

Some Biographical Sketches of Dissident Advocates of Inclusive Language Design during the First Several Years of the Showa Period (the late 1920s and early 1930s)

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Like many other countries, Japan signed an “Anti-War Treaty” known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact in the West. After the First World War and before the Second, there was a strong movement to make war illegal under international law. There was also a movement to use Esperanto as an international language, and many Esperantists dreamed of contributing to world peace by promoting the use of this neutral, simplified, artificial language for communication between people of different countries. The following notes provide in English some difficult-to-find information about some key figures in the Esperanto movement as well as the Romanization movement, with an emphasis on those who were associated with dissident politics and suffered government persecution, especially in the 1930s.

1. The Anti-war Treaty and Japan

Japan signed the “Anti-war Treaty” (*fusen jōyaku*) on August 27, 1928. It was often referred to this way, as the “Anti-war Treaty” in English,¹ but it is usually known as the “Kellogg-Brian Pact” in the West. Its official name is the “General Treaty for the Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy.” For the purposes of the below discussion, I refer to it as the “Anti-war Treaty.”

According to Article I of the Anti-war Treaty, 15 nations “solemnly”

declared “in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.”² The Anti-war Treaty “enjoyed wide support from the intellectual community and the public” in the United States, Germany, and other countries.³

Japan also signed the Treaty, setting aside the problem of the racist Immigration Act of 1924 that banned Japanese from immigrating to the United States. “World discussion of the project and Mr. Kellogg’s elucidation of points which at first seemed questionable have strongly influenced Japanese opinion and there is no doubt that the Government, the Privy Council, the Legislature and the public will accept the compact with full responsibility and will then watch with considerable interest its effect on armament programs,” according to an article in the *New York Times* on 27 June 1928 entitled “Anti-war Treaty Submitted to Japan.”⁴

Nevertheless, Japan’s “special position” required its government to add one caveat limiting the extent to which Japan could fully implement the Treaty. Privy Councillor Uchida Kōsai, who represented Japan, was instructed to explain to the United States and others that Japan’s “special position in Manchuria” meant that “Manchuria is Japan’s outer rampart...We have not the least intention of making Manchuria into a protectorate or committing territorial aggression against it.” But since the “Kuomintang government...has levied taxes, stirred up strikes against foreigners...and taken many extreme actions similar to those of the communists, the imperial government cannot ignore the intrusion in the Three Eastern Provinces of the southern forces who have such tendencies.”⁵

Three years after the Anti-war Treaty was signed, Japan invaded Manchuria. Other acts of aggression committed by signatories to the Treaty ultimately led to the Second World War. Such aggression broke the great momentum toward the cause of world peace that had been built up by 1929,

the year that US Secretary of State Frank Kellogg received the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in bringing the dream of the Anti-war Treaty to fruition.

In the case of Japan, there was another special problem, in addition to its government's conclusion that violence in Manchuria was unavoidable. This was the fact that Article 1 of the Anti-war Treaty states that the signatories pledged "in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."⁶ In other words, it "assumed the principle of popular rather than monarchical sovereignty and was therefore inconsistent with the *kokutai*," in the words of Herbert Bix. Popular sovereignty could not be given official recognition because it conflicted with the idea that the *tennō* (or "emperor") was sovereign.

Kokutai was a highly charged ideological notion that assumed that the emperor was sovereign in Japan, so it was difficult to harmonize *kokutai* with principles of democracy. Bix explains *kokutai* in the following way:

Centered on the imperial house, *kokutai* meant the best possible principles of Japanese state and society. As dissatisfaction with society deepened, the belief spread that reform could be achieved by utilizing the emperor's authority. In this context, a new, spiritually driven, and powerful nationalism called the 'imperial way,' *kōdō*, arose and spread widely. The 'imperial way' was a motivating political theology sprung from the idea of the emperor as the literally living embodiment of Japan past and present, a paradigm of moral excellence all should follow. The term denoted a kind of ideological warfare but also, on the other hand, an action plan. It was designed to make Japan free of all externally derived isms, such as Western democracy, liberalism, individualism, and communism. Free to be

itself only, the nation would regain self-esteem and be able to wage a 'holy' war of ideas against Western political doctrines.⁷

