JAPAN BETWEEN THE WARS

15

The Meiji era was not followed by as neat and logical a periodization. The Emperor Meiji (his era name was conflated with his person posthumously) symbolized the changes of his period so perfectly that at his death in July 1912 there was a clear sense that an era had come to an end. His successor, who was assigned the era name Taishō (Great Righteousness), was never well, and demonstrated such embarrassing indications of mental illness that his son Hirohito succeeded him as regent in 1922 and remained in that office until his father's death in 1926, when the era name was changed to Shōwa. The 1920s are often referred to as the "Taishō period," but the Taishō emperor was in nominal charge only until 1922; he was unimportant in life and his death was irrelevant.

Far better, then, to consider the quarter century between the Russo-Japanese War and the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident of 1931 as the next era of modern Japanese history. There is overlap at both ends, with Meiji and with the resurgence of the military, but the years in question mark important developments in every aspect of Japanese life. They are also years of irony and paradox. Japan achieved success in joining the Great Powers and reached imperial status just as the territorial grabs that distinguished nineteenth-century imperialism came to an end, and its image changed with dramatic swiftness from that of newly founded empire to stubborn advocate of imperial privilege. Its military and naval might approached world standards just as those standards were about to change, and not long before the disaster of World War I produced revulsion from armament and substituted enthusiasm for arms limitations. Japan's political leaders broadened popular representation in government that would have been welcomed in Meiji years, only to have expectations outrun those advances in re-

sponse to newer impulses of revolution and radicalism abroad. Government vigilance and police eagerness to repress that radicalism all but vitiated what were genuine steps in the direction of representative government. World War I and its aftermath, together with the great Tokyo earthquake of 1923, brought profound changes in social, intellectual, and urban consciousness. In some ways these years brought a growth in democracy and a setback in civil rights, and both found support within Japanese society.

1. Steps toward Party Government

The Meiji Constitution was deliberately vague on the subject of executive responsibility. Sovereignty and final authority in all matters rested with the throne, but at the same time the ruler had to be protected from active participation lest he be found fallible. What resulted was a curious sort of pluralism in which many participated and no one was ultimately responsible. The prime ministers were relatively weak, especially in the early years when they sat with ministers who were their equals. Cabinet ministers presided over relatively autonomous organizations; the Home and Justice ministries, with responsibility for local government and the national police, were particularly powerful. Since the emperor was in theory commander of all armed services, the ministers of the army and navy reported directly to him, but they in turn were selected from the generals and admirals on the active list by their respective general staffs. The lifting of this requirement between the years from 1913 to 1936 marked a significant, though temporary, step forward, but the services remained vital to the political process. Powerful bodies were beyond the control of the elected members of the House of Representatives. The Privy Council, made up of imperial appointees, had to be invoked for key decisions of constitutional interpretation and national policy. The House of Peers, a mix of hereditary aristocrats (many newly created) and imperial appointees, was susceptible to influence by government figures who, like Yamagata Aritomo, had the opportunity to nominate members. After each successful war its lower ranks had been swelled by titles granted members of the armed services. In later years leading industrialists also took their place with other leading taxpayers and imperial appointees who included distinguished academics. In other words the House of Representatives, itself elected by voters who qualified for suffrage by a direct tax, was one contender for power, and badly outmatched except for the constitutional requirement that it approve the budget.[1]

Thanks to this provision, cabinets had found it steadily more necessary to work out arrangements with the lower house, and in their struggles with

it the Satsuma-Chōshū oligarchs had to a large extent had to submerge the differences that divided them in order to present a solid and seemingly harmonious front. At first they had thought of political parties as a source of partisan disunity and tried to adopt a posture of transcendence or superiority, lecturing the representatives on their responsibility to cooperate. When this failed a special imperial statement or rescript usually carried the day, but overuse of this tactic had its own dangers of cheapening the currency of Imperial Otherness. The throne was surrounded by a sacerdotal awe, and misuse of its numinous power, especially for personal political advantage, was a form of blasphemy. After the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 the oligarchs found it wise to add party leaders with impeccable Restoration credentials to their cabinets. Itagaki Taisuke and Ōkuma Shigenobu came to hold seats under Itō and Matsukata respectively. In 1898 the *genrō,* at Itō's urging, even experimented with a cabinet jointly led by the two party leaders, but it soon failed because of internal disunity. Itō now got the idea of organizing his own party. He was tired, he wrote, of the horse-trading necessary for cooperation with the lower house, and he needed his own army instead of having to deal with mercenaries. His colleagues, particularly Yamagata, had been firmly opposed to this at first and blocked it. It was Yamagata who followed the Itagaki-Ōkuma cabinet, and it was then that he secured an imperial ordinance that restricted the service posts to commanders on the active list in order to safeguard governments from party control. Thus the services, by refusing to approve, or withdrawing, a minister, could block or bring down the cabinet.

It was in 1900 that Itō had his way and organized his party, the Friends of Constitutional Government (Rikken Seiyūkai). Most of its members were former Liberal Party adherents, drawn to the new organization by the lure of power and patronage under the leadership of the author of the constitution itself.

Yamagata remained hostile to the idea. He promptly nominated Itō as his successor prime minister before the latter's preparations were complete, and then quietly sabotaged the new cabinet that Itō formed. Shortly afterward he managed to have the emperor appoint Itō to head the Privy Council, forcing him to end his role in party politics by ceding control to Saionji Kinmochi. Not long after that Itō's assignment to Korea removed him from internal politics altogether.

The *genrō* were thus far from united. For the early years of constitutional government the prime minister's chair alternated between leaders from Satsuma and those from Chōshū. After 1900 Satsuma was out of the running for over a decade, but a new alternation took place between Katsura Tarō, an army protégé of Yamagata's, and Saionji, as heir to Itō's political party. It

was now to some extent a Chōshū world. But within that world rivalries remained: two powerful men, foreign policy alternatives, and civil-military priorities. What distinguished this last decade of Meiji was a rather patterned, gentlemanly competition of a sort possible only between men who had worked together for half a century and who had begun to be aware that other, new forces might threaten their ascendancy. No one was ever allowed to "fail," and exquisite care was taken to avoid loss of face. We have earlier noted the way Inoue Kaoru was blocked from forming a cabinet in 1901; Katsura, when invited to continue as army minister, professed illness, and was free to accept the prime minister's post only after other members of the gentlemen's club prevailed on Inoue to ask him to put national above personal considerations.

Katsura experienced a remarkable recovery. It was on his watch that the alliance with England was formed, the decision taken to stand up to Russia, and the Russo-Japanese War carried to its successful conclusion. The great Hibiya riots against the failure of the Portsmouth treaty to include a Russian indemnity forced Katsura's resignation. He now recommended Saionji as his successor. In 1908, when disputes over the size of military appropriations brought Saionji down, he in turn recommended Katsura as his successor. This time the annexation of Korea stood as Katsura's accomplishment, with the result that he was elevated in rank to duke or prince *(kōshaku).* Saionji, descended from a distinguished aristocratic lineage, held that rank by birth.

What had made this alternation in power possible was a working agreement between Katsura and Saionji's Seiyūkai. Katsura needed their votes, and they needed his willingness to forgo dissolution of the Diet (which was the prime minister's prerogative), as that would have plunged them into expensive election campaigns. Katsura was far from a free agent, in other words, and his restiveness under these restrictions led him in turn to think about organizing his own political party, as Itō had done before him. His old mentor Yamagata still objected. In 1911 it was Saionji's turn once again. He was in office during the Meiji emperor's final illness, but shortly after that a dispute with the army once more brought him down. Saionji, the only court aristocrat *(kuge)* among the oligarchs, was now asked to serve as *genrō,* and the last to be so honored. After the death of Yamagata in 1922 and Matsukata in 1924 it fell to Saionji, until his death in 1940, to advise the court on the selection of new prime ministers.[2] Katsura, for his part, was quietly removed from politics by being elevated to the imperial court as lord privy seal and grand chamberlain. Yamagata had not changed his mind about political parties.

Saionji's eminence had given the Seiyūkai access to power, but the most important political figure of the party was not Saionji, who was a rather languid aristocrat, but Hara Takashi (Kei, 1856–1921), who was to form a political

party cabinet, the first to be structured and headed by a party politician, in 1918. Hara's career and character provide a good illustration of the sort of qualifications necessary for a successful party politician in a Japan in which many of the reins of power were still beyond popular control.

Hara showed little doubt about his commitment to representative government and in particular the House of Representatives. Early on he voluntarily gave up his classification as "former samurai," and he consistently resisted offers of a peerage that would have forced him out of the House of Representatives. For this some contemporary observers hailed him as "the great commoner." In fact, however, his origins were more distinguished than those of most of his colleagues and competitors, for his forebears had been of the highest rank in the northern domain of Nambu. What was distinctive about him was his place of origin, for Nambu and the northeast in general had fared very poorly in the Meiji order. Hara made no particular effort to ingratiate himself with the ordinary people whose cause he was supposed to champion. A genuinely popular following would have made him seem a dangerous competitor in the eyes of leaders whose approval was vital to his rise to power. Far from participating in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement of the 1880s, he had begun as a government official; he held a number of important diplomatic posts, and worked particularly closely with Foreign Minister Mutsu Munemitsu. His background also included a period as editor of the Osaka *Mainichi* as well as business posts. He was, in other words, very much part of the establishment and he had a record that inspired confidence. In addition, however, he was an adroit participant in political decisions. He had played an important role in the establishment of his party in 1900. Thereafter he helped keep its members in line in Diet negotiations. More important, probably, was his skill in pork barrel politics. Under his leadership a broad-gauge railroad the length of the land that the military wanted was given up in favor of politically popular projects of local lines, roads, bridges, ports, and other improvements that gratified electoral supporters. At the same time Hara kept a careful eye on Yamagata, now easily the single most powerful of the oligarchs, and did his best to develop a position of trust with him. He made little headway in this for many years, but when he finally came to power he was rewarded by the old soldier's frank admiration of the hard line he took on maintaining social order.[3]

The orderly alternation of political power that characterized the last decade of the Meiji era broke down at the very inception of the next. Katsura had assumed his court positions and taken on the role of the new emperor's political tutor a few months after Emperor Meiji's death and a few months before Saionji, refusing to agree to the army's demand for two additional

divisions, resigned in December of 1912. The wrathful resignation of the army minister, General Uehara Yūsaku, brought down the cabinet, and there was no hope that the army would nominate a successor unless its demands were met. What followed became known as the "Taishō political crisis," and it became an important step toward political party cabinets.

The council of *genrō,* now much depleted despite the addition of Saionji, met repeatedly in search of a successor prime minister. A number of men, most of them Yamagata disciples, were approached, but none of them wanted to inherit Saionji's problem. In December Katsura offered to break the deadlock by resigning his court offices to form his third cabinet. There was widespread shock and resentment, particularly on the part of politicians who had thought the day of party cabinets was finally at hand. They charged that Katsura had violated his word, forsaken his responsibilities to the young emperor, and dragged the court into politics. A political coalition was formed to "Protect the Constitution." Katsura, meanwhile, had begun work on a new political party, the Rikken Dōshikai, that drew its strength from the non- and anti-Seiyūkai strength in the Diet, but he had become the focus of long pent-up anger. A fiery and independent legislator, Ozaki Yukio (1859–1954) sealed his fate with one of the most memorable speeches in Japanese Diet history. During a Diet interpellation he skewered Katsura by charging that he and his bureaucratic allies were cowards who hid behind the aura of the emperor. "The throne is their rampart," he said in his peroration, "and Rescripts their missiles." Katsura, unable to sustain the opprobrium, resigned and died shortly afterward. Ozaki's speech symbolized the opening of a new parliamentary era.

Despite this the process of party governments was a slow one, and it was not to be won on the floor of the Diet. Katsura was followed by Admiral Yamamoto Gonnohyōe in a "Satsuma" and "navy" cabinet. That cabinet, however, was soon brought down by discovery of corruption and kickbacks in naval contracts with foreign, especially German, suppliers.

The *genrō,* disconcerted once again, turned a last time to one of their own generation in the hope for stability and chose Ōkuma Shigenobu. Ōkuma was now close to senility and in no sense the maverick of his youth. He accepted the office of prime minister in the expectation of Diet support from the Dōshikai, the party Katsura had launched, since many of its members could trace their political lineage to Ōkuma's career. The real leadership of the cabinet, however, came from Katō Takaaki (Kōmei, 1860–1926), who held the post of foreign minister. Katō's influence on all aspects of the administration was so great that some of Ōkuma's most trusted lieutenants were dismayed. Inukai Tsuyoshi (Ki, 1855–1932) declined to accept a cabinet position, and Ozaki Yukio, although he did take the post of minister of justice, feared it would be-

come a "Katō cabinet." Ozaki later wrote that Ōkuma "was past eighty, and beginning to show signs of senility . . . he now added indifference to his character. It was not infrequent for him to support two incompatible sides of an issue at the same time."[4]

Katō had served as ambassador to Great Britain, and his fondness for things English was legendary. Yamagata sometimes referred to him disparagingly as "Our Englishman." From Yamagata's perspective Katō's real failing, however, was his effort to keep control of foreign policy in his own hands. He failed to consult or even inform the senior statesmen in the way that had become usual; in the matter of the Twenty-one Demands, as will be seen below, their caution would have been preferable to his headstrong tactics. This mattered, for diplomacy played a central role in Ōkuma's administration. The relatively close coordination that had characterized Japanese policymaking during the rule of the oligarchs was now becoming slack and sometimes clumsy.

After taking office Ōkuma dissolved the Diet and called for new elections; in those the Dōshikai gained a solid majority, thereby ending the absolute majority the Seiyūkai had enjoyed since its formation in 1900. In politics the government held a solid Diet majority. After Ōkuma dissolved the House of Representatives, the Dōshikai managed to end the absolute majority the Seiyūkai had enjoyed since its formation in 1900. The garrulous old prime minister spoke in resounding generalities, but he was probably more popular than his silent predecessors.

But not for long. In 1917 army and Chōshū leaders managed to replace Ōkuma with General Terauchi Masatake. Yamagata too pinned his hopes on Terauchi as a return to orthodox leadership, but he was soon disillusioned. Terauchi tried to govern without securing the support of either party group in the House of Representatives, but this attempt to turn the clock back failed badly. Nature and economics conspired against the government when rice riots broke out in 1918. These began in July in fishing villages on the Japan Sea coast, where women gathered to protest the shipment of rice to the Osaka market, and followed communication lines to the great industrial cities of eastern Japan. The country was wracked by demonstrations, strikes, and riots that were directed against the rich and the police. Desperate to restore order, the government bolstered the police presence with armed troops; some 25,000 people were arrested, and 6,000 convicted, with sentences ranging from fines to execution. The social paroxysm of the *kome sōdō,* rice riots, was an important element in the emergence of the Hara party cabinet. The government's response was neither effective nor successful, and Japan needed a new prime minister once again.

By this time there were grounds to expect the elders to endorse a political party cabinet, but bureaucrats, peers, *genrō,* and the military were still reluctant. Nevertheless in the aftermath of the rice riots there seemed no real alternative. Hara, who had played his cards very carefully, finally had his chance. He had avoided open rupture with Terauchi and quietly lent him his support, and he had even won the grudging respect of Yamagata. His cabinet, which lasted until his assassination in 1921, marked the real dawn of political party governments. Even so, after Hara's death conservative forces still dreamed of a system in which "independent" cabinets would be able to negotiate with a divided Diet without becoming dependent on the electorate. Selecting a career bureaucrat seemed a middle path, and a cabinet was formed under Kiyoura Keigo. This, however, lasted just six months. By then, experiments with generals (Terauchi) and admirals (Yamamoto, Katō Tomosaburō) and octogenarian survivors (Ōkuma) had failed to attract the popular support that was increasingly necessary to govern. The hapless Kiyoura government provoked a massive "Protect the Constitution" opposition movement that brought Seiyūkai and Kenseikai (the new name adopted by the Dōshikai in 1916) together into a powerful front that led to the appointment of Katō Takaaki as head of a coalition government in the summer of 1924. Political party cabinets now seemed certain to govern Japan in the future. Powerful bureaucrats like Wakatsuki Reijirō and Hamaguchi Osachi (Ministry of Finance), leading bankers (Takahashi Korekiyo), career diplomats (Shidehara Kijūrō), and even leading generals (Tanaka Gi'ichi) "descended from heaven" (*amakudari,* reminiscent of the sun goddess's commission to her grandson to rule the island's kingdom) to pursue new careers as political party leaders.

The chart of prime ministers and cabinets suggests some interesting things about the politics of Japan between the wars. One is the frequency of cabinet transfers. Meiji cabinets changed frequently, to be sure—there were eleven between the inception of the cabinet system in 1885 and the Russo-Japanese War—but only six prime ministers, as the leaders of factions, tended to serve in rotation. Between the Russo-Japanese War and the Manchurian Incident the velocity of rotation continued—there were eighteen cabinet changes—but now there were fourteen prime ministers. The search for stability was never very successful. Those who proposed candidates for succession never worked out a system that could combine acceptability to the plural institutions that the constitutional order had created with responsibility to the increasingly vociferous electorate. If different prime ministers came and went with such frequency, more and more of the everyday decisions had to lie with the bureaucracy, for that was where legislation originated.

There was also an impressive mortality rate among prime ministers. Both

Katō Tomosaburō and Katō Takaaki died in office from natural causes, but in addition there were three assassinations—those of Hara, Hamaguchi, and Inukai, and of these Hara and Hamaguchi possessed particularly vital and virtually irreplaceable talents.

