

Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) and Japan

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This is the original version before the final check. The improved-English version, checked by Sir Hugh Cortazzi and Dr. Peter O'Connor, is available in *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits Vol VII* (compiled & edited by Hugh Cortazzi, Global Oriental), pp.255-267.

Invitation by *Kaizo*

In 1921 Bertrand Russell, with his 22 years younger love Dora Black (1894 -1986, to be his second wife in September), came to Japan on 17 July and stayed until 30 July after ten months' stay in China as a guest professor at Peking University. Russell's visit to Japan was at the invitation of Kaizosha, a publishing company founded in April 1919 with an opinion-leading monthly magazine *Kaizo* (*The Reconstruction*). Encouraged by the box-office success of Russell's invitation, Kaizosha continued inviting Western prominent persons; Margaret Sanger (March 1922), Albert Einstein (November 1922) and George Bernard Shaw (February 1933).

Yokozeki Aizo (1887-1969), the chief editor of *Kaizo*, visited Russell at Peking in October 1920, as soon as Russell arrived there, and offered the invitation to Japan by Kaizosha. Yokozeki stayed in Peking for a month, keeping in touch with Russell and Dora, and got an active support of the ambassador to China to make sure of nonintervention from Japanese government with the famous socialist's entry. When Yokozeki asked Russell "Who would you like to see in Japan?", he answered at once "Nobody in particular" curtly.*¹

Before and after his visit, Russell contributed fifteen essays to *Kaizo* upon request, which appeared in English-Japanese bilingual editions*² They discuss social or political problems except one on the theory of relativity. Eight of them were published bound together with Russell's only one lecture in Japan as a book in February 1922 by Kaizosha.

Russell was welcomed by Yamamoto Sanehiko (1885-1952), the president of Kaizosha, at Moji port in the morning 16 July 1921. Russell and Dora, along with the economic historian Eileen

*1 Yokozeki Aizo, "Lord Russell in Japan" *Bulletin of The Bertrand Russell Society of Japan*, 1965, n2, p.7

*2 *Kaizo*, Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr., Aug., Sept., Oct. 1921, Mar., Apr., May, Jul., Aug., Oct. 1922, Feb., Sept. 1923. The first and the last were printed without English. Essays by Dora Black were also printed in *Kaizo*, Mar., Apr.1921, *Josei-Kaizo* (*Women's Kaizo*), Oct.1922. Eight of them were included in *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization* (coauthored with Dora Russell, London: Allen & Unwin, 1923), and its Japanese translation was published in April 1928 from Waseda U.P.

Power (1889-1940) who was also travelling in China and Japan, landed not at Moji but at Kobe at noon the next day, and were greeted by Robert Young (1858-1922), the chief editor of the English-language newspaper *The Japan Chronicle*.^{*2} In Kobe Russell gave a short speech at a meeting of some one thousand labourers led by the Christian pacifist Kagawa Toyohiko (1888-1960) and then Russell, Dora and Power were taken by Young to Osaka, Nara and Kyoto where they got to be guided by the staff of Kaizo, and on 24 arrived at Yokohama by train, on 25 at Tokyo. In the afternoon 30 July, they set sail from Yokohama bound for Vancouver.

Various Reactions of Japanese Intellectuals

The Japanese intellectual world took great notice of him, either as the British philosopher who had attacked the British government crying against participation in the World War and been imprisoned, or the Western intellectual who was one of the first to inspect the Bolshevik Russia.

These social activist aspects of him are of secondary importance, from not only the present viewpoint but those days' criterion, because Russell had already accomplished his best influential works in mathematics and philosophy by 1921, but Taisho Japan regarded him primarily as a socialist thinker. The first publication of the complete Japanese translations of Russell's books is *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (1916) in November 1919. By 1921, out of Russell's 16 books (10 academic or philosophical and 6 social, counting *Principia Mathematica* 3 vols. as one book), 2 academic and 5 social books had been translated into Japanese, or counting different translators' volumes separately, 2 academic and 13 social ones had been translated. As recognized from the rate, Russell as a socialist was relatively overestimated due to Japan's political situation between World Wars, although his mathematical philosophy, ontology and epistemology had been regarded as somewhat trendy in Japan. This bias kept the interaction between Russell and Taisho Japan rather superficial, though around his two weeks in Japan there was a kind of Russell boom.

