ALONE"

The life and political philosophy of Ozaki Yukio

by

Douglas H. Mendel, jr.

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION WITH INTRODUCTION

Submitted as a master's thesis, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Far Eastern Studies as established by the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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TO

the independent politicians of all nations, and especially the Ozaki Yukios of American politics: Hiram Johnson, Henry Clay, Robert M. LaFollette, George Norris, and William E. Borah.

*

"The strongest man in the world is

He who stands most alone."

Henrik Ibsen,
An Enemy of the People,
Act III.

I. Introduction

A. Purpose and Scope of the study

Aside from the Emperor himself, there is probably no Japanese living today who commands more popular respect and admiration than does Ozaki Yukio 尾崎行雄. It is therefore the purpose of this study to present, in translation, a selection of Ozaki's political writings chosen from the contents of several works spanning the last twenty or thirty years.[1] So little of his writings has been made available to Western readers[2] that the project seems most timely and worthwhile, especially in these postwar years when the United States and other allied nations have undertaken the political democratization of Japan. In Ozaki, we see the personification of Japanese political liberalism. In his life and ideas, therefore, Western readers should be able to discern more clearly the obstacles against which constitutional democrats in Japan have had to struggle since the beginning of the Meiji era.

While Ozaki has been essentially a politician and statesman, his writings and interests have ranged widely outside the narrow internal political scene to include such major fields as public education and international relations. We are delimiting the scope of our translations here to the Japanese internal political area because it is in that area that Ozaki has had greatest personal experience and acclaim. We shall try to present the essence of Ozaki's writings on the subjects of a) Japanese political psychology, b) Japanese party and constitutional developments, and c) the true nature of constitutional, democratic politics.

We shall precede the translations with two introductory sections on a) biographical notes, and b) summary and critique of Ozaki's position in modern Japanese history. Notes will be signified in the text but included in an appendix rather than on each page.

B. Ozaki the man--- a short biographical sketch.

Today, at the age of ninety-one, Ozaki stands as the one major Japanese political figure whose life and work span the long period from the opening of the Diet in 1890 to the promulgation of the new constitution in 1947. Thus, from Meiji Japan to MacArthur Japan, he has been politically active throughout all of modern Japanese history. To crowd the many events of such a long life into a brief sketch poses serious problems, but we shall attempt to describe the principal events of that life and career in such a way as to provide meaningful background for the translated writings that follow. Often such a sketch can give the reader a key to the seeming contradictions of a statesman's writings.

Ozaki Yukio was born on November 20, 1858[3] in the province of Sagami 相模[4], Tsukue-gun 津久井郡, Matano-mura 又野村 Matano was a village of some sixty-five families at the time. His father, Yukimasa 行正, was twenty-one at the time of this, his first son's birth, and the mother, Sadako 貞子, was only seventeen. It appears from the records that the Ozaki family was probably the most important in the village. Members of the family had been village headsman for several generations, while the Sagami fūshiki records that "One ancestor, Nara-be-suke 楢部助, was attached to a retainer of the Hōjō 北條 and moved to Matano after

the Hōjō fell in Tensh[ō] 18 天正十八 (1590)."[5] The Matano headman at the time of Yukio's birth was Ozaki Hikoshirō 尾崎彦四郎.

Yukio's father was to have become a doctor like others in the family, but decided to study Chinese classics in Edo as a youth. He attached himself to a group of native, pro-Imperial scholars and followed them in pursuing native learning.[6] Yukio's mother had received no special education but was a "strong-willed woman" skilled in domestic, wifely arts. "The parents treated the neighbors as retainers... and, in his youth, Ozaki was treated with special deference by the village."[7]

When the Imperial Restoration law of 1867 was issued, Yukimasa joined the Tōsa 土佐 army in Ibaraki 板垣, leaving his wife and eldest son to a lonely life full of fearsome rumors that he had been killed. "Ozaki still recalls these rumors... The Restoration changes had a great effect on young Ozaki."[8]

In 1869, Yukio went to Tōkyō for the first time, he and his mother walking the entire distance from Matano. There had been no schools or teachers in the vicinity of Matano so Ozaki's mother wanted to go to Tōkyō to plan her son's education as well as rejoin her husband. For the next few years the family moved from place to place, as Ozaki's father had become a minor official in the new government and moved frequently. At Takasaki 高崎, he studied at an English school there managed by one Koizumi Atsui 小泉敦 but the family soon moved. Young Ozaki then decided to run away from home and study in Tōkyō. He was seventeen at this time and "wanted to escape the strict interference of his parents!"[9] He felt he was being treated the same as his two younger brothers, and his father

consented to the boy's request for Tōkyō schooling only after much pleading. Finally, Yukio and his brother Yukitaka 行隆 went to Tōkyō with the intention of entering the new Keiō gijuku 慶應義塾 ---, a school managed by the famed Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉, which had an excellent reputation at the time. Neither youth had been too well-prepared academically for entrance into Keiō but "they didn't investigate admission qualifications strictly at that time, and almost anyone could enter."[10]

Keiō had about three hundred students, divided into classes according to their knowledge. Both Yukio, at eighteen, and his brother, eight, were placed in the lowest class. Yukio had always been rather weak physically[11] and the intense desire to rise rapidly at Keiō intensified his health worries. The student Ozaki seems to have been ridiculed by his fellow-students at Keiō. He decided to keep quiet "since, if he didn't talk, no one could tell whether he was smart or not."[12] His work at school, however, was so superior that he was promoted at least one class each month. His silence, based upon fear of ridicule, changed to a rather haughty silence based upon arrogance. "As a means of satisfying this arrogance, he began to cause trouble to his teachers. He asked them questions they couldn't answer, buying books for this purpose. 'They promote me if I behave well---they'll promote me even faster if I cause trouble'!"[13] In one year he had climbed to the top class at Keiō.

He later regretted his actions at school, but in this as well as in his rebellions against parental authority he displayed an independent spirit that aroused both hostility and admiration throughout his later life.

Ozaki stayed at Keiō less than two years and, although he formed some close friendships during that time, he did not know his later comrades, Inukai Ken犬養毅 and Yano Fumio矢野文雄, at Keio(although they both attanded the same school at slightly different times).[14] He had no personal dealings with Fukuzawa while attending Keio, but the great educator was deeply interested both in the school's administration and its more brilliant students. Fukuzawa made them all write essays and,of course, Ozaki's writing came to his attention in that way. Fukuzawa later recommended young Ozaki for the editorship of the Niigata shimbun新潟新聞, for which Ozaki was sincerely grateful.

After a year's study at the teahnical college of Tōkyō Imperial University,[15] Ozaki left for newspaper work in 1878. He published a translation of a work by the British writer, Spencer, at this time, when only twenty years old. As a result of Fukuzawa's recommendation, he was appointed editor of the Niigata shimbun. In those days of poor communication, the Tōkyō papers could not attain very wide circulation and the Niigata paper became one of the noted journals of the region. Before he assumed this, his first job, Ozaki married Tanaka Shigeko田中繁子 of Nagasaki, "at the request of his father"[16]. His new bride was only sixteen and later had four children[17] by Ozaki before succumbing to a long illness.

Many aspiring politicians of the Meiji period began their career using newspapers as political organs. Ozaki does not seem to have had that idea initially in mind, but when Yano Fumio, a friend of Ōkuma Shigenobu大隈重信, wrote him urging his entry into government service under the Ōkuma banner, he felt compelled to accept as a supporter of constitutional agitation. He became, therefore, a clerk in the cabinet's legal statistical office,[18] but

three months after he took office, the Ōkuma cabinet fell and the young newsman-turned-politico resigned from the post to become an editorial writer for the Hōchi shimbun 報知新聞 of which his friend Yano was editorial manager. Yano and Ozaki subsequently helped form the Kaishintō 改進黨, under Ōkuma's leadership, to fight against clan control of the new government. Ozaki, believer in a strong China policy, served for two months as special correspondent for Hōchi shimbun in China.

On his return to Tōkyō, Ozaki ran afoul of the authorities for his part in a demonstration at Nijūbashi 二十橋 which demanded an Imperial audience to protest against treaty revision and clan government.[19] He evidently got drunk at several meetings of this type, made rowdy speeches, and was arrested by the police. He was told to remain away from Tōkyō for three years as punishment; so decided it might be an opportune moment to visit Europe. The trip was indeed well-advised, and he might have thanked the government for its inspiration.

Thus, on February, 1888, Ozaki left Yokohama for Europe. Ōkuma, who had entered the current cabinet as minister for foreign affairs to advance the progress of treaty revision, came down to the port to bid his young supporter farewell. The trip was not entirely touristic since Ozaki was a special agent for the Asano shimbun 朝野新聞 while abroad, sending back to Japan over a thousand pages of commentary. He tramped through London and parts of France and Germany, gaining interviews with several government leaders of the day. He studied constitutional procedures in England,[20] and his partiality for things British acquired at Keiō was reinforced by these personal experiences.[21]

"The events that most struck Ozaki while in England were the prmmulgation of the(Japanese) Constitution and Ōkuma's personal misfortune. The first permitted him to return to Japan freely while the second demanded that he, as one of Ōkuma's underlings, return to his native land."[22] He arrived back in Yokohama in December 1889, and immediately planned his electoral campaign in the first national Diet election held the next year.[23]

Ozaki had two choices in selecting his electoral district: his native Matano in Kanagawa ken, or his father's new residence in Mie三重 prefecture. His father was an official in the prefectural governor's office of Mie, and Ozaki considered it a better choice.[24] He won his first Diet election, in Mie, by a vote of 1771 out of a total vote of 1919. His record as an Ōkuma supporter and his political banishment doubtless helped the campaign, but his father's local power and prestige were probably decisive. "It goes without saying that the power gained by his father during the latter's official career helped greatly. His father knew and was respected by all the local leaders whom he persuaded to work in Yukio's behalf."[25]

Ozaki had continued to be re-elected by the third district of Mie prefecture from 1890 to the present day. The 1949 election was his twenty-fourth successful campaign. Between Ozaki and his constituents there has grown up a father-and-son relationship in which Ozaki could depend on the voters to support him without too much active campaigning on his own part. Some parts of the district "haven't seen him in fifty years"[26], yet his chief local supporters can control their votes by the use of many fan clubs, societies, and similar devices. His biographer claims that "voters in his district never demanded money as a

price for voting,"[27] but this protestation perhaps cannot be regarded as wholly reliable in view of Ozaki's own complaints about failing to educate even his own constituents to the proper high level. Ozaki seems not to have concerned himself with local problems as much as national affairs. This seems a far cry from our own American representatives' experience if it is indeed true that Ozaki "devoted his life to problems of national harm but had no deep concern for problems of his electoral district nor for the small concerns of the district voters."[28]

During this early Diet period, Ozaki fought in the forefront of the opposition parties, as a member of the Kaishintō, demanding budget reductions, greater party voice in government, and other battle-cries of the opposition. During this period of frequent Diet dissolutions, he faced stiff campaigns,[29] often against government opposition, but always won the battle for re-election. For a brief time, he served as a sanjikan 参事官 (adviser) in the foreign office under the Matsukata-Ōkuma cabinet, and followed the Kaishintō as it transformed itself into the Shimpotō 進歩黨 and later the Shimpotō-Jiyutō 自由黨 amalgamation. Finally, in 1898, Ozaki attained his highest post to date as Minister for Education in the Itagaki-Ōkuma cabinet, supported by that amalgamation.

The cabinet job was short-lived, however, and served to alienate Ozaki from Ōkuma. The famous episode that led to Ozaki's resignation from the post and the ultimate downfall of the cabinet was the "Republican speech" on August 22, 1898.[30] The forty-one year old minister was invited to address a gathering of educators from all over Japan at a hall in Kanda-ku 神田区. The Imperial Education Society got more than it anticipated.

The speech was announced as an address on national ethics and morals, and Ozaki narrowed his attack on the habit of money-worship he saw around him in Meiji Japan. There are several variations of the essence of the speech, which aroused governmental and public controversy, but the following seems to be an approximation of the unrecorded paragraph: "People think America is a citadel of plutocracy but America isn't as money-mad as the world thinks. As proof, I cite the many men since Washington who have become American presidents without money. We need have no worry that Japan will ever have republican government, but just suppose that Japan were a republic and followed the political system of electing presidents... I think a representative of the Mitsui三井 or Mitsubishi三菱 would probably be elected president."[30]

The several hundred educators listening to the speech applauded but soon the speech catapulted its author into a hotbed of political controversy. Antagonistic newspapers, especially the Asahi shimbun朝日新聞 of Tōkyō, cried to their readers that the sentiments were subversive; that Ozaki was a republican, and hence unfit to continue as Education Minister. Even some of his fellow Cabinet ministers attacked him and demanded that he resign. At first, Ozaki refused to resign under fire,[32] and Ōkuma seemed to support him, but Itagaki told the Emperor that he couldn't work with Ozaki. Finally, Ōkuma advised him to resign[33] and he agreed, submitting Inukai's name as possible successor. Factional strife between the Jiyūtō and Shimpotō halves of the coalition caused the entire cabinet to fall one week later.

Ozaki, thus educated in the factionalism of Japanese party politics and public indifference, nevertheless remained with the Ōkuma group for a time. Itō Hirobumi伊藤博文, however, succeeded

finally in his efforts to form a political party at this juncture and, surprisingly, Ozaki Yukio joined Itō in establishing the Seiyūkai 正友會 . Former associates were amazed. Had Ozaki abandoned his principles and gone over to the enemy? His biographer explains, "The origin of the world's misunderstanding of Ozaki lay in his having fought clan government by such men as Itō for many years as a militant leader of the Kaishintō and the Shimpotō. Yet he was not satisfied with these parties and thought helping Itō to form a new party was best for the country. He felt this was consistent with the pattern of constitutional political action of a constitutional politician."[34]

Yet Ōkuma and others could not understand his action and read him out of their party. They believed in party loyalty, discipline, and consistency--- three ideas forever alien to Ozaki's independent spirit. Conscience had told him to help form the Seiyūkai, and it was conscience he obeyed.

The stormy period that followed saw Itō's lieutenants in the Seiyūkai turn against Ozaki after he had assumed most of the party management duties during Itō's trip abroad. Jealousy on the part of other Seiyūkai leaders, or haughty superiority on the part of Ozaki, or both, led to his withdrawal from the party. He felt that Itō was treating him as badly as had Ōkuma two years earlier. Thirty others followed Ozaki out of the party, despite Ozaki's attempts to dissuade them. They replied: "Without you, there is no help for the party,", and joined him in a new group for "political study".[35]

In 1903, friends persuaded Ozaki to run for the mayoralty of Tokyo. He had wanted to rest a bit from active

political strife, but his many friends on the Tōkyō city council[36] urged him to seek the mayoralty and improve the city's poor administration.[37] He agreed, was elected, and served nine years; longer than any other incumbent in that office.[38] He made his second trip to Europe during his term a mayor of Tōkyō and his first wife and one brother died during the same period. His wife had been ill for ten years, as Ozaki's poem of bereavement on the occasion of her death reminds us.[39]

While still mayor, he married a second time. His bride was the daughter of Ozaki Saburō 三良郎 and an Englishwoman, a woman who had been educated in England and become quite westernized. This woman, whose English name was Theodora, had a love of England no more fervent than Ozaki's, and the two conducted their home life in western style.[40] The marriage caused some family rift, however, and some unfortunate political repercussions.[41] Theodora Ozaki died during the 1930's.