Ozaki Yukio, who had his own brushes with violence without having become prime minister, later reflected on this in his memoirs. Military men, he remarked, liked to be thought of as men who put their lives in danger for the sake of the nation, and derided civilian leaders and politicians as power hungry, selfish, and often corrupt. But in fact, he thought, the cases were quite opposite. In the military, the higher one's rank the less the likelihood of personal danger, for top commanders were usually kept at a prudent distance from the violence of the battlefield. It was quite the reverse with civil leaders; the higher the post, the greater the individual's personal danger. The office of prime minister was perhaps the most dangerous of all.

The assassination of the three prime ministers in office was in each case related to problems of foreign policy. Hara fell victim to a rightist who ob-

Cabinets between the Russo-Japanese War and the Manchurian Incident

Prime minister	Diet support	Fall
Saionji Kinmochi, 1906–1908	Seiyūkai	Army budget demands
Katsura Tarō (2nd cab.), 1908–1911	Seiyūkai	Funding priorities
Saionji (2nd), 1911–1912	Seiyūkai	Army budget demands
Katsura (3rd), 1912–1913 (2 mos.)	Dōshikai	"Taishō political crisis"
Adm. Yamamoto Gonnohyōe, 1913–1914	Seiyūkai	Navy procurement scandals
Ōkuma Shigenobu, 1914–1916	Coalition	*Genrō* decision
Gen. Terauchi Masatake, 1916–1918	Seiyūkai	Rice riots
Hara Takashi, 1918–1921	Seiyūkai	Assassinated
Takahashi Korekiyo, 1921–1922 (6 mos.)	Seiyūkai	Stand-in
Adm. Katō Tomosaburō, 1922–1923	Seiyūkai	Died in office
Adm. Yamamoto (2nd), 1923 (3 mos.)	Seiyūkai	Attack on Crown Prince
Kiyoura Keigo, 1924 (6 mos.)	None	United front opposition
Katō Takaaki (1st-2nd), 1924–1925, 1925–1926	Coalition/Kenseikai	Died in office
Wakatsuki Reijirō, 1926–1927	Kenseikai	Bank crisis
Gen. Tanaka Gi'ichi, 1927–1929	Seiyūkai	Hirohito displeasure
Hamaguchi Osachi, 1929–1931	Minseitō	Assassinated
Wakatsuki (2nd), 1931 (8 mos.)	Minseitō	Manchurian Incident
Inukai Tsuyoshi, 1931–1932 (5 mos.)	Seiyūkai	Assassinated

jected to the way the prime minister had forced compliance with the naval limitations being worked out at the Washington Conference, Hamaguchi too had overruled navy opposition to reductions worked out at the London Naval Conference, and Inukai was murdered by young naval officers newly returned from the violence at Shanghai that the government had managed to stop. The flash point of violence was particularly low whenever civilian interference with military prerogatives was involved.

It is not surprising that as the party leaders came closer to political power they changed. In the early days of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement their constituency was smaller and made up of substantial citizens and local leaders. It was easy to denounce Satsuma and Chōshū men who monopolized power, especially when the emperor himself had promised institutions of representative government. But in the Meiji institutional pattern the leaders became part of the palace system, or managed to draw the palace into their system; "hiding behind the throne," in Ozaki's words. In the early days demonstrations and public forums had drawn the participation of leading politicians; as late as the Hibiya riots against the peace with Russia the lead had been taken by stalwarts of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement. But in the interwar years the crowds were larger, rowdier, and less interested in speeches; urban workers and the poor began to predominate, and the politicians increasingly saved their rhetoric for one another on the Diet floor. The original leaders had been "popular," but popular with their peers; they had less in common with the new urban crowd, and that crowd had its doubts about them as well.

censorship and repression

The absorption of party political leaders into the institutional pattern of the state may explain the fact that there was not more concern with the institutions of civil society and individual rights on the part of parliamentarians. Intelligent and responsible political leaders felt it vital to extend the franchise in order to hold the allegiance of the larger crowds that now took part, but on the fringe of those crowds there were already figures who argued the need to change the entire system instead of tampering with the rules for voting. The secrecy that surrounded the High Treason Trial of Kōtoku Shūsui and the other anarchists who were executed in 1911 showed the fear with which radicalism was viewed by the government. The echoes of the Bolshevik revolution alarmed conservatives and liberals alike, and prepared the way for repression. As the 1920s moved along there were warning voices raised against repressive legislation in the Diet. This was particularly the case with some leaders of the urban-based party: Katsura's 1913 Dōshikai had become the Kenseikai

in 1916, and that in turn spawned the Minseitō in 1927, although its makeup changed very little in the process. In the 1920s its leading Diet figures often warned that excessive vigilance could be counterproductive, but when faced with the rise of nonparliamentary radicalism few doubted that the Home and Justice ministries should take a strong line.

Interference with public meetings intensified, most strikingly during the Seiyūkai cabinet of General Tanaka in 1927. Legislative restraints on "dangerous thought" increased in severity. To be sure, publication had never been without restrictions, and press laws were invoked shortly after the Meiji Restoration. The Peace Police Law of 1900 was designed specifically to hamper the organization of radical groups and the diffusion of radical thought. A Book Section in the Police Bureau occupied itself with details as "literary" as the new tides of realism and naturalism that were increasingly important among men of letters, and few authors escaped brushes with the police censorship apparatus. "They started looking for Naturalism and Socialism in everything that appeared," Mori Ōgai wrote in 1910, "and men of letters and artists were looked at askance in case they might be Naturalist or Socialists. Then some of them discovered the phrase 'dangerous Western books' . . . [T]o translate was to retail the dangerous goods themselves."[5] It was to be expected that the High Treason Trial of Kōtoku Shūsui and the appearance of a group of anarchists around Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923) would create appropriate settings for the intensification of such concerns. Ōsugi Sakae noted how easy it was to be arrested. He tells about walking home with friends late one night. As they passed the Yoshiwara brothel district they came upon a commotion caused by a drunk who had broken a window; soon a small crowd gathered around the culprit and his accuser, who was demanding that someone send for the police, with the idea of forcing him to pay for the damage. Ōsugi got the facts and then took over:

> This man hasn't a penny on him now. I'll pay the damages. That should be the end of it. It's no good to go calling the police every time something happens. As far as possible we shouldn't call the authorities. Most things can be settled this way by the people who are on the spot.
>
> The people from the bar agreed to that. The neighborhood patrol also agreed. The onlookers too agreed. The only person who could not agree was the policeman. He had been staring at me from the beginning with a sullen expression and now challenged me.
>
> "The gentleman was talking socialism, aren't you?"
>
> "I am. So what?" I challenged him back.
>
> "It's socialism, so you're under arrest. Come with me."

> "This is humorous! I'll go wherever you want." I shoved the policeman's hand away and rushed into the Nihonzutsumi police station, which was just across from us. There, an assistant inspector ordered the policeman to take me to the detention hall along with the others who had followed us. This incident was reported in one newspaper at the time as 'ŌSUGI AND OTHERS ARRESTED.' "[6]

In this case higher authorities apologized for the absurdity, but Ōsugi's list of incarcerations, which totaled six years for two violations of the press ordinances, two violations of peace preservation ordinances, and "seditious rioting" in the streetcar fare disturbances, probably help explain his untimely end.

In 1909 the Katsura cabinet responded to perceived radicalism with a new Press Law under whose provisions it became easier for police to monitor and detain left-wing radicals like Ōsugi. Editors and publishers found it wise to be cautious about what they produced. One device adopted was for authors or their editors to omit one or more elements [Chinese characters] in words that might attract police attention. They could manipulate this by leaving out different elements of the same word in sequential use, thereby retaining intelligibility and, no doubt, adding a mild thrill of danger for the reader. The police, it had to be assumed, were either too obtuse to realize what was going on or content to have only formal compliance with the law.

Another device was sarcastic straight-faced prevarication. The handling of a 1921 story about the murder of a Korean collaborator provides an example. Min Won-sik, a Korean newspaper man who advocated cooperation with the Japanese occupiers, was murdered, presumably by a Korean nationalist, in Tokyo's Imperial Hotel; his body was returned to Korea with the honor due a friend of Japan. *Hōchi* took no chances in reporting his departure. "Bin Gen Shoku" (as Japanese readers would have Japanized Min's name), it said,

> suddenly decided to return to Korea . . . The Premier, Home Minister, Minister of Communications, and the Minister of Railways said goodby to Mr. Bin. Escorted by the station-master, Mr. Bin entered a second-class compartment especially reserved for him, and decorated with wreaths. When the train was about to start, Dr. Mizuno, chief of the civil service of Korea, advanced a few steps toward the compartment where the Korean gentleman was, and greeted him without a word.[7]

The capstone of police repression in imperial Japan was provided by the provisions of the Peace Preservation Law of 1925. A Special Higher Division of the police had been established in 1911; this unit, charged with monitoring Koreans, labor, foreign thought, censorship, and arbitration, provides an indi-

cation of government priorities. The 1925 legislation, which accompanied the passage of the universal manhood suffrage law, was clearly intended as a step designed to checkmate whatever dangers the broader suffrage might produce. The awareness of an incipient communist movement resulted in provisions targeting "anyone who had organized an association with the objective of altering the *kokutai* [national polity] or the form of government or denying the system of private property and anyone who has joined such an association with full knowledge of its object . . . [anyone found guilty] shall be liable to imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding ten years."[8] Other provisions went on to forbid discussion or encouragement of such activities. Three years later, the law was revised to make it more severe. Discussion of altering the *kokutai,* which meant questioning the imperial system, could now be punished with the death penalty.

Draconian as these provisions were, it would be an exaggeration to describe interwar Japan as a police state; that distinction had to wait for the intensity of the militarist era that lay ahead. It made a difference which party held power. The Seiyūkai governments were on the whole more prone to authorize police power, and this reached a peak in the police sweeps authorized by the Tanaka government on March 15, 1928. In these 1,600 were arrested, and political organizations of workers and tenant farmers were ordered dissolved. A few months later many more were "detained" because of a security paranoia at the time of the coronation of the young Emperor Hirohito. On the other hand, while it is undoubtedly true that a number of lives were lost to prison coercion and interrogation, in terms of formal executions the death penalty was used only once, and that in the extirpations of the spy ring developed by the Soviet agent Richard Sorge in the early 1940s. Implementation of these harsh codes tended to be less stringent during periods of Kenseikai/Minseitō rule, and the tactics of the Tanaka government drew harsh rebukes from Minseitō Diet members who warned that excessive violence would solve nothing and probably bring on more subversion in a setting in which only political reform could provide a genuine answer to social unrest.

the political agenda

What were the practical results and achievements of what is often called "Taishō Democracy" in the interwar period? It would be wrong to expect a checklist of specific goals and proposals, for the object was to gain control of government for the people, the *kokumin.* Since the lower house of the Diet was the only elective organ of the national government, that meant control of the Diet by the House of Representatives, and since the political parties contested control of that house, "democracy" meant in practice governments

elected and run by the political parties. The obstacles—senior statesmen, peers, Privy Council, military—were real, and this meant that tremendous effort had to be expended in wresting final authority from those groups. The memoirs of the veteran politician Ozaki Yukio, a man who won reelection continuously from 1890 to 1953, illustrate this; he conceived it his duty to try to oust every cabinet as long as they were selected from behind the scenes; only so could constitutional government become a reality. Since it was the emperor who had granted the constitution, moreover, this was the people's right, and any obstruction of it by elements claiming to represent the emperor was in violation of the imperial pledge. The widespread popular support for the "protect the constitution" movements of 1912–1913 and 1924, when Katsura and Kiyoura cabinets seemed a clear contravention of "constitutional government," shows that this view had spread beyond the circle of politicians.

This in turn led to demands for a wider, indeed a universal (manhood) suffrage to make it possible for the people's will to be known. The tax qualifications for voting rights at the outset of parliamentary government meant an electorate of approximately half a million males. Even before the end of the Meiji period efforts were under way to broaden this. A league to petition for universal manhood suffrage was first formed in 1897. It is interesting to see that from the very beginning its goals were preventive—heading off the social dislocation its leaders saw in Europe—and positive—the realization that popular opinion would count for more if there was more of it. As had been the case from the first days of Itagaki's petition in 1874, there were also implications for nationalism and foreign policy. Popular indignation against Japan's submission to the Triple Intervention would, the league's founders felt, have been more effective if it could have been expressed by ballot. The Hibiya riots of 1905 in opposition to the Portsmouth treaty showed the same potential.

A petition for universal manhood suffrage was first presented to the Diet in 1900, and bills calling for that step were introduced several times before the House of Representatives voted for such a measure by a narrow majority in 1911. The House of Peers refused to agree, thus killing the bill. "The extension of the suffrage and the strict enforcement of electoral laws," Professor Yoshino Sakuzō wrote in 1916, "are the most pressing matters facing Japan." As Japan found itself allied with democratic powers in World War I this view gained support, and by 1919 the Kenseikai had endorsed universal suffrage despite the opposition of the majority Seiyūkai. Tax qualifications for the vote had been lowered in 1900 (from fifteen yen to ten) and again in 1919 (to three yen), but it remained obvious that rural landowners were disproportionately advantaged in comparison with unpropertied urban workers.

In the years after World War I public expressions of support for universal

suffrage seemed to wane, partly because significant numbers of urban workers—the most likely supporters of demonstrations—began distancing themselves altogether from elective politics. This made the issue more urgent than ever to its proponents, who saw it as a way to stem the advance of radicalism. With the appearance of the Katō Takaaki coalition government in 1924 Kenseikai supporters of universal manhood suffrage had their way, and the bill passed in 1925. The legislation had been drafted with care. Suffrage was limited to men, although by this time a women's suffrage movement had also been launched. The vote was restricted to males twenty-five years of age or over, but only if they had not been recipients of private or public welfare. In the years that followed reformers proposed lowering the age qualification, but no further action came until after Japan's surrender in 1945, when the Allied Occupation ordered the enfranchisement of all men and women.

Despite the shortcomings of the 1925 legislation, the change was the most important political achievement of the era and it proved successful and significant. Up to this point general elections had usually been called by cabinets newly installed in power, and the voters' discontent with the predecessor government, combined with election "management" by patronage and money, produced a Diet majority for the newcomers. As a result elections functioned rather like plebiscites, and more often than not served to endorse the ruling cabinet.

The first election held under the new rules was called in 1928 by Prime Minister General Tanaka Gi'ichi, who clearly expected this tradition to continue. The electorate had now quadrupled, from roughly 3.25 to 12.5 million. To Tanaka's surprise his government eked out only a narrow victory. His Seiyūkai won 219 seats, and the opposition Minseitō 217, with the remaining 30 seats going to splinter (24) and "proletarian" (6) candidates, who drew 190,000 votes.

What were the political parties? In one sense they were groups of professional politicians, some of whom shifted back and forth with dismaying indifference to principle. Loyalty, name recognition, and habit could make some constituencies very safe for the incumbent. Ozaki Yukio on one occasion lamented that Japan had no real parties, but only factions. Certainly he himself never stayed with a party very long, and he did organize his own faction for a time. On the other hand the parties were far from authoritarian, and even the Seiyūkai, in Hara's prime, had an elective board of councillors that discussed important matters that were referred to it by the executive staff. The parties were no more subject to individual or personal hegemony than any other element of Japan's political pluralism. As the electorate grew in size and the parties became more powerful leadership, as has been noted, began

to be drawn from men who had gained administrative skill in civil and military bureaucracies. Those individuals saw that the parties offered paths to influence and power, while parties, locked in their own struggles for power, looked to such outsiders as men who could lead them to political victory. The Seiyūkai's election of General Tanaka as its president provided a perfect example of this; he needed support for his political and foreign policy goals, while his new followers wanted a powerful advocate.

Hamaguchi Osachi (1870–1931), the last Minseitō premier, provides an example. Born in a remote Tosa village in 1870, he became an adoptive son of a Hamaguchi family in 1889, graduated from the Imperial University in 1895, and stood for the examinations for the Ministry of Finance. He advanced rapidly, heading tax offices in various parts of the country. In 1917 he resigned to enter the Dōshikai at the recommendation of Gotō Shinpei, whom we first encountered as a young doctor sent to watch over Itagaki, and who went on to a varied career as diplomat, administrator, and empire builder. Hamaguchi first stood for election (from a Tosa district) in 1915, held subcabinet posts in the Ōkuma administration, and emerged as minister of finance under Katō Takaaki in 1924. Under Katō's successor, Wakatsuki, he was appointed minister of home affairs. By now he was a recognized party and governmental leader and the logical head when the Kenseikai reorganized as the Minseitō in 1927. When the Tanaka government fell Hamaguchi received the imperial command to form a cabinet, in the process becoming the first prime minister to have been born in Tosa, where the democratic movement had first begun. Japan's was not a system that produced or required silver-voiced orators—Hamaguchi's Tosa constituency was remote and small—but it could produce men of courage and ability.