According to Yamamoto's letter to Russell dated 25 March, applications for Russell's lecture had come to Kaizosha from the Imperial universities of Tokyo, Kyoto, and Kyushu. But they are cancelled because of Russell's bad physical condition, and as substitute for them, the casual conversation parties with Japanese intellectuals were held; in Kyoto, with 27 representative intellectuals at Miyako Hotel (Capital Hotel) in the evening 21 July, and in Tokyo, with about 30 ones at Teikoku Hotel (Imperial Hotel) in the morning 26 July.

Participants of the parties reported the impressions of Russell in the September issue of *Kaizo*. Those reports and many other essays on Russell about that time can be classified into at least 6 types. First, a sort of indifference was shown by the philosopher Nishida Kitaro (1870-1945), as is easily presumed from his Buddhist anti-analytic basis. Nishida declared he did not expect much

*2 The general reports on Russell in Japan are in *The Japan Chronicle* (Weekly ed.) 28 July, 1921, p.127 and 4 September, p.170.

from Russell's New Realism while recognizing his established status in mathematics.*4

The reaction of the second type is most common among the socialists, such as Sakai Toshihiko (1871-1933)*5 and Kondo Eizo (1883-1965).*6 They expressed their disappointment in Russell's criticism against the New Russia, and commented that he had exposed himself to be in a shameful bourgeois position pretending to be a social reformer. Another socialist Kitazawa Shinjiro (1887-1980) criticized not only Russell's utterances but his behaviors, for instance, staying at Teikoku Hotel which was a hotbed of capitalism and striking a haughty attitude towards newspapermen who belonged to the labouring classes in their hearts, very often turning them away sullenly.*7 Kitazawa's criticism anticipated the character sketch by Russell's daughter 55 years later, "He never identified with servants and underlings (as I did) or felt their humiliation and deprivation as his own,"*8 so it was more than only an manifestation of antipathy from temporary disillusion.

Type 3 reaction is a sympathy as heretics, seen in the anarchist Osugi Sakae (1885-1923) who shared sceptical views of Bolshevik Russia. Osugi's joining to the Teikoku Hotel party made the place very strained, because of the observation of the police. Osugi, who was introduced to Russell as "a Japanese Bakunin," reported that Russell was asking his agreement on a hatred for a volley of flashlights while they talked to each other "for only five minutes in all."*9 Later Russell wrote:

In both places [Kyoto and Tokyo] we were treated with the utmost obsequiousness and dogged by police-spies. The room next to ours in the hotel would be occupied by a collection of policemen with a typewriter. ·····At the parties of professors which were given in our honour, as soon as I got into at all animated conversation with anyone, a flashlight photograph would be

*4 Nishida Kitaro, "Russell as a Scholar" *Kaizo*, September, 1921, pp.81-83

*5 Sakai Toshihiko, "A Genteel Scholar Russell" *Socialism* November, 1920, pp.17-19, December, 1920, pp.12-15

*6 Kondo Eizo (Ii Takashi), "Natural Shape of Russell" *Socialism* March, 1921, pp.16-19

*7 Kitazawa Shinjiro, "Russell and his Party" *Kaizo*, September, 1921, pp.97-99

*8 Tait, Katharine, *My Father Bertrand Russell* (London; Harcourt Brace, 1975) p.140

*9 Osugi Sakae, "Russell with a Sour Smile" *Kaizo*, September, 1921, p.100

taken, with the result that the conversation was of course interrupted.*¹⁰

Osugi, his virtual wife Ito Noe (1895-1923), one of the most progressive feminists who was Russell wrote only one Japanese whom he really liked, and a 6 year old nephew were strangled to death by military policemen in the confusion of the Great Kanto Earthquake on 16 September, 1923. This "Amakasu Incident" was mentioned by Russell with quiet resentment, "The police in question became national heroes, and school children were set to write essays in their praise."*³

Russell's description is not always an exaggeration; there actually swelled a massive petition for reduced sentence for the murderers as Osugi had been regarded as a public enemy to be eliminated.