In order to be in accord with the new dominant ideology of *kokutai*, the Anti-War Treaty should have been signed in the name of the emperor, but instead it was signed in the name of the people of Japan. Hirohito himself interpreted the Treaty in such a way that Japan still held the right to resort to armed force when necessary to protect its "rights" in Manchuria.⁸ Bix explains that the debate in the Diet "highlighted the elites' unanimity in denying any popular agency in the making of foreign policy."⁹

2. Inclusive Language Design in Japan

Even in this nationalistic context, during the first several years of Hirohito's reign, the Japanese movement for inclusive language design gained supporters. No doubt the Anti-war Treaty was but one example of how the dream of ending war as institution and as habit was dear to millions of people. Despite the oppression during the dark 1930s, some people continued the struggle. Many of their names appear in the list below; many viewed the struggle for democracy as intimately tied up with the struggle for peace. Japan was no exception to the global aspirations of the millions. An argument will not be built here, but it is possible that Japanese maintained a strong anti-war consciousness, even during the Fifteen Years War, when the violence of the State was liberally applied for the purpose of quelling dissent, especially opposition to the War. Such Japanese resistance to war, in spite of government oppression, may even explain the fact that movements for democracy and peace were strong in the 1960s and 1970s, symbolically marked by the Anpo riots of May and June 1960.¹⁰

"Inclusiveness" here, in terms of the design of writing, connotes a state of affairs in which as many people as possible are enabled to participate in

society and government. This was one of the core aims of the Romanization and Esperanto movements in the 1930s, and coming up with a preliminary list of some of the primary agents of those two “inclusive design” movements is the main purpose of providing the biographical sketches below.

As Japan and China both relied primarily on Chinese characters for their script, both countries were faced with the problem of how to improve literacy levels and modernize. A missionary at Hsing-hua in Fukien Province once wrote, “China has a government of the literati, for the literati, and by the literati.”¹¹ And Tao Xingzhi (陶行知 1891-1946) a renowned educator, once expressed the hope that China’s Romanization movement would make possible “a real education of the mass, by the mass, and for the mass.”¹²

Many are not aware or sometimes forget that the Roman alphabet is one of the most inclusive scripts ever in use, with a long history of facilitating literacy. According to the 1958 UNESCO definition of literacy, “A literate person is one who can, with understanding, both read and write a short, simple statement on his or her everyday life.”¹³ Under that definition, it should be easy for sociolinguists and even casual observers to agree that there were many people in the 1930s in both Japan and China who were not fully literate. To say that they were not fully literate is to underline the way in which they were excluded, in which they were not able to fully participate in society. In a society where access to information is power, and where some are fully literate but many are not, inequality results of course—inequality in terms of access to wealth and power, and even in terms of an ability to have some control over one’s life. Groups that are typically discriminated against, such as the disabled, the poor, women, and people of color, generally include a disproportionate percentage of the illiterate and semi-literate.

3. Biographical Notes

The following biographical notes I provide as a way of assisting researchers who are endeavoring to uncover the fascinating history of inclusive language design in Japan and China. Most of these notes are not well-organized, but it is hoped that by providing them in English, this will contribute to historical research on these rarely-discussed, leading language reformers, and that people will take more interest in this intellectual history and appreciate its significance. There are surely many information gaps and much work remains to be done before short, high-quality bios on these historical figures is produced.

Much of the information, perhaps even half of it, is taken from Ian Rapley's path-breaking dissertation *Green Star Japan: Language and Internationalism in the Japanese Esperanto Movement, 1905-1944* (Oxford University, 2014), which is an "exploration of ideas of popular internationalism, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism."¹⁴ For more information about the Esperantists listed below, please refer to his work.