One might have thought that universal manhood suffrage would stir great enthusiasm. The prospect did activate the crowds during the 1912 governmental crisis, and it was an announced goal of the second "Protect the Constitution" movement in 1924. It was a subject on which many could agree, from left-wing leaders who retained hope for democratic reforms to right-wing leaders who were confident that popular support for a strong foreign policy would help swing Japan out of its internationalist pose. But there were also opponents. Yoshino Sakuzō could write in 1916 that "among many Japanese intellectuals there is an incredible misunderstanding of and violent antipathy to universal suffrage." Among urban workers enthusiasm was high for a time, but it waned as the climate of opinion became more radical. For other groups disaffection with Japanese politics, from behind-the-scenes control to political corruption, led not so much to enthusiasm for reformist candidates as to withdrawal into privatism, a trend that will be discussed below. And no doubt

for even the most optimistic the speed with which the Tanaka government moved against liberals and the left after its setback in the 1928 election, and the way it crushed the incipient proletarian parties, must have served to weaken faith in the effectiveness of the popular voice and mandate.

Despite this the achievements of political party cabinets deserve respect. Each strong prime minister—Hara, Katō Takaaki, Hamaguchi—showed a willingness to try the issue of civil-military relations, Hara after the Washington Conference, Katō in military retrenchment by four divisions, and Hamaguchi after the London Conference. Unhappily each died in office; two by assassination, and Katō from natural causes. Each of the three also showed awareness of the need for changes in the power structure if Japan was to follow what seemed to be the world currents of postwar democracy. These measures would have required changes in the powers and makeup of the House of Peers and of the Privy Council, both of which lagged behind liberal and even moderate opinion. Liberalism and democracy also required a willingness to treat Japan's two new monarchs as constitutional kings rather than "living gods" as chauvinists of the 1930s preferred.

At the end of the decade the appearance of the Hamaguchi government offered hope for the realization of goals that intellectuals like Yoshino Sakuzō had set out a decade earlier. Before the Minseitō came to power a "shadow cabinet" had mapped out a striking agenda that included legislation for reforming labor-management relations, improving tenant-farmer relations, extending the vote to women in local elections, and lowering the voting age. In foreign affairs the return of the career diplomat Shidehara Kijūrō to the Foreign Ministry seemed to promise a firm commitment to international cooperation and reason in relations with China, which was beginning to experience national (and nationalist) unity after two decades of intermittent civil war. Unfortunately a combination of economic disaster and military insubordination combined to defeat that program, and Hamaguchi's death at the hands of an assassin in 1931 marked the end of an era. For all its shortcomings, it had brought significant change.

2. Japan in World Affairs

After the Russo-Japanese War Japan was the strongest power in Asia. In the next two decades it increased its stature and emerged as one of the five Great Powers, with a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations. It was not long before this remarkable transformation had led to an equally remarkable change in world, and especially Asian, perception of Japan. Meiji Japan had projected the image of a young, vigorous country determined to

free itself from restrictions imposed by imperialist powers, but it went on to impose its own colonialism on Taiwan, Korea, and South Manchuria. The disruption of the international order during World War I brought tantalizing possibilities. Some Japanese wanted their country to serve as a role model in reviving East Asian reform and reconstruction; others continued to hold the West as a model for national expansion. As Japan's Meiji leaders aged, the polity they had created also began to seem curiously old-fashioned in a world intent on self-determination, international cooperation, and popular participation. Throughout the world monarchy and empire came crashing down; Ottoman Turkey, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and imperial China all broke up within a decade. One cannot fault Japan's leaders for finding it difficult to respond to such cataclysmic changes in the world order. In some cases it is possible to contrast the advocates of a "small Japan" to those of a "big Japan," but most Japanese were more ambivalent, intent on the dignity and importance their country should be accorded, but uncertain how best to cope with new challenges they faced in Asia.

"China First"

The problem of China was clearly uppermost. Its imperial polity, which had endured for centuries, dissolved under the attacks of imperialism, governmental incompetence, and some of the bloodiest insurrections of modern history. Throughout history Japan's stability had been related to that of China; secure from invasion from the mainland and protected by its Pacific remoteness, Japan had flourished in peace. The violence of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Japan was related to the disintegration of Ming rule and uncertainty about the intentions of the new Manchu regime, and the Western incursion against China in the Opium War had created the crisis that brought forth the Meiji Restoration. Meiji Japan drew on imperial China for some of its institutions; the identity of the era with the monarch, the development of civil service examinations, and the grandiose imperial pronouncements with their normative and moral thrust all had their roots in Chinese precedent.[9] When, at the end of the nineteenth century, it seemed possible that European powers might partition China, Japanese statesmen and opinion leaders had warned of the importance of "preserving China." The Japanese victory over Russia, and the diversion of European attention to the mutual destruction in World War I, created a new situation. Reform-minded Chinese statesmen and eager Chinese students saw in the example of Japan a lesson for their country.

During the late Meiji decades a number of idealistic Japanese felt it their country's destiny and their personal responsibility to work for reform and revival in China. Many had political roots in the Freedom and People's Rights

Movement, and held a rather naive view of a China that would respond to the finest in Meiji modernization. They believed passionately in the urgency of revitalizing the Asian tradition and saw China's restoration as central to this. Some wanted Japan to lead, while others sought only to serve in what they saw as a turning point in history.

Miyazaki Tōten (Torazō, 1870–1922) can serve as an example of this determination. He was born in Kumamoto, where his early schooling included a period in the private academy set up by Tokutomi Sohō. This brought a heady exposure to half-understood theories of Western democracy and revolution. A period of spiritual wandering in Tokyo found him a Christian convert, until, astonished by the competitive jealousy of rival missionaries, he turned his attention to the "salvation of Asia." He and a brother set out to enter Chinese society and find a hero to whose work they could commit their lives. He became acquainted with the Korean reformer Kim Ok-kyun, worked with commercially recruited Japanese immigrants to Thailand in hopes of encountering China there, and ultimately found his hero in Sun Yat-sen, who had taken refuge in Japan after an unsuccessful revolt timed to coincide with the Japanese victory over Manchu China in 1895. Now came immersion in the wanderings and plots of Chinese revolutionaries in Southeast Asia (where the suspicious British authorities locked him up in Singapore), recruiting arms and money for Sun Yat-sen wherever they could be found in Japan, and then devoted service in the cause of revolt as Sun Yat-sen organized a revolutionary party (that would ultimately become the Kuomintang) among the thousands of Chinese students who poured into Tokyo in hopes of learning there the secrets of nationalism and revolution. Inukai Tsuyoshi, at that time an Ōkuma lieutenant, patronized him to learn what was going on in China, and Japanese army figures—some with less than altruistic purposes—helped him find weapons. Miyazaki had full power of attorney for Sun Yat-sen's organizations, gloried in his hero's successes, and despaired at his reverses. He and his fellow activists saw themselves as the idealists *(shishi)* of a new and greater, Asia-wide, Meiji Restoration, and their Chinese friends (who, like Sun, often posed as Japanese on travels on the fringe of China) had no doubt of their idealism and sincerity. The thousands of Chinese students who came to Tokyo after the Russo-Japanese War (in what was one of the modern world's first large-scale student migrations) offered an unprecedented opportunity for cultural exchange and future political friendship.[10]

japan first

The "China rōnin," as they have become known, were on the fringes of the Japanese political structure. Senior and more powerful Japanese felt their

country was achieving its goals the European way, through compromise with the West and empire in Asia. They were more intent on claiming and safeguarding privilege than they were in sponsoring liberation. Sun Yat-sen was quietly encouraged (and funded) to leave Japan. The gains Japan had scored at Shimonoseki and Portsmouth were secured against nationalist recovery by a series of agreements. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was renewed in 1905 and strengthened in 1907, agreements with Russia were worked out in 1907, 1910, 1912, and 1916, France came into line in 1907, and the United States (with the Root-Takahira Agreement) in 1908. Far from sponsoring change in the system that surrounded China, Japan was making every effort to perpetuate it. In each of these agreements Japan received assurance that its "special position" would be recognized, and it in turn had no intention of challenging the imperialist order from which it now stood to benefit. As Hata Ikuhiko puts it, advocates of "Greater Japan" were winning out over those of a "Lesser Japan,"[11] and the Tokyo government had little confidence in plans enthusiastic amateurs were working out for the "revival of Asia."

Revolution broke out in China in October of 1911, and within weeks the world's oldest imperial polity collapsed. The faltering Manchu regime turned to the leader of its modern Peiyang Army, Yüan Shih-k'ai, for help, but that worthy instead counseled surrender to the revolution and abdication for the infant emperor, later known to the West as Henry Pu Yi. That done, Yüan negotiated a settlement with the revolutionaries that brought him to power as first president of the Chinese Republic.

Yüan was anathema to Japan because of the role he had played holding off Japanese advances in Korea, and he soon made himself equally unpopular with the Chinese revolutionaries by violence that removed important leaders from the scene. The Saionji government opted for caution. Liberal supporters of the revolution were initially jubilant and did what they could to provide the revolutionaries with supplies of arms, but as the larger drama unfolded they were helpless to affect it. Japanese military figures oscillated between support for cooperative international moves to restore order in China and quiet sponsorship of more adventurous steps. The aging Yamagata felt that the West was ultimately hostile to Japan and that it therefore behooved Japan to cultivate good relations with China. "Manchuria," however, the term Japanese used for the Manchu homeland in the three northeastern provinces, was another matter. When it was clear that Manchu power would collapse, Yamagata felt that Saionji's caution had missed a "God-given opportunity" to expand Japan's sphere in northeastern China by consolidating its privileges there. Other army officers sponsored small-scale efforts to expand Japan's continental power in several attempts to set up pro-Japanese "autonomous"

regimes in Manchuria and Mongolia. The army General Staff, led by General Tanaka Gi'ichi who would later head the Seiyūkai, thought it urgent to expand the military in a time of crisis and maneuvered Saionji's ouster over the war minister's demand for two additional divisions. The reemergence of Katsura in the Taishō political crisis has already been described. What needs to be noted is the speed with which instability in China reverberated in Japan to complicate politics and policies that were already in transition from the control exerted by the council of *genrō.*

By the summer of 1913 discontent with Yüan's regime led to a "second revolution" in which Sun Yat-sen's partisans tried and failed to unhorse the Peking government. More serious for Yüan, provincial governors and military leaders in all parts of China signaled their discontent. Events had moved from centralization to provincial rule and from civilian hands to military figures who would later be known as "warlords." Sun Yat-sen was soon back in Japan, more desperately in need of Japanese assistance than ever before, and more likely to seek help wherever it could be found.

This was still unsettled when war broke out in Europe. Ōkuma Shigenobu was prime minister, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Katō Takaaki was the chief formulator of Japanese policy. Japan was committed by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to join the allies, but was not inclined to participate in areas where its interests were not involved. Some destroyer-escorts were sent to do duty in the Mediterranean, but otherwise Japan limited its contribution to seizure of German holdings in the Chinese province of Shantung, occupation of German-held islands in the South Pacific, and sweeping Eastern waters clear of German raiders.

The "Twenty-one Demands" came out of this setting. There was first of all the refusal to treat what was perceived as a rogue government under Yüan Shih-k'ai with trust and cooperation; it seemed essential to tie things down while the opportunity was at hand. Second, the South Manchuria leases taken over from Russia in 1905 had a limited time to run, and if they were to be properly exploited they needed to be extended. Third, although the concessions taken from the Germans in Shantung province were destined for an "ultimate return" to China, the details and dates of that return were not yet clear, and meanwhile it seemed important to have formal Chinese approval of Japanese management. Fourth, Yawata, Japan's first iron and steel complex, which had been financed with the Chinese indemnity, had proved dependent on Chinese raw material since it came on stream in 1901. Japanese industrialists wanted to firm up commercial relations with the Hanyehp'ing works at Hankow, and hoped for joint, Sino-Japanese control of those resources. Fifth, China was to promise not to make further grants of rights to third powers.

Each of these five points was summed up in a separate group and transmitted to the Peking foreign office with suggestions of confidentiality. The last, fifth, group was something of a grab-bag wish list of items that had been added after it was known that negotiations were in the offing. Technically they were only "requests" and not "demands"; nevertheless they would have added up to substantial infractions of Chinese sovereignty, and went so far as to suggest employment of Japanese advisers responsible for aspects of finance and administration.

The Ōkuma-Katō government bungled badly in its tactics. Its representatives were overbearing and even insulting to Chinese sensitivities, and dishonest in their bland denials to other interested powers. Years later the Chinese Republic continued to withhold its approval for Japanese diplomats involved when Japan proposed sending them as emissaries. The Chinese, in contrast, had a good case, a youthful administration that had the enthusiastic support of Western, particularly American, representatives, and handled their case adroitly. In Tokyo Foreign Minister Katō tried to keep matters in his own hands, but as the Chinese rallied foreign opinion to their side the indignant *genrō,* who had been kept out of things, insisted on acquainting themselves with the details and did what they could to salvage practical gains and national prestige. In the end the Tokyo government issued an ultimatum that secured Chinese agreement, but omitted Group V altogether. The day of China's final capitulation became memorialized as a "National Humiliation Day" in China.

World War I had diverted the attention of the European powers, but that was not the case with the United States, still at peace, and inclined to welcome the developments of "young China," which was, many thought, the product of American missionary and education work. This was particularly true of President Woodrow Wilson and his secretary of state William Jennings Bryan. Wilson's minister to China, Paul Reinsch, worked closely with the Chinese. Bryan issued a stern warning that the United States would not recognize any actions that "violated Chinese sovereignty," a formula that Secretary of State Stimson would revive after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1933. Japan thus gained its minimal objectives during World War I, but at considerable cost. It had lost whatever opportunity there was to exert leadership in China, and it had awakened—or, for some, confirmed—distrust of its policies in the United States. In the final period of the war Japan joined the United States, England, and France in sending troops to Siberia; the motives announced were different in each country, but ultimately were anti-Bolshevik. There was widespread suspicion that the Japanese units, which were far larger than the others committed there, were designed to seize and hold an area in eastern

Siberia, and they did in fact remain there until 1922, long after the other nations had withdrawn their forces.[12]

March 1 and May 4, 1919

The image of Japan that was held by its Asian neighbors suffered lasting damage at the end of World War I. The hopes of Chinese liberals, not to say revolutionaries, declined as Japan pursued Great Power politics in the matter of the Twenty-one Demands. Japan's intervention in Siberia was motivated in part by fears that Bolshevism might spread south of the Amur River border, and the Terauchi government invested substantial sums of money (the "Nishihara loans") in efforts to stabilize the northern border by backing conservative northern military leaders. The "modern" forces equipped in response were however soon crushed in the civil wars that now began to plague China. But nothing did damage to compare with the suppression of the March 1 independence demonstration in Korea and the May 4 demonstrations in China.

In the aftermath of the Allied victory in World War I there was widespread hope throughout Asia—certainly among students and intellectuals—that a new and more just world order was at hand. Some of this was poignant and naive, as in rumors in Korea that Woodrow Wilson would appear to restore the country's sovereignty, but a more literate generation in China had every reason to expect that bases seized from the Germans would be returned by the Japanese. The Twenty-one Demands had shown this would not be simple, but the Paris conference, Treaty of Versailles, and League of Nations might still correct this matter, as indeed Wilson had hoped they would. Unfortunately the Japanese, having been forced to abandon their demand for a statement of racial equality at Versailles, were in no mood to give way on matters of economic and territorial interest to them, and in this they had the support of agreements they had worked out with their European allies.

Korean nationalist leaders were equally distressed that the League and the war settlement contained nothing for them, and resolved on a nonviolent demonstration calling for national independence on March 1, 1919. The date was set to coincide with funeral ceremonies for the last King/Emperor Kojong, who was regarded as a martyr to his country's independence. Representatives of major religious communicates had been planning an appeal to the outside world since 1918, and the funeral date found Seoul crowded with mourners in white attire. The leaders signed their declaration of independence and waited quietly to be arrested. Japanese colonial authorities were startled and responded with extraordinary brutality and fury. Japanese records admit to some 500 killed and 1,500 wounded, but post-Independence Korean estimates run far higher, to more than 7,000 killed and 145,000 wounded. As late as the

1980s Japanese textbook references to the slaughter of nonviolent protesters as the suppression of "riots" poisoned relations between Japan and Korea.[13]

These events drew protests throughout the world, but also affected Japan, where they provided fuel for antimilitarist sentiment. The Hara Seiyūkai cabinet moved to lessen the authority of the army in selecting colonial administrators and setting policy, and a "policy of culture" *(bunka seisaku)* tried to undo some of the harm the pointless violence had caused. Despite this the handling of the Independence declaration remained as a stain on Japanese rule and an ugly refutation of Japanese rhetoric of leadership in Asian modernity.

Japan fared only slightly better in Chinese opinion. Two months after the Korean independence movement was suppressed, the May 4 demonstrations marked the dawn of modern Chinese nationalism. The cause was disillusion that the peace treaty signed at Versailles had no provision for the return of the German concessions in Shantung to China, but left them in Japanese hands. The Chinese officials who were blamed for accepting the Paris accord became objects of popular fury in Peking. Everywhere in China the discovery that Chinese hopes had been betrayed produced great demonstrations, and in May students from thirteen colleges and universities gathered to denounce the treaty and then converged on the residence of Ts'ao Ju-lin, a minister who was considered pro-Japanese, and put him to flight. The "May Fourth movement" is taken as shorthand for the larger cultural revolt against tradition and conformity. The birth and growth of the Chinese Communist Party took place in the atmosphere of alienation from Chinese society and culture of those years. What matters for the purposes of this discussion is that Japan, which had been for a time the seedbed of the Chinese revolution and the exemplar of a modern national response to the threat posed by the West, was now coming to be seen as the single most important element of the imperialist threat that China faced. Complementary vibrations between anti-Japanese demonstrations in China and Japanese disrespect for China contained ominous potential for future disputes.