The militaristic atmosphere filled with potentialities of suppression like Amakasu Incident, conjointly with a democratic liveliness on the surface, induced the other two types of reactions to Russell. Type 4 is a naive admiration for Russell's humanism. The economist Fukuda Tokuzo (1874-1930), one of the leaders of Taisho Democracy, stated that "Russell's works are the best of all products of any kind of thought the World War brought forth"*¹² (p.39), and often declared himself to be influenced by Russell's social theory and called himself "a Japanese Bertrand Russell." As against that, there is type 5 which critically reflected on type 4. For example the critic Murofuse Koshin (1892-1970), who as a mission of *Kaizo* had travelled all over Europe and America at the interwar period to see famous persons including Russell, compared Fukuda with Russell pointing out how different they were, and stating that Fukuda was a mere chauvinist compared with Russell.*¹³

One of Murofuse's points is that the claimed resemblance between the two is only superficial such as being a severe attacker against the diplomatic policy of England, but the real comparison must be done as for whether one had enough courage to denounce one's own country's wrong policy, and from that viewpoint, Fukuda is diametrically opposite to Russell. Fukuda rather admired than criticized Japanese policy which was never beyond reproach, Murofuse indicated, while in *Principles of Social Reconstruction* and *Roads to Freedom* (1918) Russell blamed not only British activity in South Africa, French in Morocco but also Japanese operation toward Manchuria, even Japanese threat to peaceful Australia or world peace itself. Murofuse's criticism is especially interesting in view of his becoming a military chauvinist opportunistically after the

*¹⁰ Russell, Bertrand, *Autobiography* (London; Allen & Unwin, 1967) p.367

*³ Russell, *Autobiography*, p.368

*¹² Fukuda Tokuzo, "Social Policy of Liberation" *Kaizo*, the initial number, June, 1919, p.39

*¹³ Murofuse Koshin, "Dr. Fukuda and Bertrand Russell" *Chuokoron*, July, extra number "labour problem" edition, 1919, pp.46-58

Manchurian Incident. It shows that in Japanese momentary liberalist trend Western deep-rooted liberalism represented by Russell's impartial pacifism was an object of longing in contradistinction to limited views of the academicians in Taisho.

Of course, criticism of the same kind was directed to Russell himself. the critic Hasegawa Nyozeikan (1875-1969) expressed a cynical view about Russell's pacifism. Keeping the world in peace must have been profitable to the countries like England which had already achieved their dominant positions by military ways, so Hasegawa suggested, there might be some chauvinistic self-interest of an Englishman in Russell's subconscious motivation for pacifism.*¹⁴ The general scepticism including both self-criticism and foreign doubt of the Japanese democracy via one Western philosopher were seen in Type 5.

The diversity of these reactions can be seen as the reflection of Russell's complicated paradoxical personality into Japan as a mirror. So, there are some character sketches focusing on his paradoxical nature itself. They can be seen as type 6 among which are many essays by the philosopher Tsuchida Kyoson (1891-1934),*¹⁵ who discussed with Russell individually at Miyako Hotel for four hours on various topics including a possible war between Japan and the U.S., and guided Russell around temples in Kyoto the following day. Tsuchida had studied Russell's academic works as well as social writings, and described Russell as a paradoxical complex of the opposites, a cool analytic philosopher and a hot-blooded activist, just like Russell's first biography *Bertrand Russell: the Passionate Sceptic* (1957) by Alan Wood (1914-1957). On 3 August, Russell on board wrote a letter with a pencil to Tsuchida answering the questions presented by him about sense-data, dualism of matter and spirit, guild socialism, etc.*¹⁶ This letter of some 230 words is one of the best introduction to Russell's thought in his middle period.

Clash and the Lecture

The other interesting type 6 comment was one by the philosopher Kuwaki Gen-yoku

*¹⁴ Hasegawa Nyozeikan (Manjiro), "Russell's Social Thought and China" *Critique of Modern Society* (Tokyo; Kobundo, 1922) pp.505-542

*¹⁵ Tsuchida Kyoson, "Philosophy of Russell" *Kaizo*, July, 1921, pp.9-14, "Talking with Russell on Russia and Japan" *Kaizo*, September, 1921, pp.84-95. Tsuchida wrote at least 11 essays on Russell from 1918 to 24. On the magazines Tsuchida's monograph on Russell was advertised to be put on the market in September 1921, but eventually not brought out. The first book on Russell written in Japanese is; Aomi Jun-ichi, *Russell* (Tokyo; Keiso-Shobo, 1961).

*¹⁶ *The Japan Chronicle* Daily ed., 31 August, 1921, p.5.

(1874-1946) which regarded Russell as not a paradoxical complex but a paradoxical unity^{*17}.