In 1913, Ozaki voluntarily resigned his mayoralty post to assume more active participation in the Diet, of which he had remained a member. He opposed government corruption and military expenditures in the period of the first World War, accusing the Terauchi cabinet of being an undemocratic reversion to clan government. During a speech at the Meijiza 明治座 in Tōkyō in 1917, he was attacked on the platform while complaining of governmental interference in the general elections. He was slashed in the chest but continued to speak as if nothing had happened. "If I had fled, I probably would have been cut down and lost my life", he explained later.[42] The audience was speechless in amazement.

His leadership of the Constitutional Defense Movement in the war and pre-war period, in conjunction with his old friend Inukai, earned them both the title of "Pillars of the Constitution" in a time when the government was misusing its powers to thwart the establishment of a true party cabinet.

In 1919, Ozaki went to Europe again, as a delegate to an international conference, to observe postwar conditions there. Evidently they impressed him greatly, because his previously nationalistic attitude began from that time to change to one of international cooperation for peace.[43] Back in Japan after the nine-months' European junket, he began to speak in favor of arms limitation. He even proposed a disarmament bill in the Diet, which was defeated 38-285. Thereupon, Ozaki decided to stump the country on behalf of his arms reduction plan, asking each audience in forty-nine cities and twenty-three towns to vote on the idea. Ninety-two percent of the 32,000 votes supported him. This barnstorming lasted four months, from February to June 1921 and covered close to 20,000 miles. He naturally supported the decisions of the Washington Naval Conference, calling it a "national blessing" rather than the national disaster its opponents claimed it to be.

In 1922, he spoke out again, as previously, in favor of the national suffrage bill then up for a Diet vote.[44] The measure passed and became effective for the 1925 election, but Ozaki continued to blast governmental interference in elections, party corruption, zaibatsu control of party leadership, and the other ills that afflicted party life even in its heydey during the nineteen-twenties. He continued to direct embarrassing questions to the government and stern warnings to the parties.

As both the Diet and the party system in Japan fell victim to the militarists and the bureaucracy, beginning with the Manchurian Incident of 1931, Ozaki became more careful in his statements. Although he generally opposed military control of the government and precipitate actions in China (as he had opposed the Twenty-one Demands of World War I), his consistent defense of the Emperor and attack on existing parties often played into the hands of militarist propaganda.[46]

In 1931, at the age of seventy-three, Ozaki became quite ill and, upon recovering, accepted the invitation of the Carnegie Corporation to visit the United States. Theodora was in California being treated for an illness of her own, and the two Ozakis continued to New York where Ozaki was guest at a dinner of many notables.[47] The Manchurian Incident occured as soon as he landed in America, and relations between the two countries became strained. His speech in New York deplored the use of force by Japan in China, but implied that all powers had followed the same course of action.

Minister Inouye 井上 and Baron Dan 團 were murdered in Japan as Ozaki re-crossed the Pacific. The 1931 assassinations convinced Ozaki that he should remain away from Japan for a while longer. He therefore continued around the globe to Europe to study political conditions at the time, and to write a book he thought might be his last.[48] Then Premier Inukai was assassinated, thereby removing another long-term friend of Ozaki's from public life. These assassinations caused Ozaki to fear for his own life, despite his venerable age, and to accuse himself of cowardice.[49] He attributed his good fortune in escaping serious injury to being "blessed by fate".[50]

Despite the entreaties of friends in Japan to remain abroad, and his own fears of violence, Ozaki left London in January, 1933 on the return voyage.[51] He changed his plan to debark at Kobe and remained aboard ship as far as Yokohama, where the Home Ministry placed a protective guard on the returning statesman. He protested against the governmental solicitude thus demonstrated, wondering whether the guard was for protection or repression.[52]

In the period from 1933 to 1941, Ozaki continually warned the Japanese people, through his Diet speeches, against militarist excesses in threatening Europe and America. He opposed the Tripartite Pact, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, and the Konoye近衛 cabinets. In February, 1941, he wanted to make a critical Diet address but most Diet members were afraid of military retaliation against such an address in their midst and refused him permission to take the floor. By the rules of the lower house, therefore, he could not speak.[53] "Is it that they were cowards afraid that their support of Ozaki would make them appear anti-militarist, or did they fear for Ozaki's life and sought to prevent his murder?"[54]

The following year, after the Pacific war had begun, Ozaki wrote a public letter to Premier Tōjō東條 protesting the nomination of candidates by the I.R.A.A. as unconstitutional.[55] The Home Ministry deleted most of the letter before making it public. Previously, the government had treated him leniently because of his long Diet service and did not apply direct oppression, "but the Tōjō government did not know any such politeness".[56] During the 1942 Diet electoral campaign, designed to produce a rubber-stamp legislature for united war effort, Ozaki helped a Tōkyō

friend who was running for a seat in the lower house. He pointed out the dictatorial character of the Tōjō cabinet, attacking it fiercely. Both in his own Mie campaign, and his speeches supporting Tagawa Ōkichirō 田川大吉郎, he condemned I.R.A.A. use of government funds, "undemocratic" police actions, and those candidates who bowed to the militarists. Obviously, the Tōjō government could not permit such a challenge and, on April 25, 1942, imprisoned Ozaki for lèse majesté. He was released, pending trial, the following day but no press reports of the incident were permitted.[57]

Ozaki returned to Mie only to find the district seething with anti-Ozaki propaganda to defeat him in the election. Tōjō failed to unseat him, however, and he was re-elected as usual. A lower court subsequently found him guilty of lèse majesté in December 1942, and sentenced him to jail for a period of eight months to two years. In June, 1943, however, this decision was reversed by the upper courts which found Ozaki innocent of any crime. This instance of independent judicial action in wartime Japan was indeed heartening to the aged legislator and his friends.

Finding himself prevented from writing or speaking except within the halls of the Diet, and denied the Diet floor by fellow-members, Ozaki decided to retire to Niigata新潟 prefecture where his daughter maintained a ski lodge. Here he stayed, in an isolated house at Ikenotaira池之平, until VJ Day in 1945.[58] In this mountain refuge, Ozaki thought about Japan's future and postwar problems, but did not recant his previous charges.

After the war, friends persuaded him to return to the Diet, and he won 160,840 votes in the 1946 election. He was

lionized by left and right in the postwar political scramble to please the Occupation authorities.[59] Many groups tried to capitalize on the octogenarian's liberal prestige, and occasionally Ozaki contributed his name or blessings to causes not always unselfish in their aims. Both the Jiyūtō 自由黨 and the Communists tried, with varying success, to attach his name to their banner. Some Japanese accused him of leftist sympathies when he sent a welcome message to the reception celebration for Nosaka Sanzō 野坂參三, but Ozaki's sympathy was merely for all those imprisoned under the pre-war regime.

He observed the postwar changes, including the new constitution, with evident satisfaction. Ozaki wearily and warily noted, however, that "If constitutions alone could save a nation, there would be no defeated countries in the world. It is easy to build a good constitution, but very hard to carry it out. We cannot weed out kanson mimpi 官尊民卑 (respect for officials and contempt for the people) in two or three generations."[60]

Today, at ninety-one, Ozaki is still active and in good health, despite failing sight and hearing. He lives in a villa near Yokosuka 橫須賀[61], attending Diet sessions and writing various articles. In May, 1950, he flew to the United States with daughter, nurse, and secretary, at the invitation of the Japan-America Friendship Association, for a six-week visit.[62] He brought an offer of cherry trees for the new United Nations site in New York from the children of Japan (a reminder that it was Ozaki who arranged for cherry trees to be sent to the city of Washington, D.C. as a token of Japanese appreciation for American aid in the Portsmouth treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War).

It may be most fitting to close this brief sketch

of Ozaki Yukio with ane of his most typical autobiographical statements, made during the dark days abroad in the early thirties:

"The strength of all my life has gone into the establishment of constitutional government and the organization of political parties, but in both I have failed. Constitutional government amounts to nothing at all, while the parties have fallen into a deplorable state by adding corruption to corruption. The object for which I have poured out my strength for sixty years has indeed come to a pitiable end. I feel I have completely wasted my life... (Yet) for all kinds of people, the greater part of life is yet to come. The time until yesterday is but the prelude to life. From today henceforth is the main stage. I don't know how long I will be allowed to live, but if I work using the knowledge and experience of the past seventy years, I cannot help but accomplish the work I have failed to do in the past." 63.

C. Ozaki, political philosopher: a summary critique

Of the many threads that run through Ozaki's life and writing, which are the most important? What estimate will history make of his efforts in the generations to come? At times, he seemed to be an intense jingoist; at others a sincere pacifist. He can be viewed merely as a dreamy idealist who always views reality with great alarm and disdain; or his words and actions can be viewed as boldly practical moves of a true democrat. No man in public life for so many decades can be assessed in black or white. In Ozaki's case, the evidence is unusally complex and contradictory.

We may discuss first his so-called impractical idealism, as seen in the dominantly pessimistic and critical

views of Japanese political psychology and party morality. "We often hear the criticism that he is a theorist and publicist, but not a practical politician... (yet) he has a superior nature that will not allow him to follow the mob... What is the meaning of 'practical politics'? It has as its goal the seizure of political power, and Ozaki didn't like the idea that it wasn't necessary to chose one's methods for that purpose. Quite the contrary, he fought vigorously against such 'practical politicians' so, naturally, he was not one of them."[64] Yet his successful mayoralty of Tōkyō, his numerous Parliamentary forays replete with eloquence that stirred even his enemies, and his Diet campaigns all tell us that Ozaki was practical enough on occasion, usually when he did not have to cooperate with too many other political leaders.

This independence of mind, shocked at the foibles of others, constantly shines through all of Ozaki's writings. He broke with Ōkuma after the "Republican Speech" incident which decided him against any future cabinet ambitions. He broke with Itō and the Seiyūkai soon after joining them, and remained outside of any party affiliation after World War I. Even his old friend Inukai, after attaining party and Diet power, could not be trusted. Whenever a good man entered a Japanese party, Ozaki sadly thought, he ceased to rely on conscience and became merely a machaaized cog in the party maganization. "Ozaki was a most fervent party supporter, but the reason why he couldn't stay in any very long is clear if we look carefully: it wasn't because Ozaki was bad but because parties were bad. In other words, he couldn't adjust to the parties; he chose the freedom of his conscience."[65]

No doubt Ozaki's independence of party ties disarmed the militarists after 1931 who could not smear him with the taint

of party graft, corruption, and selfishmess. The seeming lack of public ambition for himself also endeared him to many an ordinary Japanese to whom unselfish service to an ideal (in this case, Emperor Meiji's constitution and Diet-centered government) was worthy of high national honor.

Yet, even by such stands, Ozaki might not have been able to withstand the wave of assassinations. His advanced age, always a magnet of respect in Japan, was another bulwark. "Probably no one will be zealous enough to assassinate such an aged public servant as myself," he wrote hopefully in 1932,[66] after so many of his friends had been violently murdered. He frankly admitted frequently cowardly feelings: "Ever since the establishment of the Parliament in 1890, I have never felt home in the morning expecting to return safely at night." But, he added, "I should prefer to die, not in bed, but as an example to posterity."[67] He once urged that the police free a man who had entered his hotel room to attack him.[68] Perhaps his opponents feared to make a martyr of such an obstinate old man, especially when he spurned public ministerial office, condemned parties more bitterly than they could, and warmly defended the Imperial system at any opportunity. We cannot say that he was not sincere in his attacks against the military and bureaucratic control of Japan, but it is possible that many opponents either so believed or discounted the effect of a Diet member who was so inveterately independent.

It has been Ozaki's task to point with alarm more often than to lead with constructive programs. Democratic parties in any country are apt to pass through cycles of corruption, and even the most democratic will insist on party discipline after a policy has been decided upon.[69] It is naïve to suppose that Ozaki overlooked

these facts of political life. Rather should we conclude that he overstated his position because of the long Japanese tradition of subservience to authority, within and without the parties. If he could arouse the conscience of voters to abhor vote-selling and stand up for individual rights against entrenched authority, that would eventually make party government possible. If he could arouse the legislators' consciences to fight for principles, not factional advantage, the enemies of party government in Japan would have less success in convincing the people of the iniquities of political parties.

It remained for the "cold actuality of wartime defeat to accomplish, to a certain extent, those ideals for which Ozaki had long fought in vain against the remnants of feudal thought in Japan."[70] Yet, even after the war, and after the many occupation improvements in Japanese political machinery and education, Ozaki still has not become satisfied. He still claims that there are no real parties in Japan which abstain from factional strife and stress principle in their platforms. He is still, at ninety-one, the lone independent. Independence has been always his greatest strength and weakness.

History may not long remember his terms as mayor of Tōkyō, Minister of Education, or even member of the Diet. But it can never forget his resounding speeches and articles, warning the Japanese of their political defects and reminding them of their best intentions and highest goals. In so doing, Ozaki Yukio has become the conscience of modern Japan, as well as the philosopher of Japanese constitutionalism. Measured by Japanese standards of value, that is far indeed from being a Quixotic failure.

II. The Political Philosophy of Ozaki Yukio

(Selected, annotated translations of Ozaki's writings)

SECTION A: On Japanese Political Psychology

INSTITUTIONS AND IDEAS[71]

A critical spirit is the most important requisite to our democratic restoration. With a national populace that seems to swallow blindly the orders and commands from above, we can never complete a democratic restoration. Let's be critical before we act. No matter from whom the orders and commands come, we should sift them through our own consciences and only act after (conscience) approves. Moreover, the great enterprise of a democratic restoration can only be carried through by men who realize that they have unlimited responsibility for their actions.

The Imperial restoration was a formal restoration. We cut the top-knot[72] on the head, but the top-knot of the spirit was not cut. We imported a constitutional system, but we did not import the spirit which operates it. In recent times, we have acquired the superficialities of culture, but we have not learned the underlying spirit that produced them. This contradiction of institutions and ideas made us stumble along the fine road of Imperial restoration and, in hardly sixty to seventy years, has brought us to a complete standstill.

The democratic restoration must not stop, as did the Imperial restoration, at changing men superficially[73], but must advance toward complete spiritual renovation. We came to have a democratic constitution, but since we could not digest democratic ideas we came to an impasse. Since there is a clash between the sys-

tem and our ideas, we must devote all our strength for countless years in order that national progress will not be deadlocked.

* * *

ORDERS, SERVITUDE, AND IRRESPONSIBILITY[74]

Men are, after all, mercilessly severe when they blame others but are inclined to become very lenient when they blame themselves. For example, after the (last) war, people were quite quick to blame those Diet members who had been blindly obedient to the Tōjō cabinet, but they hardly seemed to recall their own responsibility in electing such members enthusiastically in the general election of 1942.[75] All the people together helped to ruin the country. The failure to realize even a cause-and-effect relation as clear as this is due not only to an acquired habit of avoiding responsibility, but it probably has some other origin as well.