Akita Ujaku (1883-1962): A playwright, novelist, children's literature scholar, and activist born in Aomori Prefecture. He heard speeches by Kōtoku Shūsui and Sakai Toshihiko while he was a student at Waseda University (from which he graduated in 1907). At one point he had lost all hope in life and had turned to nihilism, but his life was turned around by a chance encounter with the blind anarchist and Esperantist Vasili Yakovlevich Eroshenko (1890-1952) in a cemetery. Akita believed that Japan's Esperanto movement contained strong progressive tendencies that were unique in the world.¹⁵

Chifu Toshio (1881-1944): The most vocal supporter of Esperanto neutralism. He had been a student at Ōsugi Sakae's school.¹⁶

Fukuta Kunitarō (1886-1940): An Esperantist and anarchist who helped many anarchists financially. He was very active as an Esperantist around

the time of the founding of SAT.¹⁷ He published a journal in Esperanto entitled *Verda Utopio* (1920-23). He established an Esperanto organization in Osaka.

Hasegawa Teru (1919-47): An Esperantist from Yamanashi. She learned about Esperanto from her sister in 1931 and was studying it by 1932. In that year, she was harassed by the police. Many students who were involved in leftwing activities were also arrested in this period.¹⁸ She received instruction from Nakagaki Kojirō (1894-1971) in connection with a rough draft of a translation of Kobayashi Takiji's *Kani kōsen*, which influenced her. She married a Chinese man and opposed the War by broadcasting her opinions on the radio in Shanghai. She translated Ishikawa Tatsuzō's *Ikiteiru heitai* (Soldiers Alive, 1938), a novel about the Nanking Massacre atrocities.

Hirai Masao (1908-96): A researcher on Japanese-language pedagogy, a scholar of Japanese language studies, and a researcher on education for the disabled. He wrote a history of language issues in Japan entitled *Kokugo kokujū mondai no rekishi* (A History of the Problems of the National Language and the National Orthography, 1948). He was arrested in June of 1939, several months after Hidekatsu was arrested, mainly for advocating language reform, and underwent two years of penal servitude. Like Hidekatsu, he was an advocate of Romanization.

Ichihara Umeki (1911-91, 市原梅喜): A journalist with *Kyūshū nippō*. He worked on the Esperanto movement in Kumamoto with Katō Kōichi.¹⁹ He was arrested with Katō in September 1939.

Ikeda Yūsaku (1913-44, 池田勇作): He opposed the War and wrote proletarian literature. He received inspiration from the Tsukichi Theatre while a student there. His father died when he was little. After he could no longer rely on his mother financially, his education was discontinued. He

wrote many articles for *Shōnai nippō* and other periodicals. On 15 March 1933, he was arrested for the 4th time on the anniversary of the death of Kobayashi Takiji. The journal *Shōnai no hata*, that he had founded with Hidekatsu, was discontinued. The police collected copies of the inaugural issue. Copies of the 2nd issue may no longer exist anywhere. One copy of the 3rd issue was miraculously discovered. In that issue, Ikeda's anger at the assassination of Kobayashi Takiji is apparent in a story he wrote. He wrote a play entitled "Aristocrats." In February 1936 he returned to Tokyo and worked to help re-establish the Japan Communist Party (JCP). He contributed to *Chūō kōron* and other journals. On 25 June 1940 he was arrested under the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 (*Chian iji hō* in Japanese).²⁰ His wife was also arrested along with him. She was an employee at Kinokuniya Bookstore. She died in August 1945 right after the War ended, from tuberculosis that she contracted during her interrogation.