Fortunately these events were not by any means the sum total of Chinese-Japanese and Korean-Japanese interaction of the interwar period. Relations were too close, too complex, and too varied to be summed up in a single rubric of nationalist distaste. Japanese men of letters who traveled to China could find themselves warmly welcomed, and Chinese students trained in Japan could bring back equally warm memories of friendly and helpful teachers. Even in Korea, where the wounds were greatest and most personal, the interwar years saw the development of a new generation of students oriented to Japanese institutions and opportunities, and entrepreneurs eager to cooperate with Japanese enterprises in bringing modern institutions to Korea.[14] The

fact that such contacts and emotions could survive should probably be seen as measure of how great the opportunity for solidarity and friendship in East Asia might have been if it had not been weakened by Japanese imperialism.

internationalism: the league of nations and the washington conference order

Japan occupied a place of honor in the new League of Nations, which now replaced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in Japanese diplomacy. It was a mark of Japan's growing status that Nitobe Inazō, the Sapporo student and Tokyo educator we have encountered earlier, was named under secretary-general, thereby symbolizing an era of internationalism. A new generation of intellectuals, teachers, and students shared fully in the worldwide hope that this new era would find Japan taking its rightful place at world conference tables.

Others, and perhaps most, of the Meiji generation found the new international order badly flawed and regretted that in the absence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance there was no secure special place for Japan. Even so optimistic and committed and internationalist as Nitobe noted that the new League of Nations might be of little help in addressing the problems of Asia. He pointed out that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union, Japan's most important neighbors, were members, and that the organization provided a forum for the weak and querulous that seemed to limit the influence of Japan, which was the only major power in Asia.[15] Even before this, however, there had been voices urging caution before subscribing to an Anglo-American view of the world.

Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1945), scion of Japan's most distinguished aristocratic house and descendant of the Fujiwaras, was invited by Saionji Kinmochi to accompany him to the Paris Peace Conference. To Saionji's consternation the young prince, who had recently graduated from the Philosophy Faculty of Kyoto Imperial University, published a short essay in which he voiced his misgiving about the prospect of an "Anglo-American peace." He raised the distinction between "have" and "have-not" powers. The Western allies now so intent on peace, he pointed out, already had everything they wanted and were chiefly interested in sustaining the status quo. It was easy for them to blame everything on German aggression, for that had come later than their own. A disconcerted Saionji warned the young man to keep his views to himself, but the fact is that many Japanese were full of doubts about the benefits of the new international system. Doubts had already been raised by nationalists about the benefits of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but the new organization seemed to remove from Japan whatever protection that alliance had conveyed. It was not that much could be expected of the old alliance in the future,

for the increasingly close cooperation between the United States and Great Britain raised doubts about the utility of the English alliance. It was clear that Britain would not support Japan in a possible struggle with the United States, but it was also clear that Japan lacked the strength to challenge both powers.

Other voices resisted this parochialism and spoke for internationalism, and the Washington Conference on naval limitations was one result. First, and most important, was the fact that all participating nations had embarked on massive programs of naval buildup during the war; none could sustain these in peace, but each needed the assurance that limitations on building would not disadvantage it in future competition. Second, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance came up for renewal or replacement in 1922. It was obvious that Britain would never join Japan in a war against the United States, and therefore some new structure of security was required to replace it. And finally the turbulent state of Chinese politics made it incumbent on the powers to agree on cooperative steps in dealing with the floundering Chinese republic. Military equipment, so recently plentiful in Europe, was now flooding into Asia. There was thus every reason to convene a conference to address these problems.

Ozaki Yukio, a confirmed political maverick, had returned from a postwar trip to Europe convinced that security could not be maintained without a cooperative agreement for arms retrenchment. A motion he filed in the House of Representatives was defeated by a crushing vote, but he then took the issue to the people by traversing the country to address large audiences about disarmament. In a crude public opinion poll he distributed postcards at all his meetings, and of the 31,519 that were returned to him, 92 percent favored his proposals. Clearly many Japanese were in favor of international cooperation.

At the Washington Conference, Japan was represented by Ambassador to the United States Shidehara Kijūrō, Tokugawa Iesato, and Admiral Katō Tomosaburō. The conference produced a network of interrelated agreements that can be described as the "Washington Conference system"; it set the parameters of Pacific policy and security for the rest of the decade.

A Four Power Pact, with the United States and France included, replaced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Its members pledged themselves to respect the status quo in the Pacific and to consult if the security of any one power was threatened.

Naval limitation was at the center of the negotiations that followed. In Japan a "fleet faction" had advocated the construction of eight battleships and eight cruisers. The Anglo-American counterproposal was for a moratorium on all construction of capital ships—battleships and heavy cruisers—and adoption of a tonnage ratio of 10 for the United States and Great Britain to 6 for Japan. Japanese negotiators argued vainly for a 10/7 ratio, but accepted

the smaller figure under the condition that substituted several newer ships for others to be decommissioned. The essential security for Japan, however, lay in the guarantee that additional bases would not be built in the Pacific Ocean sites, with exceptions made for Hawaii, Singapore, and Japan itself. Japan's fleet faction was discontented with this, but Admiral Katō's prestige was great enough to quiet vocal naval opponents (though not, it will be noted, Prime Minister Hara's assassin). These arms limitation agreements had no real precedent and seemed to bring an assurance of peace in the Pacific. It has to be remembered that they affected capital ships only, and that the extension of this to smaller ships at the London Conference in 1930 was far more rancorous. Aircraft carriers were still things of the future and not regulated, but the Japanese, who had more confidence in the future of air power, managed to refit several battleships under construction and slated for "scrapping" as aircraft carriers.

The last treaty signed, the Nine Power Treaty, was designed to protect Chinese sovereignty. The powers profiting from "unequal treaties" with China pledged to respect China's territorial sovereignty, maintain the "Open Door" in trade, and cooperate in helping China achieve unity and stability.

In the early 1920s Japan moved to live up to the commitments it had made at Washington. The former German holdings in Shantung were returned to China. Japanese troops were withdrawn from Siberia and Northern Sakhalin, and under the leadership of Gotō Shinpei normalization of relations with the new Soviet government was worked out. Japan lived up to the commitments it had made with respect to naval limitations, and it was for some time a full participant in cooperative efforts to work out new tariff and customs arrangements for China. In each of these cases, however, opinion within Japan was far from united; Prime Minister Hara lost his life to an assassin, the armed services had factions that sought a larger army and navy, and some argued the case for expansion, but there were reasons to think that Japanese leaders would be able to see the advantages of the new international order.

The Immigration Imbroglio

Arms agreements seldom survive distrust and suspicion, and the promise of the Washington agreements was soon marred by the resumption of immigration issues in the United States. The matter seemed to have been settled by the "gentlemen's agreement" (not unlike the "voluntary export restrictions" worked out for automobiles in the 1970s) in which the Japanese "voluntarily" restrained immigration. In the 1920s the issue came up once more. Nativist sentiments in the eastern United States had been raised by the scale of immigration from eastern and southeastern Europe, while in the west anti-Oriental

agitation had led to a series of Alien Land Laws making it difficult for immigrants to own or even lease land. In 1922 the United States Supreme Court ruled that Japanese were ineligible for citizenship because of prior legislation. California had adopted an Alien Land Law in 1920, and similar legislation was quickly adopted by fifteen other states. All this set the stage for congressional legislation.

To understand the indignation with which Japanese greeted the Immigration Act of 1924 it is necessary to realize how unnecessary it was. Congress had adopted a quota system based on national origins in 1921; it was heavily weighted in favor of the countries of northern Europe, where quotas were so large that they were seldom filled. The baseline of residence for those quotas was 1910 (with 3 percent admissible); in 1923 the baseline was advanced to 1920, but the percentage lowered to 2 percent. One group now advocated moving the baseline back to 1890, reducing the Japanese quota to 246, but even that failed to satisfy nativists who wanted total exclusion. The legislation that emerged excluded immigrants ineligible for citizenship.

In an effort to prevent so egregious an affront to Japanese sensibilities, the secretary of state encouraged Japanese ambassador Hanihara to stress Japan's adherence to the gentleman's agreement. This he did, but ended his statement by expressing the fear that the proposed exclusion could have "grave consequences" on the otherwise happy relations between Japan and America. This phrase was then denounced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as a "veiled threat," and it virtually ensured passage of the act. The legislation was deplored by much of the American establishment and by major United States newspapers, but it did lasting damage to the influence of some of Japan's foremost internationalists. Nitobe Inazō, probably the most distinguished of these, vowed that he would not set foot on American soil until the offensive act was repealed, and went to considerable inconvenience in making his way to and from Geneva. Nitobe had dedicated his life to being a "bridge across the Pacific," but in this instance the bridge broke down.

The Emergence of Nationalist China

The Washington Conference system ultimately fell victim to disagreements among the powers over the proper response to the rise of Chinese nationalism. Japanese were divided on the issue, but its consequences for Japan were so far-reaching that the diplomatic policy adopted became a major issue in domestic politics.

There were reasons to expect a sympathetic response to Chinese nationalism in Japan. The two countries shared a commitment to East Asian civilization, and both had felt the injustice of the unequal treaties imposed by the

West. No country had more people in China, more China specialists, or more knowledge of Chinese culture and civilization than Japan. Unfortunately the "China first" men who had worked with Sun Yat-sen were outnumbered by others. Some prominent scholars argued that "China" was more civilization than nation, and that the Chinese, focused on family and village to the exclusion of nation and state, were unlikely to make the kind of response to the modern world that Japan had made. This was the contention of a best-selling work by a distinguished China specialist, Professor Naitō Konan, *Shina ron* (On China).[16] This position had only limited tolerance for the facts that Manchu rule, imperialist intervention, and foreign example had begun to produce a new generation of Chinese. The May Fourth movement with its advocates of democracy and science as alternatives to the Confucian tradition that had left China defenseless in the face of outside aggression was leading to a social and cultural revolution. There was also a political change, encouraged by Soviet example and backing that helped transform a small Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) at Canton into a potent force. A military school (headed by Chiang Kai-shek) with modern weapons and tactics was supplemented by programs to train propagandists and activists to work with Chinese workers and students.

In North China the major warlords destroyed themselves in suicidal conflicts that raged in 1924 and 1925.[17] In South China the Kuomintang and Communist groups merged in a national united front and prepared to seize on this opportunity by launching the "Northern Expedition" in 1926. When the troops reached Nanking, antiforeign feeling and disorganization resulted in a number of acts of violence against non-Chinese. Foreign Minister Shidehara came under attack for refusing to join other powers in countermeasures. Shortly after, when the Kuomintang forces reached Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek turned on his Communist allies in a bloody coup; the left-wing survivors retreated to Wuhan—where they, too, soon dismissed their Soviet advisers—while Chiang Kai-shek prepared for advancing north to Peking and national unification.

This political turbulence in China had a direct impact on Japanese politics; China policy became a potent issue. Japan's failure to respond forcefully to the episodes in Nanking, it was charged, had weakened its prestige and honor. Shidehara, with an eye to Japan's long-range relations with the commercial centers of central and southern China, stood firm. Chiang's break with the Communists in Shanghai seemed to bear out Shidehara's estimate of the Kuomintang promise, but the rival Seiyūkai had found an issue for attack.

Appropriately, the attack was led by a war hero and senior general who

had resigned from the army in 1925 at the request of Seiyūkai leaders that he lead them out of the political wilderness. General Tanaka Gi'ichi (1864–1929) had served in Russia and considered himself an authority on Japan's northern border. During the Russo-Japanese War he had provided help for a bandit leader, Chang Tso-lin. As imperial unity gave way to provincial warlords Chang was to emerge as the strongest force in Northeast China thanks to his Fengtien Army, which enjoyed Japanese favor and occasional advice. Chang's proximity to Peking gave him a stake in national politics. Within Japan, Tanaka had been instrumental in the establishment of the nationwide network of reservist associations. He had served as army minister under Prime Minister Hara, and as Yamagata weakened—and died in 1922—he emerged as head of the "Chōshū faction" at army headquarters. Now, as head of the Seiyūkai, he brought with him an imposing set of qualifications to head a government. In 1927 a bank crisis (which will be discussed below) was responsible for the fall of a Kenseikai government and left a political vacuum into which Tanaka led his Seiyūkai.

A month after Tanaka took office, he ordered the transfer of Japanese forces to Tsinan in Shantung in order to protect the lives of Japanese residents—and, incidentally, deter Chiang Kai-shek's progress north to Peking. The situation was full of ambiguities. Some civilians and diplomats thought it wise to prevent the sort of attacks that had been directed against Japanese in Nanking earlier, while Tanaka's successors in the General Staff were unenthusiastic about risking involvement in continental politics. As yet no lasting harm had been done, and before long the Japanese troops were withdrawn. Chiang Kai-shek (who had been trained in Japan) resigned his political offices temporarily and traveled to Tokyo for talks with Tanaka. Both men thought they had reached an understanding. Chiang pointed out that it was important for Japan to avoid the appearance of support for the northern warlords, while Tanaka emphasized the need for Chiang to maintain an anti-Communist position and concentrate on political stability in central and southern China.

This was all well and good, but Chiang's Northern Expedition was soon headed for Peking again. That city was temporarily under the control of Chang Tso-lin, who, like all the major warlords, saw himself as head of a national government. If things were allowed to take their natural course, and Chiang's Northern Expedition defeated the Fengtien Army and Chang Tso-lin was unhorsed, it could be anticipated that Chiang Kai-shek's forces would follow him over the mountain pass that separated the Manchurian province of Fengtien from Peking. Japan would then face a Nationalist presence in an area it considered vital to its interests. Even Foreign Minister Shidehara, internationalist that he was, had made a distinction between Manchuria and China; Ta-

naka, militarist that he was, thought that it was essential to have Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria as a buffer against Chinese nationalism.

In the summer of 1927 Tanaka convened a Far East Conference of Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Finance, and army, navy, and General Staff representatives to try to work out Japanese priorities. One of the unexpected results of this gathering was a spurious document that became known as the "Tanaka Memorial," which purported to lay out a program of systematic expansion in China. Its origins have never been fully traced, but theories about its authorship have ranged from Chinese Communists to Japanese critics of Tanaka. Unfortunately the document proved in some sense prophetic of future Japanese moves, and thus, understandably, contributed to belief in its authenticity.

In contrast to a plan for expansion the conference produced a welter of conflicting opinions. In the end a rough consensus emerged to the effect that the emerging Kuomintang regime was likely to meet Japan's standards for a stable and non-Communist government that Japan would be able to work with, but also that the Chinese should be assured that Japan would support Chang Tso-lin's efforts to hold on to his position in Manchuria. To Tanaka, this meant getting Chang Tso-lin out of Peking and out of harm's way beyond the mountainous barrier to Manchuria lest the Kuomintang forces pursue him there.[18]

This danger was soon at hand. When Chiang Kai-shek returned to China he resumed command of the Northern Expedition and prepared to move on Peking. In December 1927 Tanaka decided that the possibility of conflict in the area made it wise to send troops to Shantung again to protect Japanese nationals and Japanese interests. He hoped that if he sent them to Tsingtao they would be out of Chiang Kai-shek's path of advance, while nevertheless available if needed. The division commander thought he knew better, however, and moved to Tsinan as the northern forces retreated. As might have been expected, a clash between Japanese and Chinese Nationalist forces broke out in May. Attempts for local settlement of whatever had prompted the clash failed when the Japanese military decided the national honor was at stake; when the Chinese would not accept the demands they made, Japanese troops occupied Tsinan. The Japanese now took over the area, imposed martial law, and held on until 1929.

Worse was to come. After Chang Tso-lin agreed to vacate Peking and return to his capital in Mukden, staff officers of the Japanese Kwantung Army, which had the mission of security for the Liaotung (Port Arthur and Dairen) Peninsula and South Manchurian Railroad, decided the time was ripe to precipitate a crisis that would, they thought, force their superiors to take steps to seize control of Manchuria instead of continuing to work with Chang

Tso-lin. Within the Japanese military there was increasing talk of a "China problem" and a "Manchuria and Mongolia problem." Impatient and restless young military officers thought they had the opportunity to hurry history. Colonel Kōmoto Daisaku arranged to have the railway car in which Chang Tso-lin was riding blown up as his train was entering Manchuria. Kōmoto's hope that higher echelons would respond to take advantage of his rash act proved misplaced; there was no follow-up. Chang Tso-lin's son took over command of his father's Fengtien Army, and after his position was stabilized, announced his commitment to the new Kuomintang government that had been set up in Peking. Chiang Kai-shek, in turn, designated him commander of the "Northeastern Frontier" Army. For Japanese obsessed with the "Manchurian-Mongolian problem," things were if anything worse than they had been before Chang Tso-lin's departure from the scene in June of 1928.

The Emperor and the General

Prime Minister Tanaka himself, however, was in trouble. The government had announced that the cause of the explosion that killed Chang Tso-lin was an as yet unsolved act of terrorism, but opposition Diet members wanted to know how this could have happened in an area guarded by Japanese troops, and demanded an investigation. More serious, the young Emperor Hirohito asked Tanaka what had happened. Tanaka promised to look into the matter and punish the perpetrators if it turned out that army men were involved. When Tanaka tried to keep that promise, however, he ran into opposition from his former army associates who now saw him as part of the political establishment; they insisted that disciplining Kōmoto would do irreparable damage to the image of the Imperial Army and compromise Japan's position in continental and international affairs. Better by far, they thought, to cover things up.