Under (our) feudal government, there were only orders and obedience. Criticism, just or unjust, of these orders was absolutely forbidden. Consequently, under feudal government, the critical spirit was suffocated and did not develop. The critical spirit is a spirit of self-respect, and does not develop unless one realizes that he is not a slave but is, himself, his own master. It is probably natural that this spirit of criticism is lacking in our people, accustomed to many years of feudal tyranny and brought up to have a slavish habit of conformity to orders. As for the Japanese people's ingrained habit of avoiding responsibility, was it probably not inculcated as a result of cramming orders and commands down from above? If one criticizes orders from above, and then compliantly follows them, it is natural for him to feel responsibility for his acts. On the other hand, it is probably natural also for situations in which men are forced to follow without being allowed to

criticize at all not to give rise to a (responsible) critical spirit, not matter what else they may seem to foster.

* * *

POPULAR RIGHTS[76]

There is no Japanese who knows to whom his life belongs. Therefore, they understand neither popular rights nor popular liberties. Since they do not understand these, they do not comprehend the meaning of either an election or a constitution. Once upon a time, conversing with some well-educated men, I asked them to whom their lives belonged. No one answered. After a while, a schoolteacher from somewhere replied: "Our lives belong to the Emperor." Whereupon I said, "If it belongs to the Emperor, there's no loyalty at all involved when you say 'I offer my life (to the Emperor)', is there? And if that is so, even animals can do that."

Japanese do not understand such things. Even those who appear to understand lie by saying "My life belongs to the Emperor" or "It belongs to the nation". A Japanese does not realize that his life is his own possession. They must realize that, because they were born human beings, their lives are their own. Birds and beasts, plants and trees have their lives treated as the possessions of men, but the lives of men are not borrowed from someone else.

In barbaric, uncivilized times, no people yet knew that their lives were their own possession. Even in Japan, until the abolition of clans and establishment of prefectures in 1871,[77] the military men took the lives of farmers and townspeople and called this "the cutting-down privilege".[78] Both those who killed and those who were killed regarded this (practice) as right and

proper. And since even life was treated in this manner, it goes without saying that properly was taken even more (freely).

Hachisuka Shoroku,[79] while still uninfluential, would become angry and revile any robber who stole violently at night. But, later, when he became provincial governor of Awa[80] and Awaji,[81] he stole the wealth of the people under his jurisdiction, openly and publicly, using the pretext of land tax and forced loans, and he felt this was right and proper. If you levy (money) without getting the owner's consent, under cover of night or in broad daylight, it is the same as robbery. The Japanese do not understand this fact very well.

The Englishmen who migrated to North America could already argue for justice two hundred years ago so, when the home country imposed a tea tax, they cried out: "It is not right to levy taxes without first getting our consent. If you want taxes, first give us the vote". By opposing this system, they finally became independent.

The basic spirit of constitutional government lies precisely in this fact. Yet the fact that today's voters elect representatives who will yield to the government, and follow (the latter's) lead without considering the safety of popular rights or wealth, amounts to the same thing as the "cutting-down privilege". In this situation, the government kills the people with laws and orders, rather than with swords, and robs them of their wealth. One proof of this is the fact that now, after the China incident, (the government) has punished and imprisoned many thousands who opposed the government.

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ELECTIONS AND MORAL STANDARDS 82.

The present state of our nation is (such) that, no matter how many general elections are held, we cannot hope for good results nor can we predict when true parliamentary government will appear. Under such elections as we have now, we can't even tell by what standards people vote.

Indeed, those who use a lot of money in elections are always elected. Those who value the national interets above their own interests are always defeated because they cannot use money. Or perhaps, at times, if someone sympathizes and makes a contribution (to his campaign funds), he doesn't use even then more than a ridiculous amount of money. (Japanese) cannot understand even such an obvious fact. and they vote for men who buy them with a lot of money. If we elect men who spend a lot of money in elections, many of them will do things to recover their expenses. Consequently, it is as though people asked them, "Please treat us badly".

Truly, it seems to me that the greatest defect of our people is that they have absolutely no standard by which to discern good from evil. A would like to find such a standard, to decide accurately between good and evil, by means of science, reason, or even an abacus. If we could find such a standard and make it known to all the people, then they will quickly make their choice between good and evil. But even if discriminatory judgment is possible, it is useless if one fails to oppose a known evil due to a weak conscience. So, after all, it comes to a question of conscience, but I want at least to fix a standard of good and bad, wight and wrong. Let us investigate whether we give people misfortunes 83. or happiness: that which gives trouble is all bad and that which gives happiness

is all good. If we decide good and evil by this standard, we should avoid the one and seek the other. Therein lies social progress.

However, our people think that only those things forbidden by law are bad, while those not forbidden are all devoid of evil. (But since), up until now, our nation's leaders have made laws only at their own good convenience, these laws cannot be called a standard by which to distinguish right from wrong.

Indeed, when we thought we should teach the truth and lead the people in the right direction by criticizing "confidence elections"[84] and making sound argumentative speeches, we were accused of lese majeste!

As for the bad men in power, they will not (improve conditions) if it is inconvenient to themselves. It is the work of the people, and especially the members of the Diet who are their main representatives, to destroy these concepts and place politics correctly on the right track. Such a track is difficult, and sometimes it is necessary even to give up one's life, but decidedly we must follow it. It is stupid to think of patriots, enveloped by bad laws made by evil men in power, as criminals similar to frauds and thieves, and to believe they are bad people. Even though touched by such laws and placed in jail, men who have done good things are most certainly good. The people must not be misled in their distinctions between good and evil.

RESPECT FOR OFFICIALS; CONTEMPT FOR THE PEOPLE 85.

Recently, the city municipal office sent out letters asking citizens to come to the city office concerning payment of municipal water charges. Generally, the government and its officials are the servants of the people. We have city offices for the people and the common good. The people are the users. But even today, ignoring that fact, (the government) sends out letters demanding that we present ourselves. They certainly do unreasonable things.

Before I became mayor of Tōkyō, the people addressed the mayor by such titles as "Baron", "Viscount" or "LLD", 86 even when writing for a birth certificate. After I became mayor, it was alright just to write "Ozaki Yukio" so it was said things became very democratic. Throughout my long life, the only time I became a (bureaucratic) official was when I became a cabinet clerk, for a brief time, in my youth. Even this was not really an administrative post but a political one. I have been in the Diet since its first session, but the only time I received any rank was when I became a minister. 87.

However, ifyyou become a (bureaucratic) official, you immediately receive rank and honors according to your period of continuous service. It is the same with military men. This is proof that the custom of looking up to officials and down at the people still remains in Japan.

We now have bronze statues of Itagaki Taisuke 88 and Ōkuma Shigenobu placed in the (Diet) assembly hall, but since neither Itagaki nor Ōkuma ever became officials, their lives were hard. When people like myself spoke to Itō, we urged him to treat Itagaki and Ōkuma kindly.

When one takes an administrative post, he receives a pension upon retirement from that post. However, no matter how long a Diet member, who is the people's representative, works, he doesn't receive a pension or anything else. I have been a member of the Diet for sixty years...(a period) unrivalled in the world...89. If Japan were truly a country that honored its Diet members, people like myself would receive respectful treatment, but no one thinks of that at all. This is not my problem, but it is extremely important. Under such conditions, parliamentary government cannot succeed.

In England, it is more difficult for those in the government party to be elected than for those in the opposition.90. It is not only occasionally that government leaders are defeated, but a commonplace (event). That is because the British people's political consciousness is high and they have a desire to prevent government oppression.

In Japan, it is completely different. If you become a minister, you are always elected. Even if you become a vice-minister or counsellor, do not the votes pile up? Therefore, representatives are apt to be executive ministers or counsellors.91. The people seem to feel that those who have become officials, for some reason or other, are great. This is also a demonstration of the habit of looking up to officials and down at the people.

Formerly, even when a police officer entered the Diet, there was a great opposition. But, these days, even if a military police official enters, no one questions it. It is amazing. Also nowadays, representatives are glad to become an administrative employee or a government committeeman. Such things are shameful.

* * *

GOVERNMENT BY ASSASSINATION[92]

Recently, it was said again that there is someone who claims to be planning to kill me. Truly, there are fools among the Japanese. Why should they want to kill an old man who will die in a year or two--- if left freely alone? I do not understand their reasons at all.

If even such a worthless person as myself killed someone, I realize that I would receive punishment... Japanese judges, however cowardly they may be, would give the death penalty to the criminal who commits murder.

The Japanese certainly like assassinations. Many of the politicians I have known were assassinated.[93] Unless we stamp out government by assassination, good government is impossible. Politics is a waste of time unless we make it more upright and principled.

"How strange is the man who comes to stab
The body of an old man which will collapse
Even as he looks at it."[94]

* * *

JAPAN HAS NO POLITICAL PARTIES[95]

On the basis of my experience of over sixty years, I feel that Japan cannot produce political parties with the wisdom of present-day Japanese. Factions may be possible, but not political parties. If a group is formed, it immediately becomes a faction. Therefore, I separated myself from both the Kaishintō and the Seiyūkai, because they had failed utterly to become parties.

Once upon a time, some ten of my friends gathered together and said, "Why not let us form a party that will be

truly idealistic and exemplar?" I received an invitation to join them,..but I declined the invitation.

Even if ten men get together in Japan, they form a faction. Since I thought such a model for a political party was impossible, I declined, but about ten of them... urged me to join and I became (merely) a supporter. I explained, "You will have to excuse me from joining the group, but I would like to become a supporter. However, I will immediately remove my name if you act like a faction." As I anticipated, they fell into factional strife over some petty problem and I quickly withdrew my name.

Under our current Japanese education, there is no way to build political parties... since the people's minds are dominated by (customs and habits) that teach murder, robbery, and factionalism. Parliamentary in a constitutional state, form the open door to all honors in the political world... There is a Chinese saying that if a fish rises into a dragon's cage, it will turn into a dragon.[96] Formerly, even men who were only common farmers, merchants, and young students soon turned into politicians if they were once elected and enetered the Diet. (But), in our country today, one who is a representative is greeted with implied insults. In England, the reputation of a legislator is highly regarded and,if you have the title of "M.P.", you are honored wherever you go. Thus, the final hope of successful men in all walks of life is to become a member of Parliament... Consequently, the top men in every field gather in the House of Commons... and we see nothing comparable to its refinement, wealth of knowledge, and dignity...

As for our own Diet, now more than ever it is low and vulgar. I am overcome with shame for its ignorance, stupidity, and lack of dignity.

SPIRIT OF THE PUBLIC PARTY NOT UNDERSTOOD[97]

It seems to me that Japanese ideas and emotions are still back in the feudal period, so that even if they build factional parties which have the (feudal) pattern of master-servant relationships in which men are bound by interests and sentiments, they cannot possibly understand the spirit of the public party, which is bound together by principles and policies and acts on a national standard. That is probably because, though they had the emotion to join or quit (a faction) according to its power, they hadn't the reason to band together or separate on a rational basis.

Ashikaga Takauji's[98] family and retainers banded together to help Takauji both when (he) sided with the Emperor or when he went against the Emperor. If there had been any spirit of public party in them, which told them it was bad to go against the Emperor or assist in anything evil, they would have followed when Takauji sided with the Emperor but would not have supported him if he opposed him. There should have been some righteous warriors who, leaving Takauji, came forth to join Kusunoki's[99] army. The fact that there never were any such men was because they were a private party joined together by feudal feelings of subservience to a master.

The great number of political parties that were formed and dissolved under the Meiji consitution seemed to be public parties on the surface. But their conduct and tactics, in and out of the Diet, did not progress a step beyond the boundaries of private parties descending from the Gempei, Fujiwara, Hōjō, and Ashikaga.[100]

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FAITHLESS JAPANESE 101.

The object of a constitution is clearly to rule and protect the principle that life and property belong to the people. In pre-civilized times, the lives and property of people in all countries were commanded by those who held power at the time. Actually, even in our nation, up until the Meiji restoration, it was a period when the people were at the mercy of their lords. As civilization advanced, (people) finally understood that their lives and property were their own possession.

Under a constitutional government, it is impossible to collect even a penny of taxes without our consent. The members of parliament are our representatives, the guardians of our lives and property... who take charge of the government to make our lives happier.

Elections are to select our most important representatives, Our people do not understand this very well. In the wartime general election, called 'elections of assistance', most of those elected were agents of the military clique. This is just like electing thieves to be watchmen of the treasury. The result was... that we are fallen into the present miserable situation.

Since we made these mistakes, I thought the people might understand a little (more), but in the past two elections they have conducted the same kind of election as during the war and many of those responsible for the war, and their agents, were elected. The last election, 102. under the new constitution, was an important one that should have made Japan a truly democratic state but, as always before, a good outcome could not be achieved.

Recently, a group which has a mistaken idea of democracy has tried to throw Japan into great confusion by instigating a

general strike, but neither the Diet nor the government has proposed a bill for its prohibition. Instead, we had the disgraceful situation in which the Allied command maintained order and tranquillity by forbidding (the general strike). When it seems that many instigators of the general strike were elected in the (past) general election, it is the same as having elected agents of internal dissension. Our country's future is indeed unfathomable.

Recently, many kinds of people have written me, and among the letters was one from a very intelligent school-teacher. He wrote: "As an educator, I don't believe I should engage in a general strike, but I am worried that, because of my participation in the teachers' union, I cannot oppose it." I am truly disappointed. Why can't Japanese understand essentials? If I think something is bad for my country, I should act according to the dictates of my conscience. When a union moves in the wrong direction, and I cannot correct it by my efforts, I should immediately leave the union. The teacher is not appointed by the union. If he feels the union's action is bad, the way to advance culture and raise public morals is to oppose it conspicuously and resign.

It is the action of a man without conscience to keep quiet because one's union supports that which he opposes. (Such a man) cannot discriminate between good and evil. This seems to be especially the case among our teachers, who belong to the educated class. Among Europeans and Americans, even those of the lower classes, there are few men who support anything they know is bad.[103]

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II.

B. ON CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES[104.]

Political parties are an adjunct to constitutional government. More than this, unless there are political parties, constitutional government is unworkable.

Under the Meiji constitution, the appointment of the cabinet prime minister was one of the Imperial prerogatives and there was no arrangement whereby a political party chief automatically became prime minister. In spite of this, if we had truly tried to make the Meiji constitution work, the only way would have been to carry out part government.

For a very short time, we did experience a so-called "party cabinet era" but it only seemed so on the surface and we came to the end of the Meiji constitutional era without a true party cabinet once appearing. Why do you suppose true constitutional government was not carried out under the Meiji constitution? We say it was because the feudalistic powers of the clans, elder statesmen, and militarists severely hindered the grwoth of party government, but the mission of the parties is to root out such feudalistic powers and bring party government to fuition. They say that it was impossible to root out such powers because parties had no strength. Actually, there were no true parties in Japan.

For more than half a century, I tried to adiminate so-called anti-constitutional movements and to bring about a party government possessed both of name and reality. Thinking it was essential to form true parties whatever we did, I bent all my efforts to realize these aims. But it was all in vain. Only the externals

of a political party were possible, and it was absolutely impossible to instill in them the spirit of public parties. I wonder why?

* * *

A MONKEY SHOW 105.