Ishiga Osamu (1910-94, 石賀修): A writer and translator in Japan. He was both an Esperantist and an advocate of Romanization like Hidekatsu.²¹ He was still active as an Esperantist in 1942, long after proletarian Esperanto had died out. His name appears at the very beginning of the September 1939 issue of *Tokkō geppō* (特高月報, a secret police internal newsletter about investigations of thought criminals) in a subsection on the Romanization movement in the "Communist Movement Conditions" section.

Ishiguro Yoshimi (1899-1980, 石黒修): A noted Esperantist. Graduated from Aichi Daiichi Shihan in Nagoya. His real name was Yoshiharu. Joshi Ishiguro was a pen name of his. He was a scholar of Japanese Language education (*kokugo kyōiku gakusha*), like Hirai Masao. He was in the Education and Information section of GHQ (MacArthur's General Headquarters in Japan) and was a member of the Kana Moji Kai (the Society for the Adoption of the Kana). He contributed to Hidekatsu's *Moji to gengo* (Letters and Language) journal.

Itō Saburō (1902-69, 伊東三郎): He was arrested with Ichihara Umeki and Katō Kōichi in September 1939 in the “Puro Esu Incident” (*puro esu jiken*, an abbreviation for “proletarian Esperanto incident”). His nickname was “Petro.” He was a leader of a peasants’ movement, an activist in the proletarian Esperanto movement, and a poet who wrote in the Esperanto language. He wrote about the education of children, like Hirai Masao. He was almost selected as a central member of the Japan Communist Party. He was arrested in 1932, 1939, and 1940. After the war, he worked to build some kind of peasant resistance organization in Kumamoto. He died from malnutrition and pneumonia in a hospital. It is thought that his arrest had nothing to do with that of Hidekatsu.

JEA: *Japana Esperantista Asocio*, established in 1910 (?). It was replaced by the *Japana Esperanto-Instituto* (JEI) in 1919 or 1920. They published the magazine *Japana Esperantisto*.

JEI: *Japana Esperanto-Instituto*, the successor to the JEA.

Katō Kōichi (1909-82, 加藤孝一): An Esperantist from Kumamoto. He graduated from a commercial school in Kumamoto. He worked for the Kumamoto Electric Company (*Kumamoto Denki*). He lost his job in 1950 during the “red purge.” He was arrested with Ichihara Umeki and Itō Saburo in September 1939 as part of the “Puro Esu Incident” mentioned above. Released in April of 1940, he went to China, where he helped produce a Japanese-Esperanto dictionary.

Katō Takamichi (1910-2001, 加藤隆通): From Mie Prefecture, he was a student at Nagoya University for a time. He contributed to a China-Japan friendship organization and worked with antiwar groups. He was arrested after sending Hidekatsu a magazine.²²

Kawaii Eijiro (1891-1944): An anti-Marxist, pro-state liberal. He promoted individualism and had few supporters.

Kobayashi Tsukasa (1929-2010, 小林司): His other names include Asahiga Noboru (朝比賀昇). Esperantist, psychiatrist, author, and translator, he was one of the main researchers who took an interest in Hidekatsu's life and thought in the decades after the War. He was a co-author of *20 seiki to wa nan datta no ka, Marukusu, Furuoito, Zamenhofu* (What was the 20th century about? Marx, Freud, and Zamenhof, 『20世紀とは何だったのか マルクス・フロイト・ザメンホフ』, Asahi Sensho, 1992).