Kuwaki compared Russell with Oscar Wilde or George Gordon Byron in that all the three had been rejected by their home country because of their immoral rebellion against British traditional common sense, only with the contrast that Russell's unlawful immorality resulted from strict logic and intelligence while immorality of the other two were artistic or emotional. It is persuasive though curious that it was Russell's intellect, not his amorous lifestyle typically shown in the round-the-world trip accompanied by a girl friend leaving his wife at home, that deserved to be pointed out as anti-commonsense, and it suggested that some radical change of the British, then of the Western culture had started to give variety to morality.

Kuwaki wrote further that in view of Russell's heretical position in his own country, the place for him to die in should have been China which he loved very much. Kuwaki's idea about the place for Russell's death had come into his mind when he was asked to contribute a memorial writing for Russell annexed to his obituary on *Kaizo*, with the association of Wilde and Byron who had ended their lives out of England, in their respective favourite places, Paris and Greece.

But obituary for Russell in 1921? Of course, it was premature.^{*18} In China, Russell was afflicted with serious double pneumonia and in late March got into a critical condition. Japanese reporters tried to know his condition persistently, continued to intrude and annoy Dora Black when she wanted to be nursing, whose rejection resulted in the wrong information, by a wild guess or a deliberate revenge, "Russell got dead in the morning of 27" reported on Japanese newspapers 29 March. It was transmitted through U.S. to England, which:

……appeared in the English newspapers on the same day as the news of my divorce. ……The report caused some pain to friends in England. We in Peking knew nothing about it until a telegram came from my brother enquiring whether I was still alive. He had been remarking meanwhile that to die in Peking was not the sort of thing I would do.^{*19}

The opinion of John Francis Stanley Russell (1865-1931) made an ironical contrast with Kuwaki's imagination. The false report was one of the reasons why Russell had been ill-impressed by Japanese newspapermen and was taking up sour-tempered attitude towards them.

Another conspicuous episode with Japanese pressmen was happened when Russell's party

*17 Kuwaki Gen-yoku, "An Acute-angular person" *Kaizo*, September, 1921, pp.102-108

*18 Kuwaki's memorial writing was not published, while he contributed a short comment to an article reporting Russell's recovery's beyond all hope on *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* 28 March.

*19 Russell, *Autobiography*, p.365

arrived at Yokohama station. He feared that the photographers' flashes might be hurtful to his pregnant love. His fear directly got to anger, which caused him to run after photographers shouting "You beast!" swishing a stick^{*20}, despite the weakening after illness. Later he wrote:

We arrived there just after dark, and were received by a series of magnesium explosions, each of which made Dora jump, and increased my fear of a miscarriage. I became blind with rage, ·····I pursued the boys with the flashlights, but being lame, was unable to catch them, which was fortunate, as I should certainly have committed murder.·····I felt at that moment the same type of passion as must have been felt by Anglo-Indians during the Mutiny, or by white men surrounded by a rebel coloured population.^{*21}

From the passage, Russell's unpleasant impression of Japan seemed to have been caused by the wide difference between Russell and Japan, namely a sense of alienation he felt in the non-Western ethnic surroundings of Japan. As Kuwaki's essay treating Russell as a purgee added tactfully that, after talking with Russell at Teikoku Hotel, he felt like modifying his opinion due to the impression of Russell worthy of a typical British aristocrat, so the conflict between Russell and Japan probably shows how remote they were in their natures. However, listen to his talk at lunch with Takaishi Shingoro (1878-1967), the sub-chief editor of *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, at Osaka Hotel on 18 July. Takaishi reported:

As soon as Mr. Russell arrived at the hotel at noon, cameramen from many newspaper companies appeared like troops in ambush. Mr. Russell protested saying 'No reason to be taken pictures' and did not consent easily. I told him at seat 'That is only the latest fashionable imitation of the custom from the West.' Mr. Russell laughed and said, 'Of course, but Japan far surpassed its master.'^{*22}

That minor episode makes us wonder if Russell's bad impression of Japan did not derive from his perception of Western vices in Japan, even though his described feeling of ethnic uncongeniality referring to Mutiny sounds like an honest confession of his heart. He must have been anxious about the Western civilization, in particular his own country from first to last, even in the Far East. After seeing many British intellectuals including his ex-teacher A. N. Whitehead and colleague J.

*20 *Hochi Shimbun*, 25 July, Kitazawa, "Russell and his Party" p.97

*21 Russell, *Autobiography*, p.368

*22 *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 19 July, morning edition.