In the early Diet sessions that worked to carry out constitutional government according to the examples set by more advanced nations, there were times when evern the proposals of the minority party were passed. However, later, after (our Diet) bagan to act on its own, the workings of the political parties came to reveal completely the characteristics of feudalistic factional parties. Especially after the parties had advanced somewhat and the two main parties (Seiyūkai and Minseitō) faced each other in opposition, the Diet became completely transformed into a stage for the quarrels of factional cliques among both the government and the people.

Under this system, (do we not have something similar) to opening a trial after first pronouncing the death penalty? In this way, the Diet debate declined until it was nothing more than the babble of a monkey show.

Since muddle-headed Diet members cannot decide what is best for the country or for the happiness of the majority, they probably stand or sit according to the orders of the party leadership. However, any kind of fool can determine whether hitting and injuring men on the Diet floor is good or bad. Nevertheless, for factional parties that had never made justice their main consideration, it was not a question of good or bad. Therefore, even in a very clear case which obviously required punishment, the action of the majority party was acquitted to its own profit, while the minority party, which was attacked, became the loser.

LAWS, LEGISLATORS, AND ELECTIONS[106]

Even under the Meiji constitution, many rights and freedoms, extending to such areas as speech, assembly, association, and publication, were recognized; but they were generally placed within limits of the law and under conditions to be determined by law. Thus, there was room to practice the fraud of stealing by law those rights and freedoms given by the constitution. In other words, by skilfully taking advantage of this defect, the government of former clansmen, bureaucrats, and militarists, as well as the party government dependent upon parties which were the puppets of the plutocrats, (both) succeeded in restricting the popular rights and freedoms.

In other words, by making many laws such as the Press Law,[107] the Peace Preservation Law,[108] the Security Police Law,[109] the General Mobilization Law,[110] and the Wartime Criminal Law,[111] they stole those rights and liberties given to the people by the Constitution. Moreover, we must not forget the fact that such laws were made by the people's elected representatives.

Even under the current constitution, if the people are negligent and bungle their elections there is great fear that the precious rights and freedoms given by (that) constitution will become (mere hollow) lies. In other worss, the substance of popular rights and liberties will change greatly depending on whether the interpretation and operation of the constitution is positive or negative and whether it is treated in a conservative or reformatory manner. And it will change greatly due to the laws we enact from now on. This is because, even under the present constitution, there is but one way to make laws and there are many rights and liberties which can be interpreted with looseness and elasticity.

* * *

POPULAR PARTIES AND OFFICIALS' PARTIES[112]

... In advanced parliamentary nations, it is the general rule that the opposition party has an advantage in elections over the government party. However, Japanese elections are just the opposite, in that for a long time past the government party has always won and the opposition party has always been defeated. It seems that this is the root of all the evils that have poisoned our constitutional politics but, even in Japan, the early elections which we had faithfully modelled on those of foreign countries were never so disgraceful.

That is to say, in the five-year period between the first election in 1890 and the Sino-Japanese war, four elections were held in which the government party lost to the opposition every time. Especially in the election of 1892, conducted by the Matsukata[113] cabinet, the government used governmental coercion in the form of physical force, financial (persuasion), and other kinds of violence to interfere (with the election) and oppress the opposition. It was a great crisis of constitutional government, but the majority of the national electorate rejected this oppressive government of the party in power and gave victory to the opposition party.

At that time, the name "popular party" had a great meaning whereas that of "officials' party" was extremely weak. Comparing this with the electoral situation today wherein the is no influence outside of the government party, and we not struck by the difference between past and present?

GOVERNMENT 'BY THE PEOPLE'[113].

If the people had conducted true elections, and if their elected representatives had formed true political parties and succeeded in establishing party government with a cabinet system supported by all the people, democratic government "by the people" should have been possible even under the Meiji constitution. However, elections were corrupt and political parties naturally decayed as a result. Moreover, the people put their own electoral mistakes on the shelf and sympathized with the militarist group which fought the corruption of political parties. In the end, they even looked with sympathetic eyes on the violence of the young militarists who assassinated officials in important posts, (thereby) giving themselves completely into the hands of the militarists and bureaucrats.

Moreover, under the Meiji constitution, it was the authority of the Emperor to appoint and dismiss premiers. Those who insisted that the regular constitutional course was to give the Imperial mandate to the leader of the majority party were called traitors who transgressed the Imperial sovereignty. This was indeed a defect of the law which made an unreasonable practice seem logical. By such means, our people failed to carry out democratic constitutional government under the Meiji constitution.

However, now it is different. The new constitution clearly states that "the Diet appoints the prime minister, by resolution, from among the members of the Diet"(article 67) and establishes the fact that the Diet is "the highest organ of national sovereignty and the only constitutional organ of the nation"(article 41). The Emperor's powers were markedly limited ... to "appointing the cabinet premier in conformity with the

Diet designation." Moreover, in the introduction to the new constitution, the great proclamation of "popular sovereignty"[114] is recorded. Now it is absolutely guaranteed by the new constitution that nothing, however small, can injure "government of the people". But now, if there is anything at all that hinders the realization of Japan's democratization, it is only the people's own negligence and lack of self-consciousness.

* * *

PARTY GOVERNMENT[115]

I worked for the downfall of clan government and the establishment of party government, offering my life for the realization of these aims since I believed them the only way to improve Japan. Since the first establishment of political parties in Japan, I was connected with them. Even now, my (original) belief remains unchanged. However, as I thought over my ideas on the subject, I decided not to have any connection with political parties.

There is no reason to say that there have been no fine politicians, even in Japan. However, once they enter a political party they generally misbehave. Forgetting to consider the nation and the people as a whole, they come to act only in the interests of the party and its policies. I think that even Hara Yoshi was a splendid man until he entered a political party. He was indifferent even to money matters. After he became involved with parties, he turned bad. I had a premonition, for some strange reason, that Hara would be assassinated if he continued to do such things... Katō Takamei[116] also, during his days as a diplomat, was a fine individual. When he became a party chieftain, he didn't listen to such opinions as mine but came to follow the usual evils of political parties. Therefore, I warned that whether a political

leader went to jail or became a minister was merely a paper difference." The political leadership takes actions for which it could either be put in jail or made cabinet ministers.

Also it is not strange that the people do not criticize this. If voters didn't elect bad politicians such things wouldn't occur, but whatever we do they never reform. In such a country, we cannot make party politics work.

Do you ask what should be done? Nothing but to revise completely our popular education. Patliamentary government is the people's government. Instead of the people governing themselves, they send their representatives to the Diet to protect their life and wealth. Therefore, the main object is to have election expenses come from the voters, who nominate men who will truly work for the people, and then try to elect them by their own power.

I have explained this purpose in Mie ken for many years. I devoted my efforts toward having the voters donate one yen or fifty sen each, per year, and save up the money for four years to help send their representative to the Diet. However, even in my election district, such a thing was completely impossible so, of course, it is out of the question in other electoral districts.

The truth is exactly opposite. Those who wish to become Diet representatives in Japan seem to face the voters and demand, "Please send me to the Diet". Not only that, but theu are not ashamed to buy votes with money. Therefore, money is very necessary in elections. Do you suppose that anyone in all Japan really has been elected by legal expenditures? Probably not. There is probably no one who could make his election expenses public.

Also, the voters are bad. Before I went to Mie ken,

there were men who wouldn't vote unless they received some allowance.[118] They voted for those who gave them an allowance (and) didn't vote for those who failed to pay such money. Therefore, it is not especially strange that the Diet representatives and political parties do bad things. Under such conditions, neither a good political party nor good parliamentary government is hardly possible.

* * *

FREE SPEECH FOR DIET MEMBERS[119]

In past Diets, ministers could speak freely at any time but Diet members labored under many 'conditions' and could not speak freely. Certainly, the right to speak of administrative officers was treated more kindly than that of legislative members, and this should be recognized as very unreasonable. But the people and legislators, who have been accustomed to look up to officials and down at the people for a long time, do not think it unreasonable or inconvenient: they have come to look upon it as a matter of course.

Naturally, the legislators' right to speak should be absolutely free. Anything that limits it (causes) the suicide of parliamentary government. But in our national Diet there was an arrangement whereby, unless a member had twenty or thirty supporting members,[120] he could not make any proposal, motion, or speech of interrogation. They added other restrictions to the members' right to speak, thus oppressing and killing the speech of minor party or non-party members. I think it was designed to protect the control of the government.

As a result of having many times proved to myself that political parties could not cast aside the character-

istics of servile, feudalistic factions, I lost my affection for all parties and became an independent, unaffiliated member. There, fore, over a long time, I lost many opportunites to speak in the Diet.

Seeing the actions of the militarists after the Manchurian incident, and believing them to be dangerous to the nation's future, I often wanted to speak in the Diet to reprimand the military. I do not know whether (the members) were afraid of the wrath of the military if they permitted Ozaki to speak freely, but, at any rate, on all these occasions I failed to get the approval signatures of twenty or thirty members and was forced to remain silent. If I had won the signatures of the necessary number of supporting members at such times, and had spoken my feelings in the Diet, I may have been put in jail or assassinated and might not have lived as long as this.

* * *

SPEECH FAVORING UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE[21] (excerpts)

Today I would like to make an unbiased, impartial speech as one in an independent position. Therefore, it is of course difficult for me to obtain the support of the Seiyūkai members and probably difficult also to obtain the applause of those in the Kenseitō. I wish to speak of universal suffrage and related problems from a national viewpoint, unconcerned with any party or faction but only with the affair at hand.

First, it is most regrettable to me that the question of universal suffrage has acquired a party coloring. Such problems as this should not be made factional questions. I think it is something that should be decided, yes or no, from a national viewpoint, according to the dictates of conscience. Unhappily,

that is not the case today. I believe that is extremely unfortunate, not only for the various parties, but for the nation...

I don't have to remind you that formerly parties were moved by principles and platforms... If the party policy is fixed (against something), you oppose it even if your conscience supports it. Or again, even if you want to oppose something for the nation's sake, you follow the party policy and support it. It seems as if, after you once enter the Diet, you musn't carry your conscience inside... This internal party unity is an almost unreasoned unity. There seems to be no difference between the army and the Diet (in re: discipline).

If we transfer western political parties to the orient, then change and become completely like an army. They only recognize unity, and no not recognize conscience. The know factional matters but they do not know national matters. Such are the so-called modern political parties, but they are not political parties, they are cliques. They are military organizations...

Because the party members of today cannot free themselves from the (confines) of the political party, they disregard the great spirit of the constitution and are extending to the (realm of) political parties the unity of the military. That is the reason why the universal suffrage bill has such difficulty passing this Diet. Free yourselves! Allow your consciences to operate unrestrained! If you do that, I promise that the universal suffrage bill will pass tonight. This, my friends, is truly a critical constitutional and national question.

* * *

122

RESOLUTIONS ON THE NATIONAL POLITICAL CRISIS (excerpts)

The evils of political parties are liable to destroy the justness of our national government. They have hindered constitutional progress, not knowing when to stop. (Therefore), I wish to propose the following several resolutions and open the door to salvation:

1. Elections are the basis of constitutional government... Yet cabinets in our history not infrequently tempted those officials who should have served the interests of Emperor and country and, for selfish interests, thus prevented the fair expression of public opinion. For one thing, such action disregarded the wisdom of the Emperor and restrained the smooth expression of the popular will. There is truly no greater crime of cabinet ministers. Especially after the universal suffrage law went into effect, the Home Minister interfered with elections, repressed free speech, and ignored the commission of crimes... The crimes against the people were truly great. Therefore, from this time forward, this house will not countenance such crimes to be repeated.

2. We hereby to give guaranteed status to such officials[123] and thereby remove the cause of electoral interference, so that such a stain will not mark the history of our constitutional government in the future.

3. The provision for permanant officials... is to permit him to carry out his duties smoothly and manage essential national affairs regardless of the alternation of cabinets. However, past cabinets not infrequently confused the distinction between (such) administrative officials and political officials, appointing and dismissing administrative officials for factional reasons. This is the cause of confusion in administrative orders. While such

evils were practiced at any early time in various European and American countries, all these nations lost patience with such evils and abolished them. This house demands the dismissal of all those administrative officials who are even a little involved with political parties and their replacement with good officials, loyal and unselfish.

4. To interfere with the freedom of elections by means of police power has been extremely unjust. We must stop this with stern measures. Toward this end, we shall withdraw the police and legal powers from the prefectural governors and assign them exclusively to the public prosecutor.

5. Generally, to use enterprises which administer plans with public funds as a means of extending party influence is, by its very nature, always a criminal matter. Therefore, this house will establish laws to punish both those who instigate and those who participate in such schemes.

6. To require the publication of electoral expenses of Diet members, while allowing the finances of the political parties which support (the members) to be kept secret, confuses the distinction between cause and effect. Moreover, the secrecy of the receipts and expenditures of political party funds is the cause of... bribery and of much government disorder, political party corruption, and plutocratic arrogance. Therefore, this house shall make definite laws to require the publication of political party financial records...

* * *

124.

COMPULSORY RESPECT FOR THE EMPEROR

In these days (pre-war), the term "compulsory respect for the Emperor" is fashionable, but it is very bad. Men like Konoye seem to have been propagandizing this idea, but they certainly don't know what politics (government?) is. It is only said by those who cannot understand anything about responsible government. If you are a politician who can understand something of the nature of constitutional government, you should not say such irresponsible things.

The fact that the cabinet holds a responsibility to the Emperor and the Diet is the essential, primary fact of constitutional government. However, when you say such things as "compulsory respect for the Emperor", you are in effect propagandizing to force the cabinet to return to direct responsibility to the Emperor. It amounts to saying that, since cabinet policy is not its own responsibility but, rather, the orders of the Emperor, we should all follow it uncritically and reverentially. Such a government fills me with amazement.

On the side of the people, it completely seals up any criticism of government policy. And it must result inevitably in harm to the Imperial House. We were greatly disturbed over such matters when the constitution was put into force. Those who do such things, while prating about their loyalty and patriotism, are truly traitors who decorate themselves with loyalty. They are wearing the Imperial power on their hats, in order to monopolize governmental authority.

THE I.R.A.A. IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL[125]

The Imperial Rule Assistance Association[126] is clearly in opposition to constitutional and parliamentary government. They claim that it facilitates the expression of the public will, but there should be no means of reflecting popular constitutional opinion outside of the Imperial Diet.

The I.R.A.A. is something that is plotting the realization of dictatorial government. It certainly must be made to cease.

To appropriate, in the budget, hundreds of thousands of yen financial assistance to such a group (as the IRAA) is another matter. If they wish to engage in politics, they should put themselves forward as a political party and not be helped by public funds.

It is said that my friend Odake Tsuraichi[127] claimed that the I.R.A.A. was unconstitutional and distributed a book that exposed the arbitrariness of the Fujiwara who were Konoye's ancestors, so he was questioned at the Criminal Investigation Headquarters.[128] When we note that he distributed a book which had universally-known facts such as are even written in elementary school textbooks on history, why do you suppose he was questioned by the Criminal Investigation headquarters?

A LETTER TO TŌJŌ [29].