Kokubun Ichitarō (1911-1985, 国分 一太郎): An educator and writer of children's fiction. He wrote two fictional accounts of Hidekatsu's life for children: "Otori no jisho" and "Koebi shaku." "Otori no jisho" has been translated into Esperanto. He named his son after the protagonist of "Otori no jisho." The story is categorized as a *shōnen shosetsu* (a story for children). Kokubun grew up in Yamagata Prefecture, the same prefecture in Northeastern Japan as Hidekatsu. During the war, he was forced to do penal servitude in accordance with the Public Security Preservation Law of 1925. He did research on how to teach the Japanese language to Japanese children and wrote about the pedagogy of composition. He was born in 1911 in Kitamura-gun, Yamagata Prefecture. After elementary school he attended the Yamagata Shihan Gakkō and graduated in 1930. It was there that he started writing *tanka* poems. Taught at an elementary school in Kitamura-gun. Contributed articles to the magazine *Tsuzurikata seikatsu* (綴り方生活) and wrote a children's story while serving as a short-term active officer in the military. Wrote "Our Constitution" (*Watakushi tachi no kenpō* 『わたくしたちの憲法』) with a famous legal scholar in 1955. He came to know Murayama Toshitarō while working as a teacher in Yamagata.

Koppu: Another name for KOPF (Federacio de Proletaj

Kultur-Organizoj Japanaj, *Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Renmei* in Japanese, 日本プロレタリア文化連盟), an umbrella organization that contained a range of subgroups for each of the arts, including the newly formed PEU.

Kuroita Katsumi (1874-1946): A historian and the key figure behind the building of the early Esperanto organizations in Japan. Founder and leader of the old JEA. He wrote a nationalistic essay in which he discussed the notion of the *kotodama* (an essentialist notion sometimes translated as “the spirit of words” or the “spirit of things,” even sometimes conceived of as the ability of words to make things happen) in 1915.

Liu Shifu (1884 –1915, 劉師復, Sifo): The anarchist who spearheaded the establishment of *La Voĉo de la Populo* (The Voice of the People), the leading journal of Chinese anarchism in the 1910s.

Lu Xun (1881-1936, 魯迅): Lu Xun hardly needs an introduction, but besides having a huge impact as a novelist, translator, and intellectual in China, he was also one of the earliest and most committed advocates of Romanization of Chinese.

Miki Kiyoshi (1897 –1945): A philosopher who had a major impact on Japanese intellectuals in the postwar period. Miki Kiyoshi’s arrest was caused by the arrest of Takakura Teru. Takakura sought for and received shelter from Kiyoshi when he was temporarily released by the police after he was charged under the Peace Preservation Law. Kiyoshi was taken into custody because he was guilty of “harboring” a criminal.

Miyamoto Masao (1913-?): Esperantist. Born in Wakayama. Graduated from elementary school. Got involved in the labor movement and youth movement. Experienced losing the war in Okinawa. After the war he participated in the Esperanto movement. He is the author of *La morta suito : Oosugi Sakae, anarkiisto-esperantisto*.²³

Mukai Takashi (1920-2003, 向井孝): A poet and leading anarchist.

Murayama Toshitarō (1905–1948, 村山俊太郎): Murayama was a union activist for school teachers, and a teacher in Yamagata. He knew Kokubunji Ichitarō from the Yamagata Shihan Gakkō from where he graduated. Was arrested for his participation in a labor union. Worked on sex education in Northeastern Japan. His second arrest was in connection with the “Seikatsu Tuzurikata Jiken” in 1940. *Seikatsu tsuzurikata* has been translated as the “Japanese auto-biographical method” of teaching writing. It is/was a “progressive form of journaling that provokes students to ‘objectively’ observe the reality surrounding them in terms of their own senses without any intervention of anyone else’s authority,” by writing essays that reflect “on their social situation.”²⁴ After the war he joined the JCP and became a leader in the Japan Teachers Union (*Nihon Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 日本教職員組合), that is usually abbreviated as “Nikkyōso” (日教組). This is a militant teacher’s union with a long history in Japan that is revered by many for upholding democracy.²⁵

Nakatsuka Kichiji: He became sick due to mistreatment in prison just like Hidekatsu.²⁶ A leader of the Kobe branch of the PEU.

Osaka Kenji (1888-1969, 小坂狷二): A Japan Railways (JR) section chief who was an Esperantist. He was the “leading force behind the creation of the JEI.” He was a supporter of liberal democracy. Although an Esperantist, he did not oppose Japan’s linguistic imperialism in its colonies.