M. E. McTaggart "savagely warlike"*²³ at World War I, Russell had an unrecoverable disillusion to the Western culture, and his misgivings about his own country's regrettable situation made him feel unfavourable impressions to Japan due to Japan's wrong liveliness reminiscent of European countries just before the War.*²⁴

Russell's real matter of concern was revealed in many passages of his first book after the travel:

[I]t is necessary to put the reader on his guard against the habit of thinking of the "Yellow Races," as though China and Japan formed some kind of unity but the political and cultural importance of ethnic affinities is very small. Similarity of culture is infinitely more important than a common racial origin.*²⁵

Russell emphasized the difference between China and Japan again and again as if he decided not to persuade himself of the possibility of any coordination of the two nations. He admired sophisticated humour of the Chinese and his view of China and Japan was shown as many epigrammatic assertions such as:

The Chinese remind one of the English in their love of compromise and in their habit of bowing to public opinion. Seldom is a conflict pushed to its ultimate brutal issue*²⁶

Japan, unlike China, is a religious country. The Chinese doubt a proposition until it is proved to be true; the Japanese believe it until it is proved to be false.....The Japanese are earnest, passionate, strong-willed, amazingly hard working, and capable of boundless sacrifice to an ideal. Most of them have the correlative defects: lack of humour, cruelty, intolerance, and incapacity for free thought.*²⁷

One of the most remarkable things about the Chinese is their power of securing the affection of foreigners.....In spite of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, I can recall hardly a single Englishman in the Far East who liked the Japanese as well as the Chinese.*²⁸

*²³ Russell, *Autobiography*, p.239

*²⁴ Russell's utterance that Japan resembles prewar Germany is reported in *Hochi Shimibun*, 28 July.

*²⁵ Russell, Bertrand, *The Problem of China*, (London; Allen & Unwin, 1922) p.117

*²⁶ Russell, *The Problem of China*, p.205

*²⁷ Russell, *The Problem of China*, pp.169-170

*²⁸ Russell, *The Problem of China*, p.199

Russell did not show any interest in the art and culture of traditional Japan. The physicist Kuwaki Ayao (1878-1945) reported, "Unlike ordinary Westerners, Russell did not think much of Patrick Lafcadio Hearn's books and said apathetically that they are concerned with old Japan excessively."^{*29} On the contrary, Russell loved old Chinese culture so much without reserve that a few progressive intellectuals like Lu Xun (1881-1936) expressed displeasure^{*30}. And, in Japan he stayed at the first-class hotels, while in China he had been registered at a third-class hotel at the outskirts of Peking calmly. Certainly this extreme disparity is mainly due to the difference between the forms of his invitations; the one by a national university and the other by an enterprising up-to-date magazine (about the acceptance of the latter form an oblique warning had been given by Robert Young's letter to Russell, 11 February 1921), but at the same time it must have reflected his own inner dissociation.

A type 2 commentator Kondo Eizo wrote "In New Russia, Russell did inquire not into communism, but into himself,"^{*31} and pointed out that he was revealed to have been not a supporter of labouring class but only a western humanistic academician. The same thing could have been said more appropriately about Russell against China and Japan. In other words, Russell read merits and demerits of his true object of interest, England or the West, into the two of the Eastern countries. Moreover, it looks as if Russell not only saw virtue and vice of his mother country but also experienced his two incompatible lives, fascinatingly academic and restlessly practical, sharply divided by the War between, again in the Far East. It was just as Japanese Intellectuals tried to use Russell as a medium to imagine what was going on in the world, understand the position of Japan, and above all develop a critical viewpoint towards Japan.

Needless to say, the above psychological interpretation does not mean Russell must have never felt comfortable at any meeting in Japan. His lecture entitled "Rebuilding Civilization" in the large hall at Keio University on the evening of 28 July was a great success. The large hall, "Daikodo" at Mita, which later survived the Great Kanto Earthquake but was destroyed in an air-raid in May 1945, had a seating capacity of 2000, and according to Kitazawa Shinjiro, it was already crowded by around 4:30, an hour and a half before the scheduled time, finally the audience of about 3600, mostly intellectuals, overflowed the hall. Kitazawa added about the lecture itself that Dora Black had told it was "one of the best lectures in Russell's life."^{*32}

*29 Kuwaki Ayao, "Civilization is primarily uniform" *Kaizo*, September, 1921, p.96