Tanaka thus was unable to keep his promise to the emperor. To his astonishment and dismay, Hirohito took him sharply to task. He resigned in July 1929 and died soon after. The incident took its toll on Hirohito as well as Tanaka. Shortly after World War II, when it still seemed possible he would be charged as a war criminal, the emperor dictated some recollections to palace officials. In these he described his dismissal of Tanaka as a pivotal event in his understanding of the limits of his personal role. As he put it,

> Tanaka again came to me and said he would like to settle the matter by hushing it up. Well, then, I answered in an angry tone, what you say now is completely different from what you said before. Don't you think you ought to resign?

Soon complaints were making the rounds to the effect that unnamed senior statesmen were acting like a behind-the-scenes palace cabal; senior advisers took alarm and remonstrated with the emperor about what his role should be. He continued,

> I now think it was my youthful indiscretion that led me to talk that way. In any case, I expressed myself in those terms. Whereupon Tanaka submitted his resignation and the Tanaka cabinet resigned en masse. According to what I heard, Kōmoto said that if he was put before a court-martial and interrogated, he would have revealed everything about Japan's plot. So, I understand that the military court martial was canceled . . . Ever since this incident, I resolved to approve every report that the cabinet laid before me although I personally might hold an opposite opinion.[19]

It will be seen from this that Kōmoto was not acting alone, and that the murder of Chang Tso-lin expressed the wish for direct action that came three years later.

"renouncing war as a sovereign right"

During all this Tanaka was in trouble on another front. This discussion has brought out some of the differences between the Seiyūkai and Minseitō, usually to the latter's advantage. But the Minseitō members were also politicians who needed public support, and in 1928 they took a leaf from their opponents' book to charge Tanaka with derogation of the imperial prerogative. It is worth tracing the dispute over the Kellogg-Briand Pact, because the wording at issue returned in the postwar Japanese constitution as Article 9, in which "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation."

The Kellogg-Briand Pact had its origins in negotiations between the French foreign minister Aristide Briand and United States secretary of state Frank Kellogg about an agreement to renounce war as an instrument of national policy. What began as a plan for a bilateral agreement became a convention between sixty-two countries, including all the major powers, that their governments, "in the names of their respective peoples," would outlaw war "as an instrument of national policy." Japan, represented at what became the Pact of Paris by Count Uchida Yasuya, was one of the original fifteen signatories. For a time it seemed clear that this commitment would win universal approval.

The rival Minseitō, however, still smarting from its treatment at the hands of Seiyūkai nationalists, launched an attack that the phrase "in the names of their respective peoples" was a violation of *kokutai* and an unconstitutional infringement of the emperor's prerogative to make war and declare peace.

Elements of the right-wing press supported this, but responsible commentators endorsed the proposal and realized that Japan would suffer in world opinion if an agreement endorsed by its representative at Paris failed to receive endorsement by the Imperial Diet. Nothing daunted, the opposition carried the battle to the Privy Council, and particularly its deeply conservative president Itō Miyoji.[20] After heated debate in the Privy Council the pact was ratified with the declaration

> The Imperial Government declares that the phraseology "in the names of their respective peoples" appearing in Article I of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War . . . viewed in the light of the provisions of the Imperial Constitution, is understood to be inapplicable in so far as Japan is concerned.[21]

Uchida, who would reemerge in the 1930s as a hard-liner, resigned in protest in response to all this; he felt it called into question his own role as negotiator and damaged the prestige of his country. After the matter was resolved the Minseitō returned to power and Shidehara Kijūrō took over the Foreign Ministry again.

The Pact of Paris affected Japanese history in two ways in later years. First, when the International Tribunal convened after World War II to render judgment on Japan's war responsibility, it ruled that the Kellogg-Briand Pact had made aggressive war illegal, and consequently a nation's leaders could be brought to justice for planning such a war.

The second, however, is of greater importance. In 1946 a group of American officers was convened in General Douglas MacArthur's headquarters to prepare a new constitution for Japan. One of the few specific instructions the general gave them in handwritten notes was that the document should prescribe a pacifist polity. Uncertain how to word this, they resorted to the Pact of Paris and used its wording for Article 9 and the renunciation of war. No provision of that document has generated more discussion and debate than these famous phrases renouncing war as a sovereign right, which earned the document the description "Peace Constitution."

3. Economic Change

The Japanese economy was transformed during the interwar years. The institutional changes of the Meiji period had prepared the way; many changes had been made in advance of the necessity for them. The banking structure, for instance, was complete by 1900. There were hundreds of small banks formed by public subscription that served the needs of ordinary citizens. Organized

on the lines of public stock companies and among the first institutions to use Western business methods, these banks played an important role in daily life. There were others, however, government directed, that were established to meet the needs of future imperial expansion. These included the Industrial Bank. Like the Fifteenth (Peers') Bank established to provide access to and direction for the generous financial settlements made with daimyo after the abolition of the domains, these could guarantee profitable returns on items of national importance like railroad and shipbuilding development. What was distinctive about Japan's modern economic growth was that it not only took place without jeopardizing the traditional economy, but benefited from it. Unlike colonial economies in India or Indonesia in which unfinished goods were exported in exchange for consumer goods that had previously been produced by traditional means, Japan continued domestic production for domestic use. This had been foreshadowed by a lengthy "Report on Manufactures" (Kōgyō iken) worked out by Maeda Masana in 1884, a document that has been compared to Alexander Hamilton's proposals in the early United States. Imports, he argued, should be restricted to items essential for Japan's growing strength, while traditional manufacturers, suitably improved and modified to fit the contemporary scene, should provide the needs of the populace. Until the Russo-Japanese War, only a modest proportion of Japan's workers—perhaps for the most part those in the government, security, and education—were employed in the "modern" sector. It grew rapidly, to be sure, but its growth was made possible by the much larger number of workers involved in small enterprises utilizing traditional methods. As late as 1910, 87 percent of cloth looms were still hand powered.[22] Modest and small-scale technological change proved more manageable than expensive imported machinery of the sort used in the early government-established mills, and because patterns of daily life changed little until the twentieth century the traditional sector was able to supply Japan's needs. Over one-third of workers employed in "factories" were in establishments that had no more than ten workers. This extended to the production of silk, preeminently a household product in which one in five farm families participated, but also "modern" export goods like matches. These could be produced by teams of households organized by manufacturers who borrowed from local banks to organize material and equipment; groups or teams of households worked separately to split the wood, dip the heads, make matchboxes, paste labels, and pack the final product. "The 'makers,'" E. Sydney Crawcour writes, "might employ several hundred people working in their own homes at rates of pay so low that often the whole family needed to work long hours to make a living."[23]

The two economies, traditional and modern, moved in tandem until at

least the twentieth century. As the modern sector grew in size and importance its gains, and those for Japanese who worked in it, outsped those in the traditional sector, and the resulting pattern, often described as a "dual economy," characterized twentieth-century Japan until the economic growth that followed World War II.

Crawcour and other authorities suggest that Japan's economic growth differed from the sequence experienced by the early industrializers in the West because of the government's active role in favoring developments important to its "rich country, strong army" *(fukoku-kyōhei)* policy. Those priorities and goals were acceptable to most Japanese. A long view to future needs justified investment in enterprises that were initially unprofitable and frequently managed by ex-samurai government bureaucrats. Once the enterprises became profitable, however, there was no shortage of nonsamurai businessmen who saw opportunities and joined in. This was early the case with textiles, in which country girls recruited by agents were kept in factory dormitories and received treatment so harsh that many tried to run away.[24]

The government saw to it that trunk railway lines and arsenals were in its hands. More impressive is the pattern of administrative guidance provided to promote standardization, quality, and hence profitability. Village cooperatives, universal by 1914, spurred improvements in agronomy with short-maturing strains that permitted double cropping, communal seedbeds and planting in rows to permit improved tillage, massive increases in fertilization, and better paddy drainage. Trade associations were formed under government direction, first on a local, and then on a prefectural, and finally a national, basis. Throughout all this the links to traditional guidance previously provided by Tokugawa period guilds *(nakama)* and social organization were recognized and utilized.

After the Matsukata deflation of the 1880s Japan's economic growth included a number of cycles of downturn, but overall the trend was steadily favorable. Between 1886 and 1920 national output rose by a factor of six; thanks to the growth of population during the same period, however, per capita productivity averaged a more modest 1.8 percent annually. Moreover national (governmental) expenditure rose a good deal more rapidly than personal consumption, helping to account for the slow pace of change in daily life.

Each of the wars sparked an economic boom and government expenditures rose, as did wages. In each case the war economy gave way to a postwar recession as a slackening of demand coincided with continued high or higher military costs that were deemed necessary to provide for occupancy and security for the new territorial gains and to cover Japan's larger role in Asian and world affairs. There was never a "peace bonus" for the Japanese taxpayers.

The mood after the Sino-Japanese War was one of sullen resentment at the Triple Intervention (expressed in the phrase *gasshin shotan,* a reference to the hero's patient wait for revenge in a famous Chinese novel), but it was in part compensated for by the large indemnity exacted from China in the peace settlement. The government had tried repeatedly to get a Diet budget allocation for a steel plant, but without success. The needs of war finally brought approval, and the bulk of the Chinese indemnity was used to defray the cost of the Yawata steel plant, which marked an important step in heavy industry. The Yawata works came into operation in 1901. Even this, however, brought new needs, for as we have seen its dependence on imported coke and iron ore was reflected in the inclusion of China's Hanyehp'ing works at Wuhan in the Twenty-one Demands.[25] The Russo-Japanese War, however, produced no indemnity—that was why the Tokyo crowd was so indignant—and it was followed by even greater military costs in Korea and South Manchuria and naval modernization. The government tried to counter this, it will be recalled, by the Local Improvement Movement and the emperor's injunctions to diligence and frugality.

Yet it would be an exaggeration to conclude, as some have, that the Japanese were victimized by the "rich country, strong army" slogan to inherit a poor country, strong army fate. Both wars speeded the growth of the modern sector dramatically. Japan was no longer dependent on outside suppliers of military and peacetime machinery. There were massive subsidies for ship and weapon production. During the war with Russia, some European shipyards that had provided warships for Japan pleaded neutrality, but Japan was increasingly able to proceed on its own. Of seventy-seven ships commissioned by the Imperial Navy between 1905 and 1915, all but seven were built in Japan. By 1914 Japan was one of only five countries (with France, Germany, England, and America) to be self-sufficient in the production of steam locomotives.

All this helped prepare Japan for the commercial opportunities offered by World War I, which was by far Japan's most profitable war. Its costs in lives and treasure were insignificant. The developed economies of the West were fully occupied in mutual destruction, unable even to exploit the colonial markets from which Japan had been excluded. Japan's modern sector was prepared to fill this gap. The balance of payments with the West, long dominated by loans contracted during the Russo-Japanese War, was rapidly reversed, and Japan's status changed from debtor to creditor. Japan's national product rose at a rate of 9 percent a year, growing more than 40 percent during the war. Iron and steel, vital areas in which Meiji Japan had been import-dependent, became profitable. Textiles grew apace and Japan was able to capitalize on arrangements built into the Treaty of Shimonoseki to expand investment and

production in China, where Japanese-owned spindles increased tenfold.[26] Within Japan private investment in modern industry became more profitable than it had ever been, and the confidence and success of the new industrialists was symbolized by the establishment in 1917 of the Industrial Club, where the makers and shakers of the new economy met to dine, socialize, and plan.

There was now a shortage of labor. Wages rose steeply, and with them the general price level. Soaring costs of food, made worse by profiteering and speculation, were an important element in the outbreak of the rice riots of 1918. In industry there was a rapid rise in the use of electricity as a source of power, though the total remained modest by Western standards. In 1919, for instance, one-quarter of plants employing five to fourteen workers relied on electric power, but even so that represented a fourfold increase since 1914. "In contrast with the industries producing military or investment demand," Crawcour writes, "those producing for domestic or foreign consumption remained mainly labor-intensive, small in scale, and slower to accept technological innovation."[27]

If the wartime boom was greater than had been the case with the earlier wars, however, so was the post–World War I depression that resulted from a return of international competition. Japan was left with a high rate of inflation that made it difficult to retain the markets developed during the war years. The government had encouraged rice imports from Taiwan and Korea in an attempt to counter the inflation of food costs that led to the rice riots of 1918, and as a result, with the return of peace, agriculturalists found themselves forced to compete with imports during the postwar depression. The economic turndown of the 1920s was severe, worsened by the earthquake that struck the Yokohama-Tokyo metropolis in 1923 and exacerbated by a bank crisis in 1927. In considering the decade-long struggle for political liberalization it is important to remember that perceptions of deflation, depression, and economic crisis accompanied (and for some probably caused) the steps toward continental adventures.[28]

The importance of the international economy to Japan was now greater than it had ever been. Japan was far more self-sufficient in chemicals and heavy industry than had been the case, but was also more reliant on exports of textiles and small, low-cost consumer goods than it had been. This made it important to end the inflation of costs and wages and return to a competitive price level. For some time business continued its scale of wartime investment and expansion, only to have the "bubble" burst in 1920 as orders dried up. The imbalance of imports over exports that had been stopped by the war soon returned, and stock prices tumbled dramatically. It was particularly the new and speculative enterprises that did poorly. The older giants of the economy,

the zaibatsu, were usually able to weather the storm. Indeed, their ability to shop selectively among the newer enterprises that were now in trouble built up their power within the economy to the point that they became targets of abuse. In September 1921 Asahi Heigo, member of the "Righteousness Corps of the Divine Land," assassinated Yasuda Zenjirō, founder of the great Yasuda conglomerate. He left a statement excoriating the corruption of the day. The poor, he wrote, had no hope, while malefactors of great wealth could twist the judicial system to their own protection and even reward. It was important to try to stage a new, Taishō, Restoration; but meanwhile "the punishment of the traitorous millionaires is the most urgent of all these [measures], and there is no way of doing this except to assassinate them resolutely." "Just sacrifice your life," he concluded, "and work out your own way of doing this. In this way you will prepare the way for the revolution."[29] This lethal terrorist diatribe was still an isolated act and a decade in advance of the anticapitalist violence ultranationalists would mount against politicians and businessmen in the 1930s, but indicated strains in the polity that would worsen as economic conditions became more serious.

The Hara government was searching for ways to curb and reverse the wartime inflation in order to return Japan's fiscal policy to the gold standard, whose adoption in 1897 had been one of the triumphs of Meiji era direction. Together with its trading partners Japan had to abandon that standard during the war emergency; the United States, increasingly important to Japanese trade, had returned to it in 1919, but the Japanese depression of the following year forced delay. Worse disasters lay ahead. On September 1, 1923, the Tokyo-Yokohama area was devastated by an earthquake that led to fires that raged for forty hours. An estimated 120,000 buildings were destroyed and 450,000 burned. Casualties were estimated to number 140,000, and 250,000 people lost their jobs. The national wealth had been estimated at 86 billion yen in 1909, but estimates of earthquake-incurred losses ran as high as 10 billion yen. A disaster of this scope ruled out early measures for deflation and devaluation. Instead large-scale government support was raised in the form of "earthquake bonds," and these continued to complicate fiscal policy for many years thereafter. Reconstruction brought a new surge of imports. Mitsui, for instance, having lost its headquarters building in the Nihonbashi financial center of Tokyo, immediately engaged American architects (Trowbridge & Livingston) and builders (Steward & Co.) to undertake construction of a palatial and imposing temple of commerce that was dedicated in 1929.[30] Under such pressures an early return to the gold standard was impossible.

The exuberance of the postwar speculation had given way to a minor panic before the earthquake struck, but what came in 1927 was a genuine banking

crisis. The Suzuki Trading Company, its sugar dealings involved with the Bank of Taiwan, declared bankruptcy and took in its train the Bank of Taiwan and a number of other banks. These included the Fifteenth (Peers') Bank whose administrators, often referred to as Matsukata zaibatsu, had stubbornly retained its investments in shipbuilding despite the development of a worldwide glut of shipping; business was made worse by the program of naval disarmament that involved the discontinuation of some planned ships. The death in office of Katō Takaaki had brought a successor cabinet headed by Wakatsuki Reijirō, and it was his government that was brought down by the banking crisis. The crisis could have been avoided or at least mitigated, for it had its roots in political antagonisms related to differences over China policy. The Bank of Japan required Privy Council authorization to shore up an ailing bank, but the Privy Council delayed for quite unrelated reasons because of its discontent with Foreign Minister Shidehara's determination to avoid inflaming sentiment against Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang antiforeign acts in Nanking. In the final analysis, Thomas Schalow concludes, the crisis was brought on by "the Privy Council's refusal to authorize the Bank of Japan to move sufficiently quickly to forestall the run on banks," and that refusal in turn had its roots in "the Privy Council's adamant opposition to the 'weak kneed Shidehara' approach to Japan's foreign policy in China."[31] When the Fifteenth National Bank declared bankruptcy, the reduction in the fortunes of former daimyo families was striking. The Satsuma Shimazu, for example, saw their estimated worth of 6.5 million yen shrink to less than 180,000, and major firms like Kawasaki Shipbuilding, which had looked to the Fifteenth Bank for funding, suddenly found themselves in desperate financial plight. Losses extended to the Imperial Household itself, which had made the Fifteenth Bank its official depository in 1913. The Wakatsuki cabinet was helpless. The run on banks, estimated to have claimed 11 percent of deposits nationwide (and almost one-third of deposits in the Tokyo Fifteenth Bank branches), was so severe that the Ministry of Finance, in a desperate attempt to restore depositor confidence, hurriedly printed one-sided banknotes and stacked then ostentatiously in tellers' cages. Thirty-two banks suspended operations.