Ōshima Yoshio (1905-1992): He also went by the name Takagi Hiroshi. Born in Tokyo. Graduated from the department of political science at Waseda University.²⁷ Did research on materialist linguistics and introduced Soviet linguistics to Japan. Struggled for democracy with Takakura Teru in the postwar period. Joined JEI in 1924, a few years before

Hidekatsu, and contributed to JEI. He was on a committee of the PEU (Japana Prolet-Esperantista Unio). Joined the JCP in 1947.

Ōsugi Sakae (1885-1923): One of the most best-known Japanese who both encouraged the spread of Esperanto and promoted anarchism. In the chaos of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 when 6,000 Koreans were massacred, he was assassinated by Lieutenant Amakasu Masahiko in the Amakasu Incident (*Amakasu jiken*) in September 1923.²⁸ Along with Ōsugi Sakae, Lieutenant Amakasu murdered the feminist Itō Noe (1895-1923) and Ōsugi's six-year-old nephew. At one time, Itō Noe had been the editor-in-chief of the most important feminist magazines in Japan, *Seitō* (青鞮, or Bluestocking). Under her leadership, the magazine covered difficult topics such as abortion, prostitution, free love, and motherhood. Ōsugi wrote an entertaining autobiography that has been translated into English: *The Autobiography of Osugi Sakae*, Byron K. Marshall trans. (University of California Press, 1992).

Qu Qiubai (1899-1935, 瞿秋白, Ku Shūhaku in Japanese pronunciation) was a leader of the Communist Party of China in the late 1920s, a theorist of the arts, and an advocate of Romanizing Chinese.

PEU or JPEU (Japana Prolet-Esperantista Unio, 日本プロレタリアエスペランチスト同盟, *Nihon puroretaria esuperanchisto dōmei*): An Esperanto organization that published the journal *Kamuraado* (カマラード).

Saitō Hidekatsu (1908-40, 齋藤秀一): A central figure in proletarian Esperanto and the Romanization movement. His other names include Kitajima Saburō (北島三郎), Nozawa Airan (野澤愛蘭), and Shimaumi Noboru (島海昇).

Saitō Shūmyō (齋藤秀苗): Hidekatsu's father.

Saneto Keishū (1896-1985, 実藤 恵秀): A Japanese Sinologist. His name often appears in hiragana rather than in Chinese characters (さねとう けいしゅう). He wrote a short piece on Hidekatsu entitled “Chūgoku no tomo Saitō Hidekatsu” (Saitō Hidekatsu, a Friend of China), *Daian* 12:3 (1966), p. 1-6. (The title in the original Japanese is 「中国の友斎藤秀一」 and the journal title is 『大安』).

SAT: Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda (‘World Non-National Association’).

Takakura Teru (1891-1986, 高倉輝): Esperantist, language researcher, playwright, novelist, and political activist, he advocated rationalizing the National Language and National Script (i.e., the Japanese language). Studied English literature at Kyoto University. Often wrote his name in *katakana*. Contributed to Hidekatsu’s *Moji to gengo*, an academic journal focusing on sociolinguistics and other topics. Takakura was influenced by the Russian Revolution. Had his beginnings in the idealist Shirakaba school of literature. Moved to Nagano in 1922. Was involved in the peasant cultural movement in the second half of the 1920s and wrote a novella entitled “Peasant Song” in 1929. When he was arrested in 1933 he committed political apostasy (*tenkō*). Thereafter he was prohibited from entering Nagano Prefecture. In 1936 he wrote about the literature of the people in Japan (『日本国民文学の確立』) and the rationalization of the national language and national script, including the Romanization movement. Was involved in the “Revolutionary Romanization Movement Incident” (革命的ローマ字運動事件, presumably the incident in which Hidekatsu and other Romanization advocates were arrested for thought crimes). On 19 October 1938 he gave a lecture entitled “Esperanto and the Language(s) of Japan” (「エスペラントとニッポン語」). He was arrested in connection with the “Richard Sorge incident.” (Sorge, a German journalist, was arrested on suspicion of espionage on 18 October 1941. He was in love with a Japanese woman). One of Takakura’s arrests in turn led to the arrest