*30 Nijima Atsuyoshi, "Bertrand Russell and china" (Commentary to *The Problem of China*, trans. by Makino Tsutomu, Tokyo; Risosha, 1971) pp.287-341

*31 Kondo, "Natural Shape of Russell" p.19

*32 Kitazawa, "Russell and his Party" p.98

Yamamoto Sanehiko wrote:

Russell's lectures in Japan had been cancelled because of weakness from his illness, but three or four days before leaving Japan, he proposed to give a lecture ardently. Beforehand Russell asked for our acknowledgment that he could not talk for more than thirty or forty minutes and would keep sitting down while talking, so I as the chairman let the audience know about that. But he was so deeply moved by the fever of the large audience, forgetful of all illness, that he kept addressing for more than an hour standing straight all through the lecture without a breathing spell."³³

The lecture was not interrupted even once by the police's shout of caution as was usual in any speech supposedly containing dangerous thoughts, but when it was published in the September issue of *Kaizo*, it suffered many blue pencils.

Kitazawa stated at the end of his essay, with a self-scorn, that despite such an enthusiastic cheers the thinking world of Japan would forget Russell soon because of its fickle taste of fashion lacking its own creativity. Kitazawa's prediction has not always come true, as Russell's books continued to be read in prewar Japan though a general zest did not last long. Actually, even during World War II, *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* (1919) written in prison during World War I, was published from Kobundo in March 1942, the second issue in September 1942, by a different translator from the one of Kaizosha version published in 1922.

Postwar Contacts

According to Yokozeki Aizo, during the war Kaizosha had lost communication with Russell, but as soon as the war ended, they received a long letter from Russell asking after their safety. Russell welcomed anyone introduced by Yokozeki and found pleasure in hearing from them on Japan's condition. One of them, the feminist Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980) reported to Yokozeki that when she talked to Russell at his villa in Surrey county in 1952, his son who spoke Japanese was among the company.³⁴ It is his eldest son John Conrad Russell (1921-1987) whom Yamakawa mentioned. John, who had been in the womb when Russell fought against cameramen defending his pregnant love at Yokohama, studied Japanese for the navy at London University and worked at Washington during the war.

Soon after the war, there revived an ardent interest in Russell among Japanese intellectuals. They were in the main stimulated by Russell's nuclear protest, and because of the change of Japan's

*33 Yamamoto Sanehiko, *Collection of Small Leisures* (Tokyo; Kaizosha, 1934) pp.198-199

*34 Yokozeki Aizo, "Bertrand Russell; Strong hatred against atomic bomb" *Writers in Memory* (Tokyo; Housei U.P., 1956) pp.230-242

position in the world and Russell's complete detachment from theoretical philosophy, their relationship was much deeper than that in Taisho.

In the text of "the Russell-Einstein Manifesto" issued in London on 9 July 1955, which is the summarized version of "Man's Peril" Russell recited on BBC radio on 23 December 1954, there are basically no proper names or descriptions to refer to particular nations or persons not as replaceable examples, because "We are speaking on this occasion, not as members of this or that nation, continent, or creed, but as human beings, members of the species Man, whose continued existence is in doubt." But there are three exceptions, all of which are connected with Japan. The things mentioned are "Hiroshima" (twice), "dust which infected the Japanese fishermen and their catch of fish," ("Daigo Fukuryu Maru Incident" on 1 March, 1954) and "the fear of a sudden attack in the style of Pearl Harbour."

The first Japanese Nobel laureate Yukawa Hideki (1907-81), a participant of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto and the first "Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs" on 7 July 1957 the founding charter thereof is the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, was the physicist most conscious of the possible concert of Russell's philosophy and the traditional oriental thoughts, especially the philosophy of Lao-tze and Chung-tze that Russell sometimes quoted in his books. The first Pugwash Conference stimulated Yukawa and other Japanese scientists to organize Pugwash Japan, a branch of Pugwash Conferences, in the same year.