April, 1942

To Premier Tōjō

Dear sir:

I offer this letter for my country and my Emperor, although it may seem rather abrupt. Your Excellency probably knows that the Emperor Meiji, establishing an Imperial constitution with great diligence for the sake of the Imperial house and the people, devoted his efforts to make the various premiers in our history use (this constitution) and to forbid them to disregard the essentials of the constitution. However, the I.R.A.A. which your Excellency superintends, and which uses a great amount of the national wealth, directly or indirectly, is now holding a general election. They have even forced the nomination of candidates by using the I.R.A.A. (machinery). I grieve for your Excellency.

This is but another variety of electoral interference and it seems to me an unconstitutional action placing us on the road to eventual government-sponsored legislators. Moreover, I believe that it is an action that disturbs the present state of national unity achieved at great pain, and is the first step toward dissension and argument. The truth is that I believe the withdrawal by the I.R.A.A. of its candidature nominations would be the best act for the country and for your Excellency. But the past will soon be gone and, in the future, I hope you will strictly prevent the I.R.A.A. from interference in any elections and make it assume an attitude of strict neutrality.

OZAKI YUKIO

P.S. While this is a humble letter, since it is concerned with constitutional principles, I ask you to understand clearly that I send it as a public letter to express my desires under existing conditions. O.Y.

NOT IN AGREEMENT WITH THE MILITARISTS[130]

For many years, I have been regarded as an enemy by the militarists. Because I have called for arms reduction[131] and fought boldly against the interference of military men in politics, it is obvious that we did not get along with one another. But only once did it seem that the young militarists and I took the same position. That was because I sternly opposed the corruption and degeneration of political parties and the young militarists said similar things.

However, my attacks on political parties were made because I wanted to realize powerful parties, that could check the dominance of the military, by improving the parties and making them strong. But the militarists' attacks on political parties was a secret scheme[132] to weaken the power of the parties by separating the parties from the people, and to thereby establish military domination of the government. Therefore, from the beginning, our attitudes were different. The fact that we seemed to be together is something like (the case of) a traveller heading east and another traveller heading west briefly passing each other at the crossroads and immediately parting for east and west.

What I deeply regret is that my attacks on political parties, designed to improve and strengthen them, failed; but that the secret schemes of the militarists, to separate the parties from the people and establish the political dominance of the militarists, worked out successfully.

* * *

THE SUCCESS OF SECRET SCHEMES[133]

At the time of the 2.26[134] and 5.15[135] incidents, if (the Japanese) had only had the faith and courage to arouse all the party men to wave the banner of constitutional defense, and to arouse united national action against the direct acts of the militarists, then I think the secret schemes of the military clique to dissolve parties, establish the fascistic I.R.A.A. and Tōjō cabinet, and start the Pacific war would never have succeeded. However, they easily succeeded because the militarists succeeded in their secret plan to separate the people from their parties. This plan hit its mark because the people had no awareness of, nor sense of personal guilt for causing parties to be bad as a result of their own mistaken voting habits.

If there are any who, reading my statement that "political parties are impossible in Japan, even if factional parties are possible", feel that it is not their concern that various Diet members are bad, we must say that such men have no qualification to take charge of any vote-centered democratic government. They are just like those men who blame the Diet members for following the military but never reflect on their own responsibility for electing those members.

136.

GIVEN BY CONSTITUTION, TAKEN BY LAW

The main mission of a legislature is to manage the government and minimize, as far as possible, oppression of the people's lives and property. This fact is exceedingly clear if we look at its organization and history.

In any country, at all times, officials are prone to brandish their powers and work to advance themselves by some glorious deed or exploit for worldly success. However, if the officials' powers become strong, they cannot help grasping the rights and freedoms of sovereign people. Officials inevitably tax the people excessively and cannot help building up this source of income. Therefore, those who are elected from among the people and go to the legislature should always control the government strictly so that the people's rights and liberties are not in the least violated, nor are they relieved of a penny of money.

However, our legislature became the lackey of the government in a topsy-turvy way, and frequently did their best to increase taxes and make laws that shackled the people's rights and liberties. Under the Meiji constitution, the basic popular rights were generously recognized within legal limits. But the clan government of that time had the desire to continue the special rights of the preceding feudal government, and schemed at great lengths to find some way of stealing, by law, those rights and freedoms given by the constitution. Since the early Diet was lacking in legal knowledge, they almost achieved that objective.

Later, the legislators' command of legal knowledge gradually advanced... but the legislature became the tool of the administration and laws that oppressed popular rights and

freedoms continued to be established.

Especially after the Manchurian Incident, our Diet surrendered unconditionally to the government, which had become the fortress of the militarists and bureaucrats. The government of Japan from that time forward rushed precipitately along the road to unconditional surrender to the Allies.

LEGISLATORS, BE A MODEL![138]

In present-day Japan, which has become a democratic state, the Diet members who have been elected by all the people must first serve as an example to the people and then lead (them). The example lies in completely changing the peacetime attitude of aggressive wrangling and, with a spirit of brotherly love, emphasize the truth of mutual compromise and mutual help.

If popular culture advances greatly, maybe a coalition cabinet will be formed by amalgamating the various factions, without disbanding the parties but preserving them as they are today. I feel we should advance this goal. But our countrymen have strong feelings, steeped in feudal thought for many years... clannish feelings, so that if they form a political party, it always treats the other factions as enemies. As a result, they follow party principles without questioning their virtues or justice. Whatever happens, they ignore social, community interests and plan for the personal profits and advantage of their own party. Therefore, unless we first disband political factions and parties,[139] even if we build a united nation and a national cabinet, sooner or later internal disturbances will inevitably result and divisive riots will occur. I have convinced myself of the validity of these facts during my Diet career of over half a century, so they may not be amiss.

If these were ordinary times, it probably would be unreasonable to make such a request. But now, when the nation is standing at the crossroads of life and death, I earnestly desire that the Diet consider this proposal, with sincerity and loyalty, as our only means of escape.

If, upon careful thought and consideration, you accept my idea and form an emergency, national unity cabinet... and if we face the grave situation with mutual compromise and mutual help, we can certainly obtain good and proper results. Instead of the various parties fighting with one another, trying to cause the cabinet's downfall and investigating such things as the general strike, if we can establish and maintain official discipline, recovery, economic provisions, and fair prices, we can probably reverse the present trend toward an increase of national troubles and find alleviating remedies (to achieve improvement or even recovery).

Until the beginning of Meiji, there were over three hundred lords whom we should consider as independent sovereigns with the power of life and death, currency circulation, and military maintenance. (Then) the four clans of Satsuma, Chōshu, Tōsa, and Higo[140] banded together in cooperation and abolished the clans, setting up prefectures and thereby uniting Japan. Compared to this, it should be an easy task today to dissolve political parties and factions, form a national unity cabinet, and thereby curb the evil misdeeds and popular crimes occasioned by the end of the war.

At the beginning of Meiji, if a man had ability they placed him in a high position regardless of his clan affiliations. Ōkuma was a man from Kaga[141] and Itagaki was a Tōsa man, both small clan people compared to the leading clans. Nowadays, all the clamor about the top party and the second party is crazy. If we do not (follow the above plan) and persist in the same path, goods will become more and more scarce, paper money will finally collapse, violence, murder, theft, and robbery will increase until finally civil strife will be rampant and will brew calamities greater than those of the war.

TOWARD TRUE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT[142]

In order to conduct true democratic and constitutional government, we must make the Diet the political leader of the nation. Since we place great emphasis on the people, the foundation of constitutional government is such that, in a crisis, the people and not the sovereign, decide serious national affairs.

However, the Meiji government opened the Diet only out of deference to foreign nations. Actually, it was a Diet in name only, as if they had made it a branch of government administration, limiting its powers as much as possible. We also had a constitution only in deference to the outside world. It was fairly constructed, but the laws and regulations attached to it were amazing. I can only state that they maintained all the attributes of a despotic state the same as before. Among them, the one best understood by all was the Diet Members' Law.[143] Since it was a Diet managed by representatives elected by the people, the Diet members should have been its master. In spite of the fact that, by the very nature of (a Diet system), only the members should speak and no one other than members should take the floor without their permission, the following article was specified: "Cabinet members and government officials may speak whenever they wish".

However, when members spoke against this, it became necessary to have many supporters. They certainly put the cart before the horse. Such a stupid kind of Diet could never succeed.

The Satsuma-Chōshu clans, together, won over the whole country by their swords and regarded the people as slaves. On the other hand, during the three hundred years of the Tokugawa,

or even before that, the people were under a military government which placed the people at the mercy of their lords, so this (attitude) quickly became an acquired habit. The slavish disposition penetrated deeply and the people feel completely into the habit of looking up at officials and down at commoners. It is not strange that they respected government bureaucrats even though these were low-class officials.

Since there were many good men in newspapers and magazines, it is shameful that (the people) didn't respect them but, thinking government offices were one step higher, they felt them more worthy of respect. Nor is it surprising that there are present-day Japanese to whose minds the (pre-war) Diet was a proper one...

Diets until now have operated with a concept of non-constitutional politics, so constitutional government is impossible if we use (their) example. We struggled in various ways to break (the power of the) clans, but were handicapped at many points and our objectives were difficult to achieve. Therefore, after the Diet was opened, in order to show the people that their ministers were stupid we teased them to attack us; tried to pull them down; and called them names in our questions. We attacked them in unnecessarily harsh terms. The things we did were never good; nor was it the proper course. Therefore, do not imitate our actions.

The Japan of today is different from Meiji Japan. True Japanese have come to mean (control) all Japan. We must take this fact well to heart: we have no enemy in our nation any longer. 144. So even in the Diet we need make speeches of interrogation no longer. It is indeed fortunate that Diet members are not disposed to ask

government officials to find out about government. It is well for everyone to praise the opinions of a Diet member and quickly decide it by majority vote. Ministers and bureaucrats are (no longer) any problem.

I wish it understood well that our actions (during Meiji) were to break down the enemy of all the Japanese people: the clan clique. The clans were finally broken by our strength. The army became Japan's army, and if you were a Japanese citizen you could become a minister and a general. But then the new power of the military clique arose and this clique finally led the nation into wartime defeat. But now they too are destroyed. Since our wartime defeat, conditions have completely changed. The constitution has been basically revised, all the powers which the clans and militarists had seized in the name of the Emperor are transferred back into the hands of the people by the new constitution. Since the end of the war, the nation's internal enemies have all fallen and Japan has become Japan of the Japanese. However, it seems as if the people today still do not understand that Japan's foundations have changed. Haven't all our mistakes originated in this, and weakened us?

Even if the Diet members do not question or make speeches jokingly, they do put forth bills and should become more cooperative in debating them with heart-felt consideration. There is absolutely no need to engage in quarrels. Even though we said "Down with the cabinet!" it was because we wanted to break the clan government that made all Japan its enemy, treated people as slaves, and acted arbitrarily, not to break the cabinet. Thus we made impeachment speeches that were indeed rowdy, but today is different. Today we must act with full realization that there are no internal enemies in Japan. You must not imitate our actions.

POLITICAL ADVANCE OF THE NOUVEAUX RICHES? [145]

No one except candidates who are wealthy and willing to spend money will be taken into political parties. (The party) cannot become a majority party and grasp political power unless the party bosses collect money by any means and distribute it to the party followers. Thereupon, they either accept the conditions of the plutocrats or seek out vested interests in order to raise their campaign funds.

It was generally believed by the public that in the old days Mitsui was the financial backer [146] of the Seiyūkai and Mitsubishi the patron of the Kenseikai (Minseitō), but now the old dissolved zaibatsu [147] have probably lost their ability to take care of the kitchens of the major parties. However, there are some new zaibatsu who, acquiring more than ten billion new yen, have grown fat on the black market. Political party bosses have a scent as keen as that of a hunting dog and cannot help but ferret out these new sources of electoral expenses.

If the current elections favor those parties and candidates who have a great deal of money to spend, as did the pre-war elections, they will elect many parties which conspire with the black-market plutocrats and many candidates who are nouveau riches fattened on the black market. There is great fear that this will result in an obstruction of the progress of our democratic restoration.

THE OLD ORDER REMAINS UNCHANGED[148]

If a man in a Japanese political party takes action against his own party, according totthe dictates of a conscience that puts the national interests and popular happiness above all, the bad name of traitor[149] will probably be attached to him. Seen from the viewpoint of the factional party that values the party more than the nation, those who betray their nation for the party are loyal men but those who depart from party control,to serve national interests and the people's happiness, are traitors.

Thinking that the sentiments of party politicians had probably altered in the severe test of wartime defeat, I advised my new Diet colleagues, concerning the election of the speaker of the new Diet after the last general election, to conduct (that election) with the spirit of the public party. There seemed to be many members who nodded in assent, but when it came to the showdown,[150] they still had not freed themselves from the factional party spirit and elected a man picked by party decision. And they made the great blunder of expelling the Diet speaker they themselves had elected during the consideration of the new constitution. Until the Japanese political parties can cure their disease of party policy discipline, they can't escape from the limits of factionalism. When will that day ever come?

II.

C. ON THE TRUE NATURE OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?[15]

What is democracy, after all? There are various interpretations of the word 'democracy' and it is difficult to gave any fixed definition. But its basic thought surely lies in the demand for the right to life, liberty, and equality. In the American Declaration of Independence, they declared, "Man is endowed with certain inalienable rights, and among these are the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And, it is declared in the famous French Declarations of Human and Civil Rights, "Man enjoys the right to liberty and equality at birth and throughout life."

The mission of democratic government is to guarantee completely and to realize these demands for the right to life, liberty, and equality. Then, who carries out such a government? It is not too much to say that the question of whether we keep or destroy the new constitution will be decided entirely by the people's individual answers to that question.

America's sixteenth president, Abraham Lincoln, in his famous Gettysburg Address, eulogized government "of the people", "by the people", and "for the people". We have fine sages and politicians, so let them become allies "of the people" and conduct good government "for the people". Such a government respects completely the popular will, using that as its guiding principle, and guaranteeing popular rights and liberties in the highest degree. Can such a fine government be called "democratic"? No. Any government that is conducted by a small number of rulers is not a democrat-

ic government, even though it is a government that gives incalculable happiness to the people. Democratic government must be a government conducted by the people themselves.

* * *

VOTER-CENTERED GOVERNMENT[152]

The democratic restoration begins with correct elections. Free elections are the foundation of any democratic restoration. If the foundation crumbles, all the power of democratic government will collapse as in a game of chess...[153] Constitutional government is centered in the legislature and, since that legislature is a group a Diet members elected by the votes of the people, legislature-centered government is another name for election-centered government. And since elections are based on the individual votes of the electorate, election-centered government becomes, in other words, voter-centered government. Even so, many of our nation's voters still do not know that they have the power of life and death over constitutional government by their one vote. Even when they see the reasons with their own eyes and hear it with their own ears, they seem not to believe that they are men of such importance. Therefore, they gave their votes to anyone who asked, or gave them money, or banquetted them, or put them under some other kind of obligation. The most annoying thing is for them to renounce their voting rights... or treat them as a nuisance. It can be thought that the cause of our enervated constitutional government lies in these facts.

To voters in foreign countries who fought for their (right to vote) with their blood, the importance of elections and the need to revere them is only common sense that needs no explanations. But among our voters, who received this right easily

without any great trouble, there are still a great many people who still do not understand even the a.b.c.'s of constitutional government.