of Miki Kiyoshi (1897-1945), the philosopher, because he sought help from Miki when attempting to escape from the police. In 1945 Takakura joined the JCP and in 1946 won a seat in the national Diet as an assemblyman from Nagano Prefecture. In 1947 he set up the *Minshushugi kagakusha kyōkai gengogaku bukai* (The Linguistics Division of the Organization of Democracy Scientists, 民主主義科学者協会言語科学部会) along with Oshima Yoshio. He won again in another election in 1950, but he was purged. Was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan from 1950 to 1951. Enlightened people about the need to rationalize the written language of Japan and the connections between politics and literature.

Takaragi Yutaka (1917-43, 宝木寛, penname Pioniro): Like Hidekatsu, he was an advocate of “proletarian Esperanto” who became sick in prison due to his mistreatment. While Hidekatsu was released from prison shortly before his death, Takaragi died in prison at the age of 26, even younger than Hidekatsu.²⁹ After he was arrested in December 1936, he was tortured to such an extent that, in critical condition, he was released on parole. In 1940 he was once more arrested and again fell into a critical condition. The singer-songwriter and Esperantist Noda Junko (野田淳子) wrote a song entitled “Overcoming Time” (時を超えて) about him.

Tamie: Hidekatsu’s mother.

Tōjō Misao (1884-1966, 東条織): A scholar of Japanese language studies who contributed article(s) to Hidekatsu’s *Moji to genjo* journal.

UEA, Universala Esperanto Asocio, based in Geneva.

Yamaga Taiji (1892-1970): An Esperantist, anarchist, and print worker whose mentors were Kuroita Katsumi and Ōsugi Sakae. He helped Ōsugi and Liu Shifu establish the anarchist journal *La Voĉo de la Populo* (民声) in Chinese, in Shanghai.³⁰ In 1929 he co-published *La anarkiisto*. At the

1960-61 War Resisters International Conference he gave a speech as a representative of Japan.

Ye Laishi (1911-94, 葉賴士, Yō Raishi in Japanese, penname Jelezo): An Esperantist, linguist, and advocate of the Romanization of Chinese.³¹ In 1929 he came to Japan as an exchange student. With the Manchurian Incident, he quit school and returned to China. He became the editor of the Esperanto magazine *La mondo* and accepted a paper for that magazine written by Hasegawa Teru. He also participated in Hidekatsu's Romanization movement and wrote an article for Hidekatsu's journal *Latinigo*. He supported Hasegawa Teru's resistance in Shanghai to the War. He praised Hasegawa Teru, Hidekatsu, and other Japanese for their resistance to the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Yui Chūnoshin (1894 - 1967, 由比忠之進): A patent attorney and pacifist who worked for Nagoya Central Broadcasting (名古屋中央放送局) and started a "Nagoya Esperanto Society" (*Nagoya Esperanto Kai*) in 1932.³² He met Ye Laishi and other Esperantists when he visited China as a member of the Aichi Prefecture Peace Preservation Committee (*Aichi-ken heiwa yōgo iinkai*) in 1956. He self-immolated on 11 November 1967 (Armistice Day) near the Japanese Prime Minister's Official Residence to protest Prime Minister Eisuke Sato's support for U.S. bombing in North Vietnam.³³ 700 people participated in the memorial service after his death. He was awarded with a friendship medal from the government of Vietnam and there is a portrait of him on display in the War History Museum in Hanoi. He was the second Esperantist to commit suicide as a political protest after Alice Herz (1882-1965).³⁴ Both were meant as protests against the Vietnam War. Herz was the first Esperanto activist in the United States known to have immolated.