It was under these circumstances that the Wakatsuki cabinet resigned and was replaced by General Tanaka Gi'ichi's Seiyūkai. Tanaka appointed a veteran financial bureaucrat, Takahashi Korekiyo, as minister of finance. Takahashi declared a twenty-day bank moratorium, during which time his ministry reorganized the Bank of Taiwan. New government regulations set higher standards of deposit reserves for banks and encouraged bank mergers, and as a result the number of banks declined by one-third. As before, the stronger firms, zaibatsu and zaibatsu-allied, emerged in health, but in the process the

great firms, their tentacles extending through all branches of Japanese society, also became intensely unpopular.

The problems Tanaka incurred in his "correction" of the Shidehara China policy have been better chronicled than his efforts to restore confidence to the economy. Takahashi was an advocate of expansionist economic policies, and returned to the pattern of "pump priming" in the interests of economic growth that the Seiyūkai had followed under the leadership of Hara earlier in the century.[32] Relatively liberal government expenditures created a favorable setting for business. Small, secondary supplier plants grew rapidly in number. There was fierce competition between them, and this helped to keep prices low. The government did not try for direct control, but it did support many cartels, and its protectionist policies helped to restrict imports, from agriculture to steel.

With Tanaka's fall in 1929 the opposition Minseitō returned to power under the leadership of Hamaguchi Osachi. The party had preached fiscal responsibility and advocated an early return to the international gold standard. Hamaguchi was, it will be remembered, a veteran of extensive service in the Ministry of Finance. He had contested Takahashi's liberal government spending during the Hara cabinet, and served as minister of finance under Katō Takaaki and home minister under his successor Wakatsuki. As his minister of finance he selected Inoue Junnosuke, a banker who had studied in England and served in the United States. Inoue had been president of the Bank of Japan before becoming finance minister in 1923, and it fell to him to keep the system going in the tumultuous days that followed the earthquake in 1923. After service in the House of Peers he had returned to head the Bank of Japan after the panic of 1927 broke out, and then resigned that post to join the Minseitō and resume service as finance minister.

This time the world depression that began in 1929 undid all plans. Inoue, intent on sound fiscal policy, was resolute about a deflationary policy, and he took Japan back on the gold standard in 1930. As it turned out his timing could hardly have been worse. Great Britain abandoned the gold standard that same year, and the United States was to do so soon. In the years of growing economic crisis, free trade was seldom any country's highest priority. The Hamaguchi cabinet, through its appointment of Shidehara Kijūrō as foreign minister, hoped for a policy of international cooperation and trade. Japan extended formal recognition to the new Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek in 1930. That same year Hamaguchi stood his ground against objections from the Imperial Navy to force acceptance of the decisions reached at the London Naval Conference, which extended the quotas worked out at the Washington Conference to smaller warships.

Both men failed. Shidehara's policies were doomed by new violence precipitated by the military in Manchuria, and Hamaguchi, fatally wounded by an ultranationalist, was succeeded after a brief interregnum by a new Seiyūkai cabinet headed by Inukai Tsuyoshi. Takahashi returned to the Ministry of Finance and resumed expansionist policies. Inukai was to be murdered in 1932, and Takahashi three years later.

We shall turn to those events shortly. For now it is important to note that throughout the world managed currencies signaled a decline of the internationalism that had characterized the post–World War I era. For Japan, where foreign trade to pay for raw materials was so important, these changes were particularly traumatic. They brought on an isolation that was intensified by the military steps that brought the country little honor. Nakamura describes the economic dimension of that isolation in this way:

> The relationship of trust and cooperation between Japan's financial circles and those in Britain and the United States gradually cooled [after 1931]. This relationship, cultivated by Japanese financial circles since the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, had made it possible for Japan to raise foreign capital after the Kantō earthquake and to float local bond issues and electric power company bonds repeatedly during the 1920s. But with the Manchurian incident, the founding of Manchukuo and the outbreak of the Shanghai incident, Thomas Lamont of the Morgan Bank began to take an unfriendly view of Japan. This cooling of international financial relationships meant that when Japan faced a balance of payments crisis, it could no longer look abroad for help.[33]

There was, however, another and more cheerful side to interwar Japan, and to that we turn next.

THE CHINA WAR

17

At first glance the course of Japanese history in the 1930s differs so radically from that of the decade before that it presumes a profound discontinuity. Terms like "military takeover" or "fascism" have been employed to emphasize that gap. Other considerations come in to complicate interpretation and understanding. Which was the main course of modern Japanese history, that of the "democratic" period of party government or that of the militarist 1930s? What was the aberration? Earlier writers have tended to emphasize one or the other; the 1920s represented only a temporary interlude in modern Japan's rush to strength and empire, or the militarist era came in response to what was becoming an irreversible course toward a democratic modernity. These positions in turn had policy consequences for the second half of the twentieth century. If Japan's polity and psychology had indeed been fatally flawed by militarism, then reconstruction after defeat would require an almost total reorientation; if not, reforms in which the influence of forces making for imperialism were blocked or eliminated would make it possible for trends of the 1920s to continue.

In the narrative that follows it will become clear that neither case obtains. Many of the developments of the 1930s would in fact have been impossible without the development of mass culture and participation that had come before, and it is no less true that the military buildup and domination had powerful roots in the institutional pattern of the modern Meiji state. At first there was a shift in priorities and in weighting. There was no longer the influence of the original state builders to moderate and referee change. The measures they had adopted, from ideology to army, now assumed a momentum of their own. The institutions they built had generated powerful and frequently antagonistic bureaucracies and interest groups.

Generational change also played its part. Although there was remarkable carryover in the highest echelons, where Prince Saionji, now a frail old man, tried to find a middle path, a new generation of leaders who had not experienced the chastening fact of Japanese weakness proved capable of arrogance of a sort the Meiji leaders had not shown.

Japanese readings of the outer world also underwent drastic change. The impact of the great world depression weakened forces for internationalism abroad as they did at home. In the face of the drawbacks of capitalism new forms of state-led economy and polity seemed everywhere ascendant. As fascist leaders seemed successful in Germany and Italy the orderly hierarchy of world powers to which Japanese had looked for guidance changed. In neighboring China new forces of nationalism threatened to disrupt the leadership Japan had exercised in southern Manchuria since the Russo-Japanese War. The return of Russian influence in Northeast Asia alarmed Japanese planners who had never ceased to fear a replay of the contest of a quarter century before. These and other issues divided men of every stripe. There was no consolidated and unified "military," nor was it opposed by a uniformly pacifist "civilian" government. Linkages of many sorts produced partnerships in aggression, and the mass media developed in the "Taishō democratic" era trumpeted the new challenges of expansion and of war.

1. Manchurian Beginnings: The Incident

The three northeastern provinces of China—Liaoning (or Fengtien), Kirin, and Heilungkiang—were the homeland of China's ruling Manchus. Non-Chinese often referred to the area as "Manchuria." Manchu legislation had tried to prevent Chinese immigration into this area, but those restrictions had become a dead letter in the nineteenth century. The area, together with the province of Jehol, lay immediately north of the Great Wall, and the Shanhaikuan mountain pass served as entry to the province of Hopei, in which the capital of Peking was located. In the twentieth century Japanese references to the "Manchurian-Mongolian problem" *(Man-Mō mondai)* referred also to the Manchu dependency of Inner Mongolia, of which the most important part was the province of Chahar. After the fall of the Ch'ing in 1911 it was common to speak of the area as though it had become a political vacuum, unstable, underpopulated, and poorly defended against the new Soviet state to the north. As early as 1823 the political economist Satō Nobuhiro (1769–1850) wrote that Japanese expansion should begin with "the place we can most easily take, Manchuria, which we can seize from China. It will not be difficult for us to take advantage of China's decline."[1] In his time this was

blustery expansive rhetoric, but a century later there was more to the argument.

The Japanese presence in Manchuria had been won from Russia in the Treaty of Portsmouth of 1905 and bolstered by extensions of the lease won under the Twenty-one Demands a decade later. South Manchuria, as it was known, consisted of the Liaotung Peninsula tip of Liaoning Province with the defensive site of Port Arthur and the port of Dairen (Dalian) and that portion of the former Chinese Eastern Railway extending south from Changchun to Dairen, henceforth known as the South Manchurian Railroad.

The administration of this area was divided into a complex pattern of overlapping jurisdictions. Beginning with general Foreign Ministry primacy, the structure changed to the advantage of the military during and after World War I with a largely unified military command, only to revert to civilian leadership during the administration of Prime Minister Hara. The leased area of Liaotung Peninsula was administered by a bureaucracy headed by a governor appointed by the throne. In some ways, however, the most strategic position was that of head of the South Manchurian Railroad (SMRR), an organization capitalized by impressive government and private sources but government-controlled. Its first head was Gotō Shinpei, earlier an architect of empire in Taiwan. (Later, as we have noted, Gotō was charged with the reconstruction of Tokyo after the 1923 earthquake.) The SMRR became the economic engine of imperialism in Northeast China. It controlled coal mines at Anshan, Fushun, and Yentai in addition to other mining, electrical, and warehousing enterprises. Along the railway Japan controlled police, taxation, public facilities, and education. Its generous funding included provision for research activities that grew constantly in importance and enrolled the talents of some of Japan's best scholars.[2] In the cities there were also police, responsible to the consuls. The consulates established in the principal cities and particularly ports were under the control of the Foreign Ministry. Manchuria was testing ground for the careers of many future leaders. The future diplomat and postwar prime minister Yoshida Shigeru won his spurs as consul in Manchuria. Matsuoka Yōsuke (1880–1946), a diplomat whose flamboyant style distinguished Japan's crisis years, and who entered the Foreign Ministry within a year of Yoshida, served as executive and president of the SMRR before becoming foreign minister. He was credited with coining the phrase that Manchuria and Mongolia were Japan's "lifeline" *(seimeisen),* a term that came into wide use.

Security was entrusted to the Kwantung Army, literally "east of the barrier," in reference to the Shanhaikuan pass between China proper and the eastern provinces. This force also experienced a number of changes in admin-

istrative accountability, but by 1931 its commander was responsible to the army minister and the Imperial Army General Staff. Its strength was calculated on a ratio of men per mile of railway track. The Kwantung Army consisted of one division that was rotated from regional regiments in Japan every two years, and six independent garrison battalions. The army had shrunk slightly during the military retrenchment carried out under Army Minister General Ugaki Kazushige in 1925, but Prime Minister Tanaka Gi'ichi had restored its strength in consequence of the return of Soviet forces to Eastern Asia.[3] Kwantung Army staff officer Colonel Kōmoto Daisaku had engineered the murder of the warlord Chang Tso-lin in 1928. It will be recalled that Tanaka had promised Emperor Hirohito to investigate that incident, and that his government had fallen because of his failure to keep that commitment. Kōmoto had meanwhile been succeeded by two quite extraordinary officers; they, in turn, were due for rotation back to Japan in 1931.

Colonel Itagaki Seishirō (1885–1948), like his colleague Lt. Colonel Ishiwara Kanji (1889–1949), was far removed from the old Chōshū mainline of army leaders. He was born in northern Iwate, and Ishiwara in Yamagata. Both excelled in the Military Academy and the War College. Itagaki, somewhat senior, headed the Kwantung Army's Staff Planning section; later he was posted to commands in China before Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro called him back to be his war minister in 1937. Later, now promoted to general, he returned to China as chief of staff of the China Expeditionary Force. After Japan's surrender he was listed as a major, Class A suspect by the International Tribunal that met in Tokyo and, after the trial, executed in 1948 as a war criminal.

His younger colleague Ishiwara was a more interesting nonconformist. He had graduated second in his class at the War College and received the cherished "imperial sword." His commitment to Nichiren Buddhism may have been a factor in the apocalyptic vision of war he developed. Personal knowledge of the destruction caused by World War I in Europe moved some civilians like Ozaki Yukio to call for disarmament and internationalism, but other Japanese, army students of war, came to sharply different conclusions. In three years of study in Germany Ishiwara drew on the writings of Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and von Moltke to work out views that he delivered as lectures in the Army War College upon his return. What he saw coming was a series of ever greater wars that would culminate in a final, titanic struggle between Japan, as hegemon of Asia, and the United States as leader of the Western world. That, however, would not come until technology had advanced to the point where airplanes could circle the globe without refueling. In the meantime the need was for the conquest of Manchuria in order to

develop it as a resource base in preparation for war with the Soviet Union. In 1937 Ishiwara, then on duty in the General Staff, opposed the China War as a diversion from this larger strategic plan. His nonconformist demeanor and crusty independence blighted his army career, but that in turn probably helped save him from greater responsibility. After the war was over, and he was being questioned by interrogators for the International Tribunal, he lashed back by lecturing his questioners with the reminder that it was Commodore Perry, whose opening of Japan to the dangers of a pitiless international system, who was to be blamed for Japan's war with America.[4]

The Manchurian Incident was by no means the product of insubordination on the part of free-wheeling military activists. It was the product of meticulous planning and preparation, carried out in a context of complex personal and group affiliations. To begin with, Soviet announcement of a Five-Year Plan in 1928 brought with it fears of a resurgent enemy to the north. Chinese Communist forces contributed to this insecurity by restructuring party control in parts of Manchuria. Chang Hsüeh-liang had inherited the power of his father, Chang Tso-lin, in Fengtien, and his accession to Kuomintang rule in 1928 and Shidehara's recognition of the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek the following year added fears of erosion of Japanese autonomy in the leased area of Liaotung. Along the Korean border, in the Chientao region, hostility between Chinese and Korean settlers, many of them refugees from Japanese rule, provided room for charges of "outrages" against Japanese subjects. Japanese settlers in South Manchuria, particularly a Youth League, were vociferous in calling for protection.

In the summer of 1929 Itagaki and Ishiwara convened a study group and organized reconnaissance tours for Kwantung Army staff officers. Ishiwara lectured them about his theories of coming war. Out of this came a full proposal, printed by the Kwantung Army, for Japanese takeover of Manchuria in three stages. Other military officers, however, were at work with more sweeping plans to revamp the central government. Prime Minister Hamaguchi had selected General Ugaki, who had carried out retrenchment a half-decade earlier, as his army minister, and he, in turn, set out to strengthen his control of army policy by a series of personnel shifts. As the rotation date for Kwantung Army staffers approached, junior officers in Tokyo misread Ugaki's position, and began to see him as a possible leader for a military takeover of the central government. In the 1931 March Incident, a group of field-grade officers (members of a "Cherry Blossom Society"), and General Staff figures (Koiso Kuniaki and Tatekawa Yoshitsugu), encouraged by civilian right-wing theorists (Ōkawa Shūmei), hoped that by attacking the prime minister's office (occupied by Shidehara, Hamaguchi having already been fatally wounded)

and headquarters of the political parties and organizing a crowd of thousands, they would be able to get the army to declare martial law as prelude to the appearance of Ugaki, as the man on horseback, to restore order. It was not to be. Ugaki held back, military leaders thought Manchuria more urgent, and the crowd did not materialize. The affair remained a secret; the planners were reassigned, and some to the Kwantung Army, whose turn came next.

In April Prince Saionji had to propose a new prime minister to succeed Hamaguchi, who had succumbed to his assassin's bullet. Fearful that a complete turnover might lead to additional violence, he secured the appointment of Wakatsuki Reijirō as prime minister. Shidehara was still foreign minister, but he too was experiencing difficulties. Negotiations with the Kuomintang government at Nanking had been going well until Saburi Sadao, Shidehara's emissary who was trusted by the Chinese, died under mysterious circumstances, either suicide or, more probably, murder. Ugaki, the failed hero of the March Incident, was succeeded by General Minami Jirō as army minister, and he in turn began to struggle with additional budget cuts ordered by Finance Minister Inoue Junnosuke. Rumors of army restiveness alarmed the Foreign Ministry, and Prince Saionji made it clear to Army Minister Minami that the palace expected discipline and restraint. On the other hand Mori Kaku, a Seiyūkai leader, was in full sympathy with Manchurian agitation and advised all party representatives to utilize the Manchurian-Mongolian "problem" in their rhetoric.