DOGS AND HUMAN BEINGS[154]

Wherein lies the difference between men, cats, dogs, and chickens? From the political viewpoint, it is the difference of having the electoral right or not having it. The life and property of (animals) are dependent upon the charity of their owners, nor is it known when they will be sold or killed. The reason is that, since animals do not elect their representatives nor live under rules and regulations decided by those representatives, they haven't the right to insist that their master be forbidden to sell or kill them at his pleasure. In other words, it's because they have no electoral rights.

Therefore, men who realize that they are the masters of their lives and property cannot be content with such an insecure life as that of animals. At any cost, we must elect representatives from amongst ourselves and, if they fail to control the government strictly or to defend our rights and liberties, by the framework of laws (they) make, we become dissatisfied and demand the right to elect (other) representatives, finally acquiring that right.

A constitutional country can be defined as one that is governed by laws, with its government, from first to last conducted on the basis of law. Accordingly, the happiness or unhappiness of its people is determined completely by the state of its laws. If the legislature restricts personal rights and liberties of the people, and makes laws which impose unfair and improper

taxes, then the troubles afflicting the people are doubtless great.

Thus, the power to make or break legislators who completely betray the people, under any circumstances, is the single vote. You must know that this vote is your last and sole right of self-protection to insure your life and property as well as the lives and property of all the people.

* * *

THOUGHTLESS VOTES (excerpt)[155]

Above all, it is vital that we first decide clearly our ideas on what kind of government we want. Elections are conducted to permit the popular will to reflect itself in the national government, But unless the voters have their own political desires, in other words, unless they have an attitude to reflect, elections have no meaning no matter how often one votes...

ELECTIONS--- FOR WHOM?[156]

Howsshould we use such an important right as voting? In whose interests should we vote? We must use it to elect representatives who will not make laws against our own interests. The fact that the vote must be used for your own interests should be clear... but among our nation's voters there seem to be many who believe, even today, that elections are conducted for the candidates.

If we think that elections are for the candidates, we are even inclined to follow those who ask us, give us money, or place us under an obligation. If we understand that elections are for the purpose of selecting watchmen[157] to guard our

lives, property, and other rights and liberties, then even a fool will not give his vote merely because he is asked. They will pick candidates from their own viewpoint. Yet it seems clear that watchmen in whom we have faith are not elected unless those voters who now demand money from candidates each contributes to his election expenses instead of receiving money from them.

CANDIDATES TO DEFEAT [158]

Of course, elections are not possible with only self-awareness on the part of the voters. It is also desirable that there be a conscientious attitude onward elections on the part of the candidates. In order to be elected, there are many candidates who make all kinds of promises under pressure of circumstances, scatter money, and do other sorts of things. But such candidates seem to be confessing that they are masters of feudal thought, believers in power, and completely ignorant of constitutional politics. We (always) have two choices concerning whom to elect, and never voting for such candidates is a shortcut[159] to the democratic restoration.

Politicians who have truly become the friends of the people never say that they want themselves elected nor do they engage in dishonest elections.

* * *

TO SELL YOUR VOTE IS TO SELL YOUR COUNTRY 160

It seems to me that there should never be any such misguided souls today as would sell their one vote for a paltry sum of money, but just to make sure I want to say here that to sell one's vote is to sell one's self. It can even be said that if you sell yourself you must take the consequences, but the worst part of this sale is that it amounts to selling your country. I want to emphasize my firm conviction that any man who sells his vote is a traitor to his country.

In Japan,before its wartime defeat, there was almost no fear that foreign capital would be scattered around in the elections. Therefore, even if one sold his vote, the damage was limited to selling himself to the plutocartic government within the country. However, after the defeat, Japanese elections cannot be viewed so simply. Probably no one can declare that there is absolutely no possibility for foreign capital to be used in order to propagandize certain kinds of ideas by means of theelections. Such a worry may be groundless because the expenses of political parties must be made public. I strongly advocated publicity for party expenses for many years and I was one who even pointed out that you would discern the difference between a public and private party by whether or not it published its party finances. Publication of party finances is very fine yet really how many people believe that the party finances of the various parties thus far published are truthful, undeceptive, and honest accounts? Even if they are lies, it is probably better 161 to have party finances published than not simply as a means of gradually encouraging honest reports. But probably no one believes that the amount made public is enough to supply the kitchens of the parties(various electoral and political activities.

If there were detailed marks[162] on the money to the effect that "This is bribery money from black-market profiteers", or "This is foreign propaganda money", there would probably be no one at all who would help himself to bills of such traitorous connection. But as long as there are no such signs (attached to the money), it is hard to distinguish one bill from another. But wild, spendthrift candidates are certainly men who will also use the public's money freely and wildly, and the safest thing to do is not to vote for them.

If the voters first develop an attitude of indifference to such things as money, and vote for those candidates who use campaign funds openly and honestly and who consistently conduct correct electoral campaigns, then there is no doubt that they will elect Diet members who will, for this very reason, reflect the shadow (of voter intelligence) on the mirror (of the national Diet).[163]

* * *

THE TRUE COURSE OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT 164

In cases where the majority party has been defeated as a result of... an election, it immediately withdraws and surrenders its seats to the minority party that has conquered an (electoral) majority. In the following election, if it again beceomes the majority party, they again change places. This is the so-called regular course of constitutional government and is practiced very well in England.

In Japan, there seem to be men who think that the true course of constitutional government is for "A" party to to transfer political power to "B" party when "A" cabinet falls, disregarding the fact that "A" party still has a Diet majority. This is wrong. At such times, if there is a more suitable successor (to the premier) in "A" party, there is nothing to prevent them from putting him up and continuing the "A" cabinet. At that time, if the men of "B" party have the confidence that the public has already lost faith in "A" party and that "B" party would surely win a majority if an election were held, the true constitutional course is not to demand the immediate surrender of the cabinet, but first to request dissolution of the Diet and then take political power when "B" party has a majority as a result of an election held by the "A" party cabinet.

The practice, such as that followed by our national party cabinets heretofore, of the minority party taking political power, and becoming the majority party by conducting a general election under...its own government, is the wrong course of constitutional government. In order that the rise and fall of Japan's future party cabinets should be determined

by the regular constitutional method of elections, and not... by such direct action outside the Diet as mob-action, general strikes, assassinations, or secret schemes, I want once more to emphasize that constitutional government is vote-centered government. I also want to repeat again parties, good or bad, the government based on such parties, and the politics carried on by such a government, is the shape of the voters reflected as in a mirror.

* * *

FEUDAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT[165]

In all countries, before th beginning of constitutional government there was feudal government. Under this feudal government, legislation and justice were both no more than parts of the administrative system. The government made laws and administered justice as it pleased, so the life of the people was solely in their hands, and they were treated like animals. The wealth of the people was taken away... as freely as men take eggs from a chicken. In other words, feudal government was the government of an all-powerful government.

However,as human knowledge advanced, every man became proud of the fact that he was the master of his own life and property. Then he couldn't agree to the kind of government that made the state all-powerful. Constitutional government was born because he objected to any laws affecting his life and wealth unless they were decided by his own representatives. As is clear by the above explanations, the constitutional government, as opposed to the feudal government which was all-powerful, was absolutely forbidden to undo the laws made by the legislature or to behave as it pleased. The judiciary also had to administer

justice and punishments according to laws passed by the legislature. So it stands to reason that the legislature is the heart of the government.

Until now, however, the legislature of our nation forgot these important official duties, stood in a subordinate position to the adminsitration, and even played the part of assistant to the government, so (we had a) constitution (a government) in name only. Finally, it was dragged around by a few militarists and bureaucrats who drove the nation and its people into the present state of abyssmal destruction.

Looking back, let us deeply ponder the great mistakes our legislature committed from a constitutional standpoint.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND POPULAR DUTIES[166] (excerpts)

Rights and duties are the two sides of the (same) shield. Since our rights have become so great, haven't our duties therefore also increased proportionately? We must maintain the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the new constitution by (using) the utmost power of the people...

However, because provisions for duties are so few (in the new constitution), we must not neglect them. The rights and freedoms guaranteed by the nonstitution must be maintained by the people's constant vigilance, and it is not easy to fulfill this obligation. Nor can people carry out their duty not to abuse these rights and liberties without a great deal of self-reflection and self-control.

Even now, there are occasions when one can see some men already beginning to commit abuses which they mistake for rights and liberties. It can be thought that the responsibility to use such rights and liberties always for the common welfare is an exceedingly important task that may even decide the success or failure of Japan's democratization.

* * *

FREE SPEECH IN THE DIET (excerpt)[167]

The reconstruction of the Diet building is to put in order the externals of democratic government. To make the speech of Diet members completely free is to perfect the substance of democratic government. I now appeal to the good sense of all parties, Diet members, and all the peoplem to abolish any rules that restrict the free speech of Diet members.

THE DIRECT AND INDIRECT VOTE[168]

(A) The conduct of the referendum[169] differs by country but the spirit behind this system is always the same. The resolutions made by the electorally-selected Diet members in the Diet are always indirect votes of the people and are not direct popular votes. However, there are also situations in which we seem dissatisfied and impatient with this (system). Especially concerning important questions that arise after a general election, it is natural for such feelings to arise. Therefore, according to the situation, we ask the direct vote of the people to decide the issue, if it is necessary for them to legislate directly. This is, in detail, the spirit and purpose of the referendum.

It is said that the this referendum means lack of confidence in the representative system, but that is never true. Rather, it should probably be called a democratic method of compensating for a defect of the representative system and allowing for the complete realization of the popular will.

* * *

(B) THE POPULAR WILL[170]

Strictly speaking, it is impossible for one Diet member always to represent exactly and without error the desires and demands of his many thousands and ten of thousands of constituents. Even if it were possible, it would not be good to ask for detailed popular decisions on every separate problem, (however). Not only is this plan impossible to carry out, but actually it is unnecessary. Hence, as a shortcut, people elect representatives whose character they can trust and with whose general political views they most nearly agree. The average man entrusts himself to the vote of his representative.

If there is a sincere desire on the part of the government to conduct its affairs by asking for popular opinion on important problems; or if there is an awareness on the part of the people of their clearly-defined rights and liberties, it is logical to demand a referendum--the direct vote of all the people on key national issues. Indeed, in cases where such issues arise after a general election, and the people haven't had an opportunity to express themselves on it, this (referendum) system is especially necessary.

* * * *

A MEANINGLESS WASTE OF TIME [171]

For what purpose do representatives, elected from among the people, gather together in a hall and open discussions? Needless to day, it is so these representatives can express opposing opinions unreservedly concerning what action is best for the greatest good, and by what means national peace and prosperity can be guaranteed. And it is so the various representatives who listen to these opinions attentively can decide the merits of the proposed legislation with a completely free, unfettered conscience. By expressing the opinions that won a majority of the votes, (they) reflect the popular will in government.

Therefore, in an honest session, even the opinions of the minority members are passed by majority vote if they are correct. And if the proposals of the majority party cannot win the consent of most of the Diet members' consciences, in debate on the Diet floor, they must be defeated. If it is understood before the Diet opens that any idea of the majority party will be approved, but not a single idea of the minority party will pass, it is a useless and meaningless waste of time to open the Diet session.

* * *

"YOU CAN'T MAKE WOMEN OF MEN"[172]

It is an Englishman's pride that "The English Parliament is omnipotent. Things that can't be done in other countries without a revolution, we can resolvedwithout bloodshed by vote of Parliament."

However, there is only one thing that can't be done even by the all-powerful English Parliament. That can be termed: "making women of men". The meaning of the phrase "you can't turn men into women" is that majority votes that fly in the face of reason or truth cannot hold water. Things that are contrary to reason, such as the statement that men are women, even if they are made by the majority party, are voted down because the consciences of most Diet members do not agree. For example, even if a majority party puts forward such indisputable facts, such as, "show is white", "black is black", etc., they will becarried by the majority vote of cobscientious Diet members. (But) under any conditions, a majority vote that flies in the face of reason and truth cannot stand. This is the only impossible task, so it can be agreed that the English Parliament has omnipotence.

* * *

CANNED LEGISLATORS[173]

If it were possible to act on the basis of reason, the unity of the factional party would fall into confusion. Therefore the factions must close their party members' eyes to conscience and prevent them from seeing reason. The fact that Japanese political parties call everything "party principle"[174] and fetter the actions of their Diet members is clear proof of their special character of factional parties. (This character) makes Diet members into puppets without consciences who form a military organization, remaining

selfishly centered on the game of numerical strength.

On the pretext of party unity, they imprisoned members in hotels, inns, or pleasure houses[175] and shut them up in hot springs resorts, but the Diet members, thus coerced to the point of imitating the old time gambling cliques' battle preparations,[176] had no special resentment nor did the public criticize this (practice).

Thus, political parties in the past have been associations to imprison liberty and destroy conscience. If you are a Diet member who considers liberty and conscience your very soul of existence, (parties) are haunted houses[177] where it is absolutely impossible to live peacefully.

After all, the mission of a Diet member is to control the government. That mission is the same for both the government party and the opposition party. It is mistaken to believe that you must ally yourself with the government, whether it be good or bad, simply because you are in the government party. Diet members who are not members of the cabinet must not forget that they have a responsibility to control the government even though they are in the government party. Public parties must be like that. Since they earnestly make national interests their sole concern, it is natural that they should always decide their approval or disapproval on the basis of a completely conscientious decision.

For example, concerning the disposition of a given bill, (the member) will boldly oppose it, ignoring the interests of his party, if his own conscience decides that the passage of the bill would be to the detriment of the nation and its people. (He will do this) even if it is a critical issue for the cabinet of his own party. That is according to the honor of a public party and the

duty of a legislator.

When we say this, it is patently clear that the old believers in feddalism cannot accomplish (such things). If they tried to do them, not only would the unity of the party be shattered but they would lose the very meaning that binds the party together. However, that fact itself is a confession of the nature of the factional party. In European and American parliaments... such parties are rare and (our practices) seem very strange.

* * *

SENSELESSS FACTIONAL STRIFE (excerpts)[178]

It is alright to engage in political party strife in times of peace and tranquillity, but it is very harmful in times of emergency... At such times, the course to pursue is for all parties to cooperate with one another and, first of all, ride out the national crisis....

Under present conditions, political parties are subject to great fluctuation. If they split into small parties they fight as factions, and if they rise to become great parties they have internal quarrels. They cannot escape, after all, from the limits of the factional party. I have confirmed these facts since Meiji, in the amalgamation of the Shimpotō and the Jiyūtō and many other experiences.

* * *

TO ALL ASPIRING POLITICIANS[179]

The qualification of one who participates in a nation's government is that he know well his own happiness (blessings, welfare) and live accordingly. Those who know well their own individual happiness work to bring that happiness to the people. I think, therefore, that the basic qualification of a politician is to know his own welfare and the true welfare of the majority of the people.

What is happiness? It is not only to do as one pleases. It is probably clear that health is a part of people(s happiness. If a man drinks recklessly, smokes tobacco, and lives intemperately, he will harm his health and become unhappy. As we see, taking only health as an example, to be happy is not to do as one pleases or whatever one likes.