¹ For example, an article entitled "Anti-war Treaty Near, Briand Hints" was published in the *New York Times* on 6 July 1928 (p. 21).

² “Renunciation of War as an Instrument of National Policy (Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact or Pact of Paris),” p. 732. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0732.pdf>

³ Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, p. 221. David Swanson, third paragraph of “A Plan Comes Together,” *When the World Outlawed War* (David Swanson, 2011).

⁴ The article appears on p. 13 of that day’s *New York Times*.

⁵ Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 221 and note 35 on p. 712.

⁶ Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 221.

⁷ Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 10.

⁸ Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 223.

⁹ Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 222.

¹⁰ Justin Jesty, “Tokyo 1960: Days of Rage & Grief: Hamaya Hiroshi’s Photos of the Anti-Security-Treaty Protests,” *Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 13:9:2 (2 March 2015). <https://apjif.org/-Justin-Jesty/4291/article.pdf>

¹¹ John de Francis, *Nationalism and Language Reform in China* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1950) 27.

¹² John de Francis, *Nationalism and Language Reform in China* 116.

¹³ “The Plurality of Literacy and its Implications for Policies and Programs” (2004). <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001362/136246e.pdf>

¹⁴ <https://cardiff.academia.edu/IanRapley>

¹⁵ Asahiga Noboru, *Esuperanto undō no tenbō* (エスペラント運動の展望, Perspektivo sur la Esperanto-Movado), (Sekai Bunka Kenkyū Kai, 1978) 113; Shibata Iwao, Gotō Hitoshi, and Mine Yoshitaka, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* (Biografia leksikono de la Esperanto-movado en Japanio, Hitsuji Shobō, 2013), 5-6.

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- ¹⁷ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 425.
- ¹⁸ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 398-401.
- ¹⁹ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 44-45.
- ²⁰ JCP webpage.
- ²¹ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 32.
- ²² Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten*.
- ²³ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 491-93. Miyamoto Masao, *La morta suito : Oosugi Sakae, anarkiisto-esperantisto* (L'Omnibuso, 1984).
- ²⁴ Scott Richardson and Haruka Konishi, "An Implementation of the Japanese Autobiographical Method Seikatsu Tsuzurikata—"Life Writing"—In a US Elementary School," *Creative Education* 4:9 (2013). Published online in September 2013 in *SciRes* (<http://www.scirp.org/journal/ce>).
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- ²⁶ The Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, "Why Was the Esperanto Movement Oppressed?" (*Senzen, Esuperanto undō ga dan'atsu sareta riyu wa?* 戦前、エスペラント運動が弾圧された理由は？, 31 March 2005)
<https://www.jcp.or.jp/akahata/aik4/2005-03-31/2005-03-31faq.html>
- ²⁷ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 95-96.
- ²⁸ For more on the massacre of Koreans in Tokyo, see Sonia Ryang's "The Tongue That Divided Life and Death. The 1923 Tokyo Earthquake and the Massacre of Koreans," *Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 5:9 (3 September 2007).
<https://apjif.org/-Sonia-Ryang/2513/article.html>
- ²⁹ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 296.
- ³⁰ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 517-18.

³¹ Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 537.

³² Shibata, Gotō, Mine, *Nihon Esuperanto undō jinmei jiten* 533-34.

³³ Omoboy and Hiroaki Sato, “Bush's brutal war stirs memories of Vietnam,” *Japan Times* (28 April 2008).
<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2008/04/28/commentary/bushs-brutal-war-stirs-memories-of-vietnam/#.XIInlorLfQF>

³⁴ Iwaware Hiroshi, *Monogaki wo mezasu hitobito he—waga taikenteki masukomi ron* (For Those Who Aim To Write—My Ideas on the Mass Media from my Experience, もの書きを目指す人びとへ—わが体験的マスコミ論) Chapter 62.
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