Plotters had better success in Manchuria. In the days preceding the explosion that triggered the Manchurian Incident an unsavory group of Japanese had collected at Kwantung Army headquarters. Amakasu Masahiko, who had murdered Ōsugi Sakae in 1923, was there with money sent by Japanese rightists. Even better financed was Colonel Kōmoto Daisaku, who had arranged for Chang Tso-lin's murder. Arrogance, avarice, and dishonesty found shelter under the claims of crisis. Kwantung Army officers were in touch with associated figures in the Tokyo General Staff, but those men, doubting the timing though personally favoring the coup, dispatched Tatekawa Yoshitsugu, freshly disappointed that March, to the scene to urge caution and delay. Kwantung Army plotters, aware of Tatekawa's mission, deflected him when he arrived with a round of partying that delayed his appearance at headquarters. When he was ready to resume his mission the next morning, a bomb had already gone off on the South Manchurian tracks at Liutiaokou, just north of Mukden; and a few bodies in Chinese uniforms bore witness to the vigilance of Kwantung Army guards charged with policing the SMRR right of way. The dead Chinese soldiers, it would be said, had imperiled Northeast Asia by planting the bomb. The damage was slight, for the next southbound train managed

to arrive in Mukden on schedule. Nevertheless the "Incident" had taken place. Ishiwara had been worried about the reaction of Kwantung Army commanding general Honjō Shigeru, fearful that he might, despite his personal desires, be receptive to orders for caution from Tokyo. He need not have been. Honjō had just completed inspection trips to Kwantung Army posts, but Ishiwara had managed to insulate him from contact with Foreign Ministry officials at Mukden, for Honjō's cooperation was essential to the plan. Chang Hsüeh-liang, who had a much larger Fengtien Army force under his command, was also a possible problem, but in the event Chang helped the cause by issuing orders to his commanders they were under no circumstances to return Japanese fire, in order to avoid provocation. When Ishiwara pressed Honjō for action pleading the need for resolution, the commander reflected briefly and then said, "Yes, let it be done on my responsibility."

Within hours the Kwantung Army had achieved its initial military objectives against the Fengtien Army. Once the forces were engaged, pleas of military necessity were used as justification for additional moves, giving the lie to promises from the Tokyo civilian government that these were steps taken to preserve order and that no further expansion was contemplated. Those in positions of responsibility were anxious to limit the Incident and regain control of events, while the field and junior grade officers that peopled the General Staff and Army Ministry were jubilant that the Manchuria-Mongolia "problem" was finally being addressed. In Tokyo the atmosphere was electric with rumors of plots to take on the home government. A nervous government did its best to hush things up to avoid destabilizing the situation, but this had the effect of magnifying rumors. The reality was bad enough. A few weeks after violence broke out in Manchuria Lieutenant Colonel Hashimoto Kingorō of the Second Division, General Staff, and stalwarts of the Cherry Blossom Society conceived a bizarre plan to wipe out the entire government by aerial bombardment of a cabinet meeting; a crowd of rightists would then surround the War Ministry and General Staff headquarters and demand the creation of a military government. For this "October Incident," which never took place, Hashimoto received twenty days' confinement from superiors who did their best to deny that anything untoward had taken place. Hashimoto's name was to surface again later in the decade in connection with the shelling of an American ship, the *Panay,* on the Yangtze.

It is remarkable that indiscipline and terrorism on this scale could threaten Japan's stability so suddenly. But one has to factor in deep currents of underground dissatisfaction that characterized Japanese society in the 1920s. We have noted sporadic violence against individual capitalists, and military insubordination in Manchuria in 1928. The Imperial Army had deep fissures be-

tween those who conceived and carried out retrenchment, like General Ugaki, and others who deplored such steps. Right-wing ideologues feared a rise in social radicalism as a result of rapid industrialization at the same time that they justified their own direct action as measures to "save" the villages. Constant talk of a "China problem" and criticism of the government's "weak" diplomacy prepared many for relief that something was finally being done to address those matters. Young hotheads like Hashimoto could get nowhere without the support of staff officers like Ishiwara and Itagaki, and they in turn needed at least tacit approval from their superiors. Fear of even worse violence combined with military bonding to produce quiet approval or at least tolerance. Demands for "reform" at home reverberated with calls for "solution" abroad. Army activists served as point men for widespread doubts about the health and direction of Japanese society and polity. Guardians of that polity, the aging *genrō* Saionji and colorless senior statesmen who were struggling with problems of economic depression and international opprobrium, retreated while giving as little ground as possible, hopeful that the tide would turn their way again in days to come.

These tactics, if they can be so described, led to bizarre confrontations. On September 8, 1932, General Honjō and his staff were treated like conquering heroes at the imperial palace. Horse-drawn carriages provided by the Imperial Household met them at the station and carried them across the famous "Double Bridge" onto the palace grounds. After lunch, in the unstructured questions that followed Honjō's report on military matters in Manchuria, Emperor Hirohito startled his guests by asking whether there was any substance to stories that the "Incident" was actually a plot by certain individuals. A silence fell on the gathering; Honjō rose, bowed, and then stood at attention. "I too," he said, "have heard it said that this had been engineered by some army men and divisions, but I assure Your Majesty that neither the Kwantung Army nor I were involved in anything of the sort." Ishiwara, who was among those present, is said to have muttered, "Someone's been talking out of turn to His Majesty."[5]

In Manchuria the Kwantung Army continued its advance; aerial bombardment and rapid advance brought all three eastern provinces under Japanese control. Japan was now in clear violation of the Nine Power Pact and the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris. Other developed economies were reeling under the impact of the world depression, however; readers were inured to stories of civil war and banditry in China, and condemnation of Japan was by no means certain. What made it so was the steady series of failures by civil officials to get the military to abide by the assurances they offered other governments, the drumbeat of violence within Japan as well as overseas, and the pointless

truculence and hyperbole of Japanese officials in international contexts. Civilian and diplomatic spokesmen sensed that acceptability to the army was gradually becoming a criterion for selection, and this resulted in rhetoric designed for Japan as much as for the outer world.

By the time General Honjō received his welcome in the imperial palace momentous steps had been taken for the Northeastern Provinces. On December 13, 1931, the hapless Wakatsuki government was replaced by a Seiyūkai cabinet under the veteran Inukai Tsuyoshi. On January 3, 1932, the Kwantung Army took Chinchow, which it had earlier promised not to occupy. A few days later representatives of the Foreign Ministry, army, and navy agreed on the establishment of an independent state in Manchuria. The next day a Korean threw a bomb at the emperor's carriage outside the palace gate, bringing Prime Minister Inukai's offer—which was rejected—of resignation. The following week several Japanese Buddhist priests were killed in Shanghai, leading to hostilities between Japanese naval and marine forces and the Chinese Communist Ninth Route Army that was withdrawing from the Peking area. Prime Minister Inukai called for elections to the House of Representatives. Seiyūkai speakers were urged to emphasize the importance of reaching a solution to the Manchuria-Mongolian issue, and won a solid majority over the Minseitō. There was additional violence. Inoue Nisshō, a Nichiren priest, organized a Blood Brotherhood Band on January 31, recruiting volunteers to assassinate prominent persons as symbols of the capitalist-internationalist order. Former minister of finance Inoue Junnosuke (on February 9) and Mitsui chairman Baron Dan Takuma (on March 5) fell victim to its members, others of whom went on to collaborate with navy officers returned from the fighting at Shanghai to gun down Prime Minister Inukai in his residence on May 15. During all this the Kwantung Army tightened its grip on Manchuria by taking Harbin on February 5. On March 1, just after the arrival of the Lytton Commission, which the League of Nations dispatched to make an on-the-scene investigation of the affair, the announcement of the "independent" state of Manchukuo was made. The capital of the new state was to be at Hsinking (the former Changchun), and the head of the new state was to be Hsuan T'ung, the last Ch'ing emperor (known in the West as Henry Pu Yi), who had taken refuge in Tsinan after being expelled from the Forbidden City by warlord conflict. On September 15 Japan extended diplomatic recognition to the new state. In the Imperial Diet the House of Representatives had gone on record with a unanimous vote advocating such recognition three months earlier, and Uchida Yasuya, who had been Japanese representative to the Pact of Paris and was now appointed foreign minister, had assured the Diet that Japan was prepared to carry out a "scorched-earth diplomacy" against those who stood

in its way. Japanese internationalism, the Shidehara China policy, and indeed the entire Washington Conference order that had structured East Asia for a decade were thus seemingly at an end. A Japan that had warred against the Ch'ing empire in 1894 as a representative of modernity and progress was now proposing to re-create that rule under its own auspices in northeastern China.

By the time the Lytton Commission submitted its report on October 2, in other words, Japan was well committed to an independent course and matters were no longer negotiable. Matsuoka Yōsuke returned to Geneva; also there, largely to monitor him, was Lt. Colonel Ishiwara, who had organized the entire "Incident." The Lytton Commission had visited Japan and China and spent six weeks in Manchuria trying to sort things out. Its verdict, while damaging to Japan's case, was by no means completely hostile to the Japanese cause. Matsuoka, however, would broke no criticism and led his delegation out of the hall when he saw the certainty of a defeat in the League's General Assembly. Before doing so he astonished his hearers by depicting Japan as crucified by world opinion, and predicted that verdicts on Japan would change just as they had on Jesus of Nazareth.[6] Japan announced its withdrawal from the League, although its representatives continued to work with the many specialized agencies of that organization. In a matter of weeks the goals that Japanese diplomacy had pursued since 1868—gaining equality through cooperation with the largest of the Great Powers—were thrown to the wind.

It is not difficult to understand the dilemma that faced liberal and conservative leaders who had come to maturity under the goals of the old order. Most of them hesitated, hoping that the climate of opinion would change once again. To this end it was important to persuade the West that Japan had not completely or permanently abandoned its policies of international cooperation, and simultaneously to assure Japanese that the Western condemnation did not mean a permanent severance of ties. A group of distinguished diplomats with wide foreign contacts sent reassuring messages to the London *Times* and other organs of opinion. The ailing Nitobe Inazō, once under secretary of the League who had vowed never to visit America so long as the Immigration Law stood, changed his mind to embark, despite ill health, on a lecture tour from which he never returned. When the government's hasty translation of the Lytton report seemed stark and provocative to a group of liberal academics, they worked throughout the night with George Sansom, the distinguished English diplomat and scholar, to rework it in the vain hope that milder wording would help their cause. At every point, however, the military seemed to carry the day. In January 1933 Japanese forces seized the mountain barrier of Shanhaikuan that controlled the Peking plain, and a month later Chinese forces evacuated the province of Jehol in response to an abrupt Japa-

nese ultimatum. The borders of Manchukuo were not yet clearly defined, but Japan was committed to its creation and defense.

2. Manchukuo: Eastward the Course of Empire

Once the Kwantung Army had occupied all of Manchuria, the question arose of what to do with it. Kwantung Army planners had made up their minds and prepared plans for a semiautonomous state before they precipitated hostilities. A "colony" on the lines of Taiwan or Korea would be needlessly provocative, and it would furthermore be under the control of the colonial bureaucracy of the Tokyo government. A semiautonomous state, on the other hand, could be billed as "independent" and allied with Japan. Ishiwara saw this as essential to his larger strategic goals, and at one point even speculated about abandoning his Japanese citizenship to accept that of the new Manchurian state. He himself might have voted for a republican arrangement there, but the advantages of having a Manchu ruler were compelling. The last Manchu ruler, Pu-yi, who had reigned as a child from 1909 to 1912, was prevailed upon to return as head of state of Manchukuo in 1932. Two years later he was enthroned as emperor of the "Manchukuo Imperial Government" (Manshū teikoku seifu) with the reign title K'ang-te (Prosperity and Virtue). Full imperial status for Pu-yi might have seemed a challenge to that of Hirohito, but when he visited Tokyo in June 1935 the two were seated side by side in the royal carriage as they reviewed Imperial Army formations at Yoyogi.

Manchuria provided a new frontier for Japan, the first it had known since early Meiji Hokkaido, but far more promising. Taiwan was fully populated and the Korean polity older than Japan's, but Manchuria was (incorrectly) thought of as relatively open space. From the first the Incident was wildly popular in Japan. Depression had impoverished many and party politicians labored under images of corruption and self-seeking, but the lightning victories of the Kwantung Army caught the national mood. There was a great deal of cheap chauvinism celebrating heroics that, considering the fact that the Fengtien Army had initially been under orders not to resist, must have been rather hard to document. The Shanghai Incident, in which well-trained and highly motivated Chinese soldiers were involved, served that purpose better. Still, the speed with which the Kwantung Army, a force of 10,000 men, had driven a Fengtien force many times its size from Manchuria could be expected to bring approval.

What made that approval count was the diffusion of mass media that had developed between the wars. No doubt much of this was market driven, but its impact and significance is none the less for that. The great dailies *Osaka*

Mainichi and *Asahi,* with their metropolitan editions and suburban satellites, blanketed the country with exciting headlines and jubilant extras. As their circulation grew they developed into joint stock companies, handsomely capitalized and capable of buying airplanes that could carry correspondents to the front and rush copy and photographs back. Until paper shortages and rationing prevented it, magazines without number detailed the opportunities of the new frontier, and the popular Kōdansha house "turned its string of magazines into cheering sections for the Kwantung Army." Radio supplemented this, and in an era of rapid electrification of the countryside supplemented the staccato rattle of infantry fire.[7]

The army had only recently suffered from currents of antimilitarism, and in seeking to reverse those it launched what was probably the first drive to contact ordinary Japanese. Officers back from the front were sent on lecture tours, symposia on Manchuria enlisted knowledgeable scholars and travelers, and surveys revealed the impact of these tactics on even hitherto skeptical university students. What was most effective was a campaign to show the need for a "national defense state" *(kokubō kokka*). The whir of the printing press and the rhetoric from lecture podiums drove home the dangers of a Soviet Russian resurgence on the continent, the facts of Japan's resource-poor state, its disadvantage in a world of unfairly critical "have" nations, and the history of Western aggression and exploitation that began with Perry's black ships.

Intellectuals were not left out of this campaign; in many ways they helped to lead it. Prospects for employment for university students, so recently darkened by depression, rose with the prospect of challenges in the new empire. The tide of explicitly Marxist analysis in social science that had been prominent in the 1920s changed under the pressures of orthodoxy and intimidation, but assumptions of state and bureaucratic leadership in economic development fit smoothly with the army's drive for planned growth in Manchukuo. A Five-Year Plan was announced in 1936 in a backhanded compliment to that of the Soviets in 1928. There were new challenges and new opportunities. Moreover the facade of Manchukuo independence seemed to offer a path by which to transcend the old imperialism. It was as modern as Soviet planning, Italian corporatism, German state socialism, and the American New Deal.

Planning involved close study of society and economy, and research institutes proliferated at home and abroad. Graduates of reputable institutions were sure of employment. More surprising, in some ways, was the fact that Manchurian institutes, particularly the enormous enterprise sponsored by the South Manchurian Railroad, were hospitable to Marxist and left-wing scholars who were being targeted by the thought control police at home. Until those purges extended to Manchuria after the opening of the Pacific War in 1941,

many who were advocates of revolutionary change and social planning at home found employment on the continent.[8]

Manchuria held out a role for every talent. Urban planners cramped by Japan's narrow space and crowded streets laid out boulevards and parks in the new capital. Academic builders had their chance in the new *Kenkoku daigaku,* the "Nation-Building University" in Hsinking. Transportation experts could lay out new broad-gauge lines to supplement the South Manchurian and Chinese Eastern (which was purchased from the Soviet Union in 1934). Tourist hotels, beginning with the luxurious Yamato in Dairen, sprang up along the major lines, and the "Asia Express" with its up-to-the-minute rolling stock, much of it more elegant than anything to be found in Japan itself, carried Japanese tourists along routes that had once transported Manchurian soy beans and little else.

Manchuria absorbed immense quantities of capital investment in the drive to develop a heavy industry base. It became, in Louise Young's words, a sinkhole for capital, and resources at a time when immense armament programs were also being carried out in Japan. Much of this capital was in the form of state-guaranteed bonds; private enterprise regarded the new equities more warily. The major zaibatsu firms had to carry a heavy part of this load, but "new" zaibatsu, especially Nissan, whose head Ayukawa enjoyed close relations with the military, were particularly active in the growth of iron and steel works. Inevitably there were contradictions and conflicts along the way as well. Textile exporters relied heavily on the Chinese market, but anti-Japanese boycotts reduced them to the much less important sector of Manchuria. Here their interests conflicted directly with those of Kwantung Army planners; the Japan-based firms wanted low tariffs to maximize their exports, while Manchukuo authorities were in desperate need of tariff income to finance heavy industry. As the continental planners had their way what began as a favorable trade balance became a drain instead, and the businessmen were frequently and openly critical and even contemptuous of the programs produced by military planners.

Behind the orderly ports, sleek trains, and luxurious hotels the visitors saw there was also a harsher reality. The Kwantung Army advance took care of organized resistance, but the struggle for security of the interior lay ahead. A "Manchukuo" army and police force was organized, but for most of the decade that followed it required continual effort to control guerrillas and "bandits," many of them Communists from across the border. To combat this the Japanese organized secure and "purified" villages with road and telephone contact with local constabulary units, and also emphasized propaganda about the benefits of the "kingly way" (*wang tao,* Japanese *ōdō*) that was supposed

to be the answer to nationalism and radicalism. As the 1930s wore on these efforts were increasingly, though never completely, successful; the harsh climate made it possible to separate guerrillas from their food supply in winter, and Japanese organizational efficiency, with its plethora of reports, charts, and surveys, gradually overcame the problem of security.[9] The porous borders that made it possible for insurgents to obtain arms served Japanese purposes to the west and south in the form of opium distribution methodically pursued as a source of income. It was a pattern developed by splinter warlord regimes and Chinese rightists under the protection of treaty port extraterritoriality (which had itself, of course, come into being through the Opium War), but Japanese rule made possible a new scale, with official protection, that covered routes from Inner Mongolia to North and Central China. Meticulous records published only recently make it possible to trace the orderly flow of opium from the new territories as well as from Iran, the latter in Mitsui and Mitsubishi steamers.[10]

There was heavy Japanese migration to Manchukuo, almost all of it urban. Jobs in administrative and transport facilities were tempting, and the Japanese population in the urban areas grew steadily. Kwantung Army planners, however, wanted settlers who could build a wall of defense villages, particularly along the northern border. Early Meiji settlement of Hokkaido had been based on similar *tondenhei,* or militia, units. But it was not as easy to persuade farm families to go north as it had once been to attract them to Hawaii and America's West Coast. Propaganda campaigns worthy of Jay Hill's blandishments about a northern plains "banana belt" along the Northern Pacific Railroad sought out tenant and landless farmers. Visions of a "paradise" with ownership of farms and woodlots adequate to support family and animals were held out, with subsidy for travel provided. Those who accepted found themselves on land their new government had taken from Chinese, frequently at an extortionate price or by mislabeling it as untilled, unaccustomed to the climate and terrain and unable to obtain the mechanized tools they had been promised. Many resorted to hiring Chinese farmers as laborers or even tenants. Agricultural production grew, but far more slowly than had been hoped. As the war situation worsened and a Soviet invasion became probable the government callously drafted able-bodied male settlers while leaving their families defenseless along the border. Remarkably, bureaucratic inertia kept the program going long after it had no chance; groups from Nagano Prefecture were still coming as late as May of 1945. Agricultural settlers made up only 14 percent of the Japanese in Manchuria, but they accounted for almost half of the civilian casualties there when war came in August 1945.[11] When they were finally encouraged to flee, most families had no transport and little food. Post-

war Japan has been visited by scores, perhaps hundreds, of Japanese who speak no Japanese in a vain search for relatives and roots, people who were left behind as infants with friendly Chinese families by desperate mothers who knew they had no other chance for survival.