In 1961, plans to invite Russell to Japan again were made by The Asahi Shimbun Company, New Citizens' Congress for Constitutional Defense (Shingoken) and other groups, but not realized because of his old age and busyness. Few years later, the four groups for Russell were established in Japan successively. The largest one is "The Bertrand Russell Society of Japan," whose president was Ryu Shintaro (1900-67), the former chief editorial writer of *Asahi Shimbun*. Its opening meeting was held at Waseda University on 20 January 1965. It was an academic society, not concerned in any political activity. Its function were getting inactive around 1980, and now stopped, excepting that a fellow member Matsushita Akiyoshi (1950-), taking over the materials of the Society, is managing the comprehensive Japanese web site on Russell.*³⁵

In 1964, "The Conference of Supporters for Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation" whose president was Hideo Chiba, started. On 12 March 1965, "Japan Cooperation Committee for Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation" whose president was the journalistic critic Yoshino Genzaburo (1899-1981), started. These two were active pacifist groups closely connected with Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in London. The former was a typical grass-roots movement group composed of housewives, students, or teachers. The latter, organized responding to the request from the Foundation to make the official branch in Japan, consisted of 24 prominent intellectuals whom Russell himself asked to join, including Yukawa, Nanbara Shigeru (politician, 1889-1974), Tomonaga Shinichiro (physicist, 1906-79), Tanikawa Tetsuzo (philosopher, 1895-1989).

*³⁵ *Portal Site for Russellian* <http://www005.upp.so-net.ne.jp/russell/index.htm> I relied on this web site as a source of Japanese bibliographical information.

Unfortunately, both groups were thrown into confusion when Russell's utterances on the Vietnam War began to sound so violent and unrealistic that a conflict of opinions was created among members of each groups concerning authenticity of Russell's statements. Their suspicions amplified because his immoderately anti-American pronouncements were always read by his personal secretary Ralph Schoenman (1935-), so Japanese supporters were afraid Russell had got too old and senile to restrain the young radical. Despite the intensive exchanges of questions and answers between them and London, their suspicions could not be dissolved and soon they stopped activities. It was two months before Russell's death that he got rid of Schoenman.

The smallest group, but one which kept the most intimate connection with Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and Russell himself was "Japan Information Center for Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation" set up by the economist Iwamatsu Shigetoshi (1928-), an associate professor at Nagasaki University, on 1 September 1966 at his own house. Iwamatsu, who had been a passionate militant student during World War II and experienced the atomic bombing while working at Mitsubishi arms factory at 1300 meters from the blast center, was since Autumn in 1961 acting as a director of the Nagasaki branch of "the Japan Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs" (Nagasaki-Gensuikyo), sending letters to politicians, distinguished activists, and newspapers in some twenty countries. The first letter from Iwamatsu to Russell was sent on 26 March with a copy of the letter to the U.S. president J. F. Kennedy enclosed. With Russell's reply dated 4 April, Iwamatsu started to exchange letters with Russell and directors of the Foundation. Iwamatsu issued the pamphlets to introduce Russell's up-to-date thoughts and activities to Japan and inform England of the latest circumstances of peace movements in Japan. The correspondence amounted to 260 mails from Iwamatsu and 303 from England by the end of the Vietnam war, with the death of Russell between.^{*36} Later Iwamatsu had a position of the chairman of "the Japan Congress against A- and H-Bombs" (Gensuikin) from 1997 to 2007.

Besides, there were several ad hoc groups related to Russell, for example the Tokyo Tribunal responding to the Russell Tribunal (the Vietnam International War Crimes Tribunal) in 1967, whose director was the lawyer Morikawa Kinju (1913-2006). Russell contributed many messages to Japanese activist groups, meetings, and even to university students. In his message to a coterie magazine by the students at Faculty of Medicine of Kyoto University, Russell wrote:

.....I do not need to tell the people of Japan about the horrors of such warfare; nor do I need to tell you about the effectiveness of resistance, for I have been encouraged by what you have yourselves achieved already.....^{*37}

*36 Iwamatsu Shigetoshi, *Prosecution toward Peace* (Tokyo; Tokyo-Seibunkan, 1975), pp.6-7

*37 "Statement to young Japanese from the President of The Committee of 100 in Britain," Dec. 12, 1962, <http://www005.upp.so-net.ne.jp/russell/BR100-J.HTM> in

Russell's serious confidence in Japan as the symbolic antinuclear power makes a sharp contrast with the festive or comical mood of his visit to Taisho Japan. The practical response from the postwar Japan, while containing subtle variations, could be classified as type 7 in addition to the types we saw earlier. Though at present in Japan there remains no acting group explicitly connected with Russell except Pugwash Japan, it is probably not because Russell lost the power of influence, but because his influence has permeated so widely that it is possible to refer to him at any field as the occasion may demand, just as there is no "Russellism" in theoretical philosophy because Russell's method of logical analysis has become the standard way of philosophizing.