To say it another way, the power to know what is best for one's own happiness and to distinguish what is good or bad for the people's happiness is absolutely essential to one who would become a politicians

Then, it is necessary that he have the courage to champion decisively those things which he believes toobe good for popular happiness. He who knows his own welfare, will believe the the people agree it to be also to their welfare, and he will work to realize his ideals overcoming all obstacles. He who is a politician must not acquiesce in anything, whether it be a law or whatever, that doesn't seem to contribute to the people's welfare.

In my youth, there was an evil law called the "Crime of insulting government officials".[180] When one criticized the bureaucracy, one was immediately punished in accordance with this

law. I and others were frequently harassed by this evil law.

Lèse-majesté, and others, are also examples of evil laws. Such ideas as that of trying to preserve the dignity of the Imperial House by punishment (force) are not good. That dignity that must be preserved by penal force amounts to nothing at all. The crime of lèse-majesté only separates the people from the Imperial House.

In England and elsewhere I do not think there is such a criminal charge as lèse-majesté. Even so, I think the spirit of love between the people and the royal house is deeper than in our own country.

In sum, the politician, himself, must distinguish between good and evil positively. Knowing what is good for his own welfare, he must develop his own standard of right or wrong. He must not parrot others nor follow them because he is concerned about their opinions. To act following one's conscience is the best way to attack complicated political problems. Conscience is one's personal spirit. To push ahead on the basis of one's own determination is to action a politician should take in the confused scene of realistic party politics. That is the requisite of the politician.

However, Japanese politicians have no conscience. They followed Confucius; they followed Buddha; they follow only other men. Of course, there maybe many splendid things among the sayings of Confucius and Gautama. However, even though they were probably warranted two thousand years ago, they are probably unwarranted today.

Take Japanese political parties as one example. Political parties do not act according to conscience. Whatever or whoever is at stake, they follow party principles. They seem to turn their backs on conscience, and reason, to follow party principles. Even

though a man feels this is wrong, he acts primarily according to party principle and follows the party. The politicians in England and elsewhere do no such thing. (There) if I believe something is not for the people's welfare I do not follow the party to which I am attached. Even if it's the opinion of the opposite party, I vote for what I believe is right. This kind of politician must make his own decisions and follow his own beliefs.

The attitude of the political parties when I put forward a proposal concerning the election of the Diet speaker at the last session is a pertinent illustration. I made a speech saying that we should elect, as speaker, a man really represents the lower house, (electing) not a slave to any party or faction but one with his own personality, knowledge, and wisdom. I thought this was right and proper and that no one would reasonably oppose it. I thought the whole house would support me as one man. However, when I put the proposal to a vote, the majority of the members opposed it and it was defeated. Those who voted for my proposal were women members and those who had recently entered the Diet. I suppose that these people heard my arguments and decided for themselves, voting in favor of it because they thought my idea was good. Those who opposed me were the members of the Jiyūtō and the Shimpotō. Among those members were some who had struggled with me to advance our country's political party system and many who were my close friends... I think that if they could have decided for themselves they would have approved my proposal but, when it came to a vote, they thought of their party leaders, bowed to party principles, and failed to vote according to their conscience. The fact that members I didn't yet know supported me and that old friends opposed me is good proof of the matter under discussion.

The Japanese believe in falsehoods or superstitions. We must (therefore) erase falsehoods and superstitions from Japanese politics. We must make politics truthful, rational, and conscientious. Unless we do this, Japan's revival will be impossible.

In order to become a politician, money is necessary. However, it is essential to gain money without making the people unhappy... Of course, you shouldn't collect money by telling lies or threatening. The best way is to work for the public and earn income thereby. I worked as a reporter when I was young but the income of newspapermen of that time was paltry, so for a long time I couldn't even make a living. To earn an income by writing for more and more people seems a good idea to me. Since I had financial troubles, I borrowed cash from a moneylender (181) when I was realled in a crisis. The interest payments were terrible. However, when you borrow from a moneylender, you make a loan and pay interest so there is no need to feel ashamed of having deceived people. Nor is it necessary to break faith with one's faith. Therefore, although there were many other ways to obtain money aside from the moneylender, I paid the high interest rate.

When I became mayor of Tōkyō, I had my first fixed income so it wasn't as hard as before. Even so, at that time I borrowed 100,000 yen from a man who loaned me the money.

Therefore, in order to become a politician, I think it is a good plan to have some job in the public interest. I feel that in this way you do not deceive people nor become involved with any evil sources. Finally, your political funds will then depend on clean money.

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"HE WHO STANDS MOST ALONE"

Appendix A: Notes and Comments on the Text*

(*The notes are numbered in continuous order for both the introduction and the translation.)

Note #

1. Most of the material was published after the late war but over half was doubtless written before the war. No date of writing is given for any specific chapter, although its contents occasionally help to date it. See BIBLIOGRAPHY following for listing of the books used.

2. To the writer's knowledge only two of Ozaki's works are in English: The Voice of Japanese Democracy, Yokohama, 1919, and Japan at the Crossroads, London, 1933.

3. There is confusion over the date of Ozaki's birth. According to Isa Hideo伊佐秀雄 Ozaki Yukio尾崎行雄, Tōkyō, 1947, which is used as the source-book for most of our biographical sketch, Ozaki was born on November 20,1858 but it was listed in the family record as 1859. Ozaki, ~~at some time,~~ has used the latter date, "perhaps because he wanted to seem younger, or because it was recorded that way in all official records, or both" (page 11).

4. Now part of Kanagawa神奈川 prefecture.

5. Isa, op cit., p.12. This record notes also that the family name, Ozaki, was also occasionally written小山奇 .

6. Ibid., p.13. "One of his best friends was the scholar Ochiawase Naosuke落合直亮 ." Evidently, Ozaki's father was also an independent character.

7. Ibid., p.12. "His mother and father treated the neighbors as retainers."

8. Ibid.,p.14. Frequent rumors of the father's death reached Matano.

9. Ibid.,p.16. "This was probably a bigger reason than the objection of following Koizumi to a new school at Yamada山田 ".

10. Ibid.,p.17.

11. Ozaki seems to have been weak physically as a child, but later claimed that was the reason he had lived so long: "Because I was a weakling, I had to live correctly as an invalid under strict observance of my mother... I always paid special attention to my body all my life... Among my friends there are many who died young because they abused their health overeating and overdrinking." (ibid., p.14)

12. Ibid., p.18.

13. Ibid., same page. The schoolboy logic appeared to work, but it may have developed into a habit later on.

14. Inukai entered Keio two years later than Ozaki; Yano three years earlier.

Note #

15. 1876-7

16. Isa, op.cit., p.27. The trip to Niigata served as a honeymoon for the newlyweds.

17. Isa Hideo, Ijin Ozaki Yukio 偉人尾崎行雄 (The great Ozaki Yukio), Tokyō, 1947. p.51. Three sons and one daughter. Two sons died during their school years.

18. The title was tōkei-in kensho shokikan 統計院權少書記官. Ozaki and Inukai were both appointed to similar posts at this time (October 1881), according to the Shinsen daijinmei jiten 新撰大人名字典 (New biographical dictionary), Tōkyō, 1938, v.VII, p.132.

19. Several opposition parties used the issue of treaty revision to stir up opposition to the government. The plan was to gather three hundred men from all over Japan at Nijūbashi, but few came.

20. On his return to Japan, Ozaki found himself beseiged by friends, and later by his Diet colleagues, eager to hear him explain British parliamentary procedures.

21. Ozaki never forgave Itō for patterning Japan's new government upon the German, rather than the British model.

22. Isa, Ozaki Yukio, (op cit.),p.44. Amnesty for all such political offenders was granted at the time of the Imperial promulgation of the new constitution. Thus his three-year banishment from the capital became void. He sent a letter of deep condolence to Okuma, whose leg had been blasted by an extreme fanatic.

23. Ibid.p.47 "Leaders and provincial legislators came to ask him questions about electoral procedures as they were ignorant and wanted to make constitutional government a success."

24. Ibid. same page. Ozaki evidently regarded Mie as his second home, having visited his family there for many years. He also felt that Mie had a deeper regard for political activity. He was elected without opposition.

25. Ibid., p.48.

26. Ibid. p.49. The clubs evidently sent speakers to address packed halls in some areas. Once a speaker told a group of fifty aged constituents: "This may be his last election... Ozaki can't see you at his age of eighty years... but please vote for him this last time." Tears were then shed.

27. Ibid., p.50. "Deepest bond between representative and constituency of any district in Japan--- perhaps in the world." Isa may be emoting too heavily at this point.

28. Ibid., p.51.

29. As a general in the Kensei-tō, Ozaki was one of the government's prime targets. When one Diet was dissolved, due to its Budgetary recalcitrance, they called him "a member disowned by the Emperor".

Note #

29 (continued) This propaganda dissuaded even mayors and other local officials in his district from supporting him in the second Diet election. They asked him to "rest for one Diet", but as a party leader that was unthinkable. "Alright," he told them, "I won't ask your aid. I'll do it with my own power! Against friends, thugs, denial of lecture halls, and lack of assistance, he won the re-election.

30. Ozaki and his biographer, Isa, have both written voluminously on this affair. At 41, Ozaki was called a kiringi 麒麟児 (prodigy) because of his rapid advancement, and his attitude expressed in the statement: "I felt it only natural that I should become a minister" no doubt made many people quick to utilize the speech as a weapon against him personally, as well as against his party. This is particularly true of the Jiyūtō half of the cabinet coalition.

31. Ibid., p.99. This is the Isa version which seems about as complete as the ones Ozaki himself quotes. No record was kept at the time but there was dispute over what he actually said. Okuma investigated and claimed there was no justification for the charge of "republicanism"; Ozaki himself has always maintained that he was showing what a calamity would result from importing republicanism into imperial Japan. The Japanese linguistic distinction between "if" and "when" may often cause considerable trouble.

32. Ibid., p.100. "What did I say? I'll never resign over the matter. If the contents of my speech were bad, I hope to be punished by the admonition of the future."

33. Ibid., p.104 "Ōkuma told him 'You resign alone, and all will be well'."

34. Ibid., p.108. The Seiyūkai was formed by Itō and his old non-party friends. It soon controlled the lower house, however. The Yamagata faction bitterly opposed Itō's new party, and Ozaki delighted in continuing his fight against Yamagata.

35. Ibid., p.125. Seiyukai leaders failed to show him an important letter from Itō and generally insulted him. The thirty other dissidents left the party to prove loyalty to Ozaki.

36. Ozaki himself had served briefly as a Tōkyō municipal assemblyman at the age of 28, prior to his political punishment.

37. "Before and after Ozaki's term as mayor, the Tōkyō city administration was in a mess." (ibid., p.125)

38. See Isa, Ijin Ozaki Yukio (op.cit.), p. 17: "He was the only mayor to hold the office for nine years and, even then, his resignation was not demanded by the city council. He wanted to resume his duties as a Diet member... but, if he had wanted to remain as mayor, he could have stayed two or three years longer."

39. The doctor had warned her ten years earlier. The poem is as follows: "Ima sara ni nageku, kotoba mo nakarikeri; jūnen amari wa naite kurashitsu 今さらになく言葉もなかりけり 十年餘りは泣てくらしつ." (Now, above all, I have no words for my grief; For more than ten years have I lived a life of tears).

Note #

40. "The two used English between themselves and their home-life was foreign-style." (Isa, Ozaki Yukio, op.cit. p.128)

41. Ibid., p.130. "There was less chance for contact with his political friends... and that's harmful to a politician," Isa continues. He lists both the good and bad results of the marriage, saying that the combination of East and West enriched Ozaki's life.

42. Isa, Ijin Ozaki Yukio, op cit., p.151. "He continued his speech, without a word on the incident, as though nothing had happened." Isa notes that Inukai once had a similar experience but tried to flee and tripped. Political party life was a dangerous one.

43. Ibid., p.180. "Until the world war, Ozaki never thought war was bad; rather, that it was needed to preserve the nation. He had always been nationalistic in wartime (1895;1904)." His conversion can be seen in all his post-World War I writings, especially in those after the last war in which is strongly advocated world federation. In 1895 he had demanded Europe stay out of Asia.

44. Ibid., same page. "Only the Kokumintō 国民党 supported him."

45. At this time, Ozaki and Inukai were leaders of a small "reformist" political club, not party. Ozaki quit the group when it joined the Seiyūkai. (ibid., p.192).

46. See Ozaki's defense of the seeming agreement with militarists on party evils, Gunjin to wa sorīawamu 軍人とはそりが合わぬ (Not in agreement with the military), above p.

47. The New York dinner included, as other guests, Orlando (Italian premier), General Pershing, Charles Lindberg, etc. ~~Ozaki's trip was sponsored by the Carnegie foundation.~~

48. He had intended to write this book, Japan at the crossroads, on returning to Japan, but since he feared that he "might be killed if I express my feelings" in Japan, he stayed in London until it was completed. He was constantly making "farewell" speeches after the manner of Sarah Bernhardt, and doubtless felt one of them might actually be his last.

49. see Isa's other work, Ijin Ozaki Yukio (op.cit.) p.154: "Ozaki often says 'I am a coward', explaining..."Such men as Inukai were indeed courageous from childhood, far different from me. Even though Inukai was killed at his official residence, he never seemed to think he might be killed up until his death. Even though I have not been killed, I am always afraid of the possibility. That's the difference between cowards and brave men'." Yet, as Isa points out, he was often threatened and occasionally attacked.

50. Ibid., p.155. Ozaki continues, "I am not a religious man so I don't believe this is divine protection of the gods, but I do have a superstition about fate."

51. His wife, Theodora, died in a London hotel and Ozaki felt he must return to Japan, perhaps with a martyrdom in mind. "His mother had once told him 'Die smiling'" and he harried a suicide sword aboard the Japan-bound ship." (Isa, Ozaki Yukio op.cit. p.215-6).

Note #

52. The guard even followed Ozaki to Karuizawa 軽井沢 in summers.

53. Pre-war rules of the lower house required approval of the membership before such a speech could be delivered. Isa notes that "Ozaki's last action as a legislator was obstructed by the Diet itself." (Ijin Ozaki Yukio, op.cit. p.70)

54. Ibid., same page.

55. See text of this letter, dated April 1942, above, p.48.

56. Ibid., p.82.

57. "Foreign newspapers did recognize this as a great event, reporting that Japan had become a completely dictatorial state with only the forms of constitutional government remaining." (Ibid.,p.84). But few Japanese knew of the incident.

58. Isa, Ozaki Yukio, (op.cit.) p.240. The location was seven hours' train ride from Tōkyō and "he had few visitors and little communication with the outside world."

59. "Even old fans of Tōjō, Matsuoka, and Konoye now say that 'Ozaki is Japan's greatest man'". (Ibid., p.258)

60. Ibid., p.262.

61. Address: 1774 Hiro, Zushi, Kanagawa. His daughter, a nurse, and two or three secretaries live with him.

62. He has been feted at several New York dinners, has visited Washington, and announced that he is opposed to early conclusion of a Japanese peace treaty as he feels the nation is not yet ready to assume full self-government (and self-protection).