3. Soldiers and Politics

The Meiji leaders' concern for their own position as the emperor's chief advisers resulted in provisions that put him in personal command of the armed forces. The 1882 Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors had warned them to steer clear of politics, but the institutional structure made it even more certain that civilians' decisions would not interfere with the military. The exception, and it was an important one, concerned budget allocations, which were in the hands of the Imperial Diet; demands for funding additional divisions and warships became constantly more pressing as Japan expanded its strategic interests.

The emperor could not, however, be trusted with military decisions, and an elaborate structure of advisers developed. They reported to him, but he was expected to legitimize their decisions and not to direct them. This structure included first of all the army and navy chiefs of staff who, after reporting to the emperor, transmitted his orders to the cabinet through the minister of the army and the minister of the navy. An additional advisory body was the Supreme War Council, made up of field marshals, fleet admirals, the service ministers, the chiefs of staff, previous holders of those posts, and additional military councillors selected by the emperor from the generals and admirals. There was also a Conference of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals that came into play in times of crisis. After decisions had been reached, a Liaison Conference between army and navy chiefs prepared the agenda for an Imperial Conference. Throughout all this the emperor traditionally remained silent. Despite all the talk of "direct command," authority and responsibility were fragmented. No single person was really in charge, for the Meiji Constitution, by giving supreme command to the sovereign, denied it to anyone else. This was satisfactory only as long as a small and reasonably cohesive group of senior advisers was in the background to coordinate opinion, but by the 1930s that was no longer the case.

Civilians were not involved at any point in this process of military decision making until they reached the very highest level, but military men, through outside "politics," played a major role in politics through their ability to break cabinets. The 1900 ordinance had seen to it that service ministers would be professionals on the active duty list, but it did not end there, and even when

that requirement was relaxed in the 1920s military men and issues remained important. Between 1885 and 1945 there were 43 cabinets headed by 30 prime ministers, of whom half were military figures: 9 generals and 6 admirals. Again, of the 494 civilian posts in those cabinets, 115 were occupied by generals and admirals. The military proportion was high in Meiji, lower in Taishō, and up again in presurrender Shōwa, with 62 of 165 posts. The Ministry of Finance, however, was never infiltrated by the military.[12]

A list of cabinets between that of Inukai Tsuyoshi and Suzuki Kantarō, who presided over the decision to surrender, illustrates this growing military influence. The chart gives evidence of instability rooted in insubordination, errors in judgment of the international system, and inability to build a dependable base of support in the Imperial Diet. Inukai was murdered. Okada escaped his would-be assassins, but his position was hopelessly compromised by the disgrace of the revolt. Saitō and Hayashi were unable to handle a Diet that felt it was being denied its due, Hirota and Hayashi incurred the wrath of the army, and Konoe gave up in frustration, first when his policies in China were failing, and then when he was unable to stop or even slow the drift toward the war that his rhetoric had helped encourage.

Until his death in 1940 it fell to Saionji Kinmochi, the last *genrō,* to suggest

Cabinets, 1931–1945

Prime minister	Cause of fall
Inukai Tsuyoshi, 1931–May 15, 1932	Murdered
(Adm.) Saitō Makoto, 1932–1934	Charges of corruption
(Adm.) Okada Keisuke, 1934–1936	Young Officers' Revolt, Feb. 26
Hirota Kōki, 1936–1937	Army minister claimed Diet insult
(Gen.) Hayashi Senjūrō, 1937 (4 mos.)	Election defeat
Konoe Fumimaro, 1937–1939	China war fatigue
Hiranuma Kiichirō, 1939 (8 mos.)	Unprepared for Nazi-Soviet Pact
(Gen.) Abe Nobuyuki, 1939–1940	Party, service opposition
(Adm.) Yonai Mitsumasa, 1940 (6 mos.)	Army opposition
Konoe (2nd cab.), 1940–1941	Drop Foreign Minister Matsuoka
Konoe (3rd), July–Oct. 1941 (3 mos.)	Failure of Washington negotiations
(Gen.) Tōjō Hideki, 1941–1944	Fall of Saipan
(Gen.) Koiso Kuniaki, 1944–Apr. 1945	Okinawa invaded
(Adm.) Suzuki Kantarō, Apr.–Aug. 1945	Surrender

prime ministers. Saionji was now in his eighties, and made a point of consulting with senior court officials, among them Privy Seal Makino Shinken and Kido Kōichi, whose steady advance through appointive posts brought him to palace prominence. In this he was dealing with the true political elite of the modern state; Makino was the son of Ōkubo Toshimichi while Kido was the grandson of Kido Takayoshi. Other senior court officials came in for consultation, as did, in less direct ways, former prime ministers, collectively thought of as "senior statesmen" *(jūshin),* the ministers of the army and navy, and heads of political parties. The Seiyūkai had won a decisive victory in elections Inukai had called in February 1932. When the prime minister was murdered in May the party selected Suzuki Kisaburō as his successor as party head, and it had every reason to expect that he would be named prime minister. Saionji, however, neither liked nor trusted Suzuki, whom he considered extreme in his views, and the service ministers were opposed to another party cabinet altogether. The Minseitō, now the opposition party, was also unenthusiastic about a Seiyūkai cabinet led by Suzuki. Saionji moved toward an alternative: a retired admiral, Saitō Makoto, a former governor general of Korea, was asked to form a "national unity" cabinet. He would have reasonable Diet support from elements of both parties, and politics would be less partisan at a time of national crisis. The decision to form a nonparty cabinet proved to have momentous consequences, for there would not be another until after World War II. Yet at the time, in view of the crises occasioned by Manchuria, Shanghai, assassination, and international opprobrium, Saionji's decision seemed reasonable to most Japanese.

One can thus conceive of Saionji and other members of the "old guard" giving ground, but slowly and reluctantly, to the demands of the military. They were also determined to avoid more direct imperial intervention in the process. At the outset, at least, Hirohito was upset and concerned by what was being done and probably willing to utilize his prestige and aura. There were two problems about this for Saionji: the first was adherence to his understanding of the role of a constitutional monarch; imperial intervention, he argued, would be contrary to the spirit of the Meiji Constitution. The other was Saionji's awareness of currents of radicalism in the army. He did not like what he heard about disrespectful mutterings among young officers, and feared for the preservation of the monarch, or even the monarchy itself. This was a factor that would have absolute priority for him.[13]

Strong tides of factionalism, sectionalism, and ideology made the Imperial Army contentious and problematic. A regional faction centered on Chōshū and led by Yamagata Aritomo had dominated the high command since the early Meiji period. Yamagata lived until 1922; he remained powerful to the

last, but the men who seemed to be his chosen successors fared poorly. Katsura Tarō died after his attempt to form a third cabinet in the second year of Taishō, and Terauchi Masatake, who seemed next in line, proved a dismal failure as prime minister and died in 1919. Leadership then passed to Tanaka Gi'ichi, who had, as has been mentioned, Russian experience before serving in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War. Tanaka led in organizing the army reserve and youth groups and served in the General Staff and as army minister in the Hara cabinet before assuming the presidency of the Seiyūkai in 1925. He was associated with the planning of continental policy, but died in 1929 after incurring Emperor Hirohito's displeasure for failing to keep his promise to investigate the murder of Chang Tso-lin. Leadership of the faction now passed to Ugaki Kazushige (Kazunari, 1868–1956). Ugaki was actually from Okayama and not from Chōshū, but carried on Tanaka's pattern of cooperating with the political parties, in his case the Kenseikai/Minseitō, serving as army minister in the cabinets of Katō Takaaki and Hamaguchi Osachi before withdrawing to become governor general of Korea. The plotters in the March 1931 Incident had expected him to support their efforts and emerge as prime minister of an emergency government, but by failing to follow through he alienated them permanently. When he was authorized to form a cabinet in 1937 he was blocked by army opposition. The next year Ugaki served briefly as foreign minister under Prince Konoe, but resigned in protest against bureaucratic changes that weakened and compromised the Foreign Ministry.[14]

The long ascendancy of the Chōshū faction aroused the antipathy of outsiders who rejected its dominance and condemned it as conservative and politically partisan. If resentment of Chōshū monopolization of senior posts was one source of army factionalism, disagreement about spending priorities also divided army from navy. After the Russo-Japanese War navy leaders reconditioned some of the ships that had been captured from the Russians, but they soon realized that with the appearance of the British *Dreadnaught* more basic steps would be required and demanded a large-scale building program. The army's counter was to demand two additional divisions to handle its new responsibilities on the continent, a demand that brought down the Saionji cabinet in 1912 and lay behind the "Taishō political crisis" that brought down Katsura. The scandals in navy procurement that brought down the Yamamoto cabinet in 1914 gave the army new advantages, and World War I, which opened new continental opportunities (the Twenty-one Demands, Terauchi's "Nishihara" loans to northern warlords, and especially the Siberian intervention), marked the end of the old pattern of cautious *genrō* control.[15]

In 1914 Prime Minister Admiral Yamamoto secured relaxation of the requirement that service ministers be selected from generals and admirals on

the active list, making it possible to appoint retired officers to those posts. In response the army high command strengthened the powers of the General Staff to offset possible political interference in military affairs. World War I, however, brought defections at the center as well as a weakening of support throughout Japanese society. The international currents of antimilitarism and demobilization in which Japan shared have already been described. These might unite army factions, but internal disputes centered around the issue of army modernization to bring it up to standards that had been developed by the combatants in Western Europe. Tanaka Gi'ichi, who had strongly supported the army's demands for two additional divisions and the Siberian intervention from his post in the General Staff, now realized that Japan would have to make choices in the troubled interwar years. His choice was for modernization combined with manpower limitations to make it possible to fund growth, and his alliance with the leadership of the Seiyūkai—as the party became more favorable to heavy industry—followed the logic of that situation. Ugaki, though he cast his lot with the opposition political party, shared those goals. In 1922 the Army Ministry carried out economies by streamlining existing army divisions, in 1924 Ugaki demobilized four divisions altogether, and when he became army minister again in 1931 Ugaki proposed demobilizing the Konoe Imperial Guard Division. These moves were strongly resisted by opponents, who argued that since Japan's continental enemies did not have technological superiority they should be opposed by conventional forces steeped in Japan's indomitable spirit and trained for sudden attack. Advocates of modernization had their way, but carried the day by only a single vote in the Supreme War Council in 1924. One of the most powerful opponents was General Uehara Yūsaku, a Satsuma man who had held office for more than a decade and gathered a strong following. Those who placed their hopes in "spirit" rather than in modernization formed the nucleus of what became known as the Imperial Way *(kōdō ha)* faction. Araki Sadao (1877–1966), whose obscurantism muddied the waters throughout the 1930s, became a spokesman for this persuasion.

Another issue that divided army leaders concerned the policy Japan should adopt toward nationalist China. Most viewed Shidehara's willingness to recognize the Nanking government of Chiang Kai-shek as a threat to Japan's position in Northeast Asia, and advocated full control of that area instead. These views were naturally strongest in the Kwantung Army staff, but those who held them had numerous allies in the General Staff. Intelligence on China was available from many sources. Major Chinese warlords had Japanese officers at their headquarters, sometimes as advisers. The center for processing this intelligence was the Second Bureau of the General Staff. While this post went

to able graduates of the War College, its heads were unlikely to advance to positions directly charged with policy-making. Nevertheless they were far more strategically placed than their colleagues in the Army Ministry, who were somewhat constrained by that ministry's relations with the civilian cabinet ministries.

In the late 1920s a new and frequently lethal form of factionalism developed through associations formed by classmates of the military academy. These horizontal groupings, nurtured in nights of discussion lubricated by drink, produced men impatient with the caution of their superiors and committed to simple solutions based on the assumption that direct action to eliminate symbols of the old order would bring to power men more likely to be willing to take risks through decisive policies. These terrorists, for that is what they were, had no clear-cut program; as one of Inukai's assassins explained to the court, "We thought about destruction first. We never considered taking on the duty of reconstruction. We foresaw, however, that once the destruction was accomplished someone would take charge of the reconstruction." General Araki Sadao, army minister for the first half of the 1930s, was their hero. The vision of a spiritual and resurgent Japan he held up, blurred and indistinct, was exactly the sort of rhetoric they mistook for wisdom. He, in turn, saw them as admirable, if sometimes somewhat flawed, exemplars of the Japanese spirit; they were selfless patriots, and had no hesitation in committing their lives to the cause in which they believed so passionately. Unfortunately they also had no hesitation in committing other people's lives, and their rashness must have made many conservatives think twice before warning their countrymen about the course Japan was taking.

These currents of perverted ultranationalism and factionalism merged in the half-decade between the Manchurian Incident and 1936 to make Japan a dangerous place for moderates. At the highest army level General Araki used his influence as war minister to have his ally Mazaki Jinzaburō appointed vice chief of staff, and together they managed to send members of the Chōshū (that is, Tanaka and Ugaki) factions off to the hustings in retaliation for their agreement on streamlining and modernizing the army, cooperation with the political parties, and eagerness to keep from provoking the Anglo-American powers. Japan, these men felt, should rely on its traditional values and not put its faith in modern machinery; indeed, some even decried modern weaponry as inhumane.

Araki's emphasis on ideology and "spirit" lent a rather unreal character to his years as army minister. He felt that conflict with the Soviet Union was inevitable, and even opposed purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1934 on grounds that it would inevitably be booty after Japan's victory over the

Soviets. He retarded military modernization to favor subsidies for "the villages," and his confidence in the superiority of Japanese spirit was so strong that he was indifferent to gains in Soviet air power.

During these days Japan's policies continued to provoke anger in the West. When the Kuomintang regime added the province of Jehol to the responsibilities of Chang Hsüeh-liang, the Kwantung Army seized it for its own as essential to the defense of Manchukuo. Everything north of the Great Wall was now under Japanese rule or protection. This was followed by skirmishing south of the Great Wall. The Nanking government's Central Army, conscious of its continuing problem with warlord forces in the area, and bullied by Kwantung Army commanders, reluctantly agreed to a cease-fire (the T'angku Truce) in May 1933 whereby the area north of the Peking-Tientsin plain was demilitarized. In a sense the fighting with Chinese forces that had taken place since the Manchurian Incident was now ending, and had Japanese army field commanders abided by their own conditions peace might have been restored. The Nanking regime retained residual sovereignty over the area, but authority was delegated to local forces that were in no position to stand up to the Japanese. It was a pattern the Japanese would later try to extend to central China; there was, in James Crowley's words, a relentless army expansionism at work, led by field commanders, but basically condoned and approved at higher army levels.[16]

In April 1934 Amō Eiji, a Foreign Ministry spokesman, asserted that relations between China and Japan were solely the responsibility of those two countries, and that any interference in or assistance to China either politically or economically could only harm the situation. In effect, Japan was declaring a kind of Asian Monroe Doctrine and announcing the end of the entire structure of the Washington Conference system. The disarmament, cooperation in approaches to China, and mutual guarantees of that system now lay in ruins. James Crowley writes, "The Japanese government was by December 1933 committed to a policy which proposed to neutralize the influence of the Soviet Union, the Nationalist government of China, and the Anglo-American nations by a diplomacy rooted in the arrogance of Japan's military forces."[17]

When Admiral Saitō was followed by Admiral Okada as Prime Minister in 1934, it was Araki's turn to go. He had trumpeted the coming "Crisis of 1935" with the Soviet Union so insistently that he had alarmed men who thought it urgent to build strength for a longer struggle in the future. Nagata Tetsuzan, an advocate of military modernization who had been exiled to command of an infantry regiment by Araki, was now promoted to general and returned to the center as director of military affairs in the Army Ministry. The ministry declared the importance of a total national defense state in a pamphlet that

contained the arresting phrase that war was "the father of creation and the mother of culture."

When Okada's foreign minister, Hirota Kōki, nevertheless seemed interested in the possibility of discussions of an agreement with the Nanking government, army figures were quick to warn of probable Chinese "impertinence" if talks were initiated, and