63. Isa, Ijin Ozaki Yukio, op.cit. p.151

64. Ibid., p. 16.

65. Ibid., p.176.

66. Ozaki Yukio, Japan at the Crossroads, London, 1933, p.9.

67. Ibid., p.8-9."...had Inukai been killed during deliberations for the salvation of his country, in his beloved Parliament, the glory of his death might have been enhanced, and his soul might have been more content."

68. See Isa, Ijin Ozaki Yukio (op.cit.) p.151 for this episode.

69. Most political scientists and many active politicians in the U.S. are currently bemoaning lack of such discipline and devising methods to tighten party control, within and without Congress.

70. Ibid,, p.106.

71. Seidō to shisō 制度と思想 (Institutions and ideas), in Minshu seiji tokuhon, p.68-9. This work will hereafter be abbreviated in the notes below as MST. Ozaki's authorship to be understood.

72. chonmage ちょん髷 (top-knot worn by most men of Japan in pre-Meiji days).

73. literally, gaikei no ue no saru no hitomane ni todomarazu 外形の上の猿の人まねに止まらず (not stop at a superficial man-imitating monkey).

74. Meirei, fukujū, musekinin 命令服従無責任 (Orders, servitude, and irresponsibility), in MST, p.66-7.

75. That was the first wartime election when the IRAA controlled nominations and Tōjō tried to unseat Ozaki from his Mie pepresentation. See above, p.48, "A letter to Tōjō".

76. Jimmin no kenri 人民の権利 (Popular rights), in Nihon kokumin ni tsugu 日本国民に告ぐ (To the Japanese people), ppis47-9. This book to be abbreviated below as NKT.

77. At this time the previous clan boundaries were abolished and new prefectural boundaries established to signify new unity of Meiji Japan.

78. literally, kirisute gomen 斬捨御免 (the privilege of cutting and throwing away). It refers to the right of samurai during Tokugawa to kill commoners on the spot with their swords if the latter were disrespectful.

79. Hachsuka Shoroku 蜂須賀小六. Member of a daimyō 大名 family descended from the western branch of the Genji 源氏 (14th to 17th centuries.

80. Awa 阿波, one of the six provinces of the Nankaidō 南海道, now forms Tokushima 徳島 prefecture.

81. Awaji 淡路, another of the Nankaidō provinces now part of Hyōgo 兵庫. After 1615 it became part of the domains of the Hachisuka, daimyō of Awa.

82. Senkyo to zenaku no hyōjun 選挙と善悪の標準 (Elections and moral standards), in Sotsu-o no yawa 卒翁の夜話 (Twilight thoughts of a humble old man), pp.35-6. This book will be hereafter termed SNY.

83. meiwaku 迷惑 (troubles, hardships, misfortune, etc.)

84. yokusan senkyō 翼賛選挙 (vote of confidence or approval). By this is generally meant the kind of elections held in one-party states, such as Hitler Germany or Soviet Russia. Or it may designate the kind of election now held in Japan to approve Supreme Court justices. Here, Ozaki refers to war-time, controlled elections.

85. Kanson mimpi 官尊民卑 (Looking up at officials and down at the people), in NKT, p.51-3. This is one of Ozaki's favorite terms and appears frequently in his works. The writer feels that here, as with the term "yatsu" there is no English equivalent as good.

86. danshaku 男爵 (baron); shishaku 子爵 (viscount); hōgaku hakase 法学博士 (LLD.)

87. Ozaki was given the rank of shōsammi kun-ittō 正三位勲一等 (third court rank, first order of merit), in recognition of his cabinet services. No date of rank given in any of sources.

88. Itagaki Taisuke板垣退助. One of the leading Meiji political leaders, head of the Jiyūtō.

89. Ozaki notes that Lloyd George of England served for a long period also, but Ozaki claims the title because he outlived George.

90. This is a highly dubious remark if one looks at recent British history, but perhaps Ozaki was thinking of earlier times.

91. The 1949 election for the lower house of the Japanese Diet resulted in very few bureaucrats being elected. Only the Liberal party sent any government officials to the Diet--- no members of any other party had such a background. Even the Liberals had only 8% of their house membership in that category. Perhaps this is due largely to the postwar purge, and will change in time.

92. Ansatsu seiji暗殺政治 (Government by assassination), in NKT, pp.88-9.

93. Among them, Prince Itō, Finance minister Takahashi高橋, Inouye井上 Hara Yoshi原敬 and Inukai Ken犬 . Ozaki often feared he would have the same fate.

94. "Ōjusmukaenagara ubeku mo aranu mi o sashi ni kitaru to iu hito mezurashimo" 翁壽も迎へながらふべくもあらぬ身を刺しに來るといふ人めづらしも Age did hot save Takahashi, however.

95. Nihon ni seitō wa nai 日本に政黨はない(Japan has no political parties), in SNY, pp.18-9

96. "Sakana, ryūmon ni noboreba kashite ryū to naru" 魚龍門に登れば化して龍となる.

97. Kōtō no seishin wa fumikomenu 公黨の精神は考え込めぬ(Spirit of of the public party cannot be understood), in MST, pp.95-6.

98. Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏. The first Ashikaga shōgun (1305-58). Had many exploits as supporter of and rebel against, the Emperor.

99. Kusunoki楠 a daimyō family supporting the Emperor at this time.

100. Gempei源平, Fujiwara,藤原,Hōjō北條, Ashikaga足利 All were leading families which were powers behind the throne at various times in Japanese history. They exemplify to Ozaki the powerful clans which encouraged local, factional loyalty rather than Imperial, national loyalty.

101. Shinnen no nai nihonjin信念のない日本人(Faithless Japanese), in SNY, pp.32-4

102. Refers to the election of 1947, first held under the new postwar constitution.

103. Again Ozaki paints too rosy a picture of western politics: would it were true!

104. Kensei to seitō憲政と政黨(Constitutional government and political parties), in MST, pp.94-5.

105. Saru shibai サル芝居 (A monkey show), in MST, pp. 97-8.

106. Hōritsu, giin, to senkyo 法律議員と選擧(Laws, legislators, and elections), in MST, pp. 5465

107. Shimbun jōrei 新聞條令 (Press regulations). Censorship laws.

108. Jian iijihō 治安維持法 (Peace preservation law).

109. Jian keisatsuhō 治安警察法 (Security police law).

110. Sōdōin-hō 總動員法 (General mobilization law)

111. Senji hanji tokubetsu-hō 戰時刑事特別法(Special wartime criminal code).

112. Mintō ritō 民黨吏黨 (Popular parties and officials' parties), in MST, pp.10-11

113. "Jimmin ni yoru" seiji 人民による政治(Government "by the people"), in MST, pp.41-2

114. shuken zaimin 主權在民 (popular sovereignty)

115. Seitō seiji 政黨政治 (Party government), in NKT, pp.45-7

116. Katō Takamei(?) 加藤高明

117. Sono sa wa kami isshu de aru その差は紙一重である。(Literally, The difference is one ream of paper). Expression commonly used to mean "matter of chance", "toss of a coin", etc.(acc.to Shohara)

118. literally, nittō 日當 (daily allowance, grant of wages).

119. Giin no hatsugen wa jiyū ni 議員の發言は自由に (Free speech for Diet members), in MST, pp.105-7

120. giin no sanseisha 議員の贊成者(supporting Diet members)

121. Fūsenan sansei enzetsu 普選案贊成演說/ (Speech approving the universal suffrage bill), in Nihon kenseishi o kataru 日本憲政史を語る。 (On Japanese constitutional history), pp.281-294

122. Seijiteki kokunan ni kansuru ketsugi 政治的國難に關する決議案 (Resolutions on the national political crisis), in ibid, pp.353-355

123. e.i., administrative officials who have anything to do with elections, police work, etc. Aimed at Home Ministry's political action.

124. Shōshō hikkinron 承詔必謹論(Compulsory respect for the Emperor), in NKT, pp.38-9

125. second half of the above chapter; divided here because of duality of subject matter.

126. Taisei yokusankai 大政翼贊會 (Imperial rule assistance assn.) This was the government-sponsored substitute for a political party after all the previous regular parties had been dissolved Prince Konoye was its chief architect; Tōjō later headed it.

127. Ōdake Tsuraichi 大竹貫一, One of Ozaki's political friends.

128. Hanji mantō 刑事部門頭 (Criminal investigation headquarters). Interrogation headquarters.

129. quoted in Isa Hideo, Ijin Ozaki Yukio, (ibid) pp.80-1 The letter was not made public as Ozaki requested, but severely censored before its release.

130. Gunjin to wa sori ga awanu 軍人とは利が合わぬ (Not in agreement with the militarists), in MST, pp.118-9

131. gumbi shukushō 軍備縮小 (arms reduction; disarmament)

132. imbō 陰謀 (plot, secret scheme)

133. Imbō seikō 陰謀成功 (Success of secret schemes; the plot succeeds), in MST, pp.120-1

134. refers to the 26 February 1931 incident when several top government and financial leaders were assassinated. Inouye and Baron Dan were among the victims. Ozaki heard of it en route across the Pacific to visit the U.S. in 1931.

135. refers to similar incident on 15 May 1936 when a group of ultra-nationalistic young officers tried to mutiny and take over the capital. Many government leaders killed and martial law proclaimed until the rebels gave themselves up.

136. Kempō de atae hōritsu de toru 憲法で與へ法律で取る (Give by constitution; take by law), in MST, pp.6-8

137. yatoi-hei 雇い兵 (lackey; hireling)

138. Giin ga nori wo shimese 議員が範を示せ (Legislators, be a a model; show the way), in SNY, pp.30-2

139. This was part of a speech to the Diet during early post-war sessions (no date). The call to disband parties seems very strange when one recalls Ozaki's opposition to the pre-war party dissolution. He opposed a "national unity party" at that time as fascistic. The writer includes this here as an example of seeming inconsistency.

140. Satsuma 薩摩 ; Chōshū 長州 ; Tōsa 土佐 ; and Higa 肥後 . The four leading clans involved in the restoration movement before and after Meiji.

141. Kaga 加賀, one of the seven provinces of the Hokurokudō 北陸道, now in Ishikawa 石川 prefecture.

142. Makoto no minshu seiji e 真の民主政治へ (Toward true democratic government), in SNY, pp.58-61.

143. Giinhō 議員法 (Diet members' law; regulations concerning members of the Diet).

144. This must have been written in the first flush of postwar enthusiasm, as Ozaki does not now ignore the Communist threat,

145. Yami narikin no seiji shinshutsu 闇成金の政治進出 (Political advance by the nouveaux-riches?-black-market profiteers), in MST, pp.121-2

146. dorubako ドル箱 (patron; financial backer)

147. zaibatsu 財閥 (oligopoly; great industrial combine; wealthy families)

148. Kyūtai izen 舊態依然 (The old order is unchanged), in MST, pp. 102-3.

149. hangyakusha 反逆者 (traitor); usually written 叛逆者

150. kanjin na toki ni naru to 肝心な時になると (when it came to the crucial moment; showdown)

151. Minshu shugi to wa nanizo? 民主主義とは何ぞ? (What is democracy?), in MST, pp.39-41

152. Yūkensha chūshin no seiji 有權者中心の政治 (Voter-centered government), in MST, pp.82-3

153. Nani kara nani made shiōgi taoshi ni taorete shimau. 何から何まで しようぎ倒しに倒れてしまう (It will collapse completely; fall from place to place, etc)

154. Inu to ningen 犬と人間 (Dogs and human beings), in MST, pp.83-4

155. Shisō naki tōhyō 思想なき投票 (Thoughtless votes), in MST, pp. 88-90

156. Dare no tame no senkyo ka? 誰の爲の選擧か? (Elections--for whom?), in MST, pp.84-5

157. bannin 番人 (watchman, guard)

158. Rakudai kōhosha 落第候補者 (Candidates to defeat), in MST, pp87

159. chikamichi 近道 (shortcut; road that is near; quick)

160. Baihyō wa baikoku da 賣票は賣國だ (To sell one's vote is to sell one's country), in MST, pp.122-3.

161. ... shinai yori wa mashi da. しないよりはましだ (IDIOM) (better than not doing it; preferable to not---)

162. goku shirushi ごく印 (written sign; mark on writing)

163. Kagami to kage no inkakankei 鏡と影の因果關係 (cause and effect relation of a mirror and its shadow--follows as the night the day; etc.)

164. Kensei no jōdō 憲政の常道 (True course of constitutional government), in MST, pp.127-8

165. Hōken seiji to rikken seiji 封建政治と立憲政治 (Feudal government and constitutional government), in MST, pp.5-6

166. Shin kempō to kokumin no gimu 新憲法と国民の義務 (The new constitution and popular duties), in MST, pp.48-9

167. Giin no hatsugen wa jiyū ni 議員の發言は自由に (Free the speech of the Diet members), in MST, p.107. This is another excerpt from the same chapter translated on p. 41 above. This section seems to fit better into our theoretical part C on democratic government.

168. Kansetsu hyōketsu to chokusetsu hyōketsu 間接表決と直接表決 (The indirect vote and the direct vote), in MST, pp.60-1

169. ippan tōhyō 一般投票 (general vote; referendum)

170. continuation of the above chapter; divided by the translator for clarity.

171. Muimi na himatsubushi 無意味なひまつぶし (Meaningless waste of time), in MST, pp.96-7.

172. "Otoko wo onna ni suru koto ga dekinai" "男を女にする事ができない" ("You can't make women of men"), in MST, pp.98-9

173. Kanzume giin カン詰め議員 (Canned legislators), in MST, pp.99-101

174. tōgi 党議 (party principle)

175. machiai 待合 (meeting-place; house of pleasure; etc)

176. mukashi no bakuchi nakama no kenka shitaku 昔のばくち打ち仲間の喧嘩仕度 (preparations for battle of old-time gambling cliques). (according to Miss Shōhara).

177. bakumono yashiki 化物屋敷 (a haunted room or house).

178. Muimi na tōha arasoi 無意味な党派争い (Senseless factional strife), in SNY, pp.20-1.

179. Seijika wo kokorozasu mono ni 政治家に志す者に (To aspiring politicians; those who aim at becoming politicians), in NKT, pp.124-31

180. kanri bujokuzai 官吏侮辱罪 (crime of insulting officials).

181. kōritai 高利貸 (money-lender; at high interest-rates)

# # #

"HE WHO STANDS MOST ALONE"

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NOTE: Those sections of the above works that have not been included in the translations or introduction were scanned in preliminary study of all the materials. Several other works by Ozaki were also inspected but discarded because their subject matter did not bear on the political study at hand.

At least fifteen books have been published under Ozaki's name, including ten published before the Shinsen daimeijiten was written. Ozaki's habit of scattering his ideas in a rather unorganized fashion throughout the books (with a possible exception of the Nihon kenseisni o kataru) has made it difficult to use any single work exclusively or even consecutive sections of a single work. We have attempted to collect the best examples of Ozaki's writing on similar subjects and group them together in translation, but obviously this has not always been possible. It was decided, however, not to re-assemble paragraphs from different chapters, but to keep the chapters intact except for occasional editing.

No material touching on Ozaki's voting record in his long Diet career; newspaper editorial comment on his speeches and detentions; or judgmental comment by fellow-politicians has been available for study and the author's value judgments and cross-checks have been thereby restricted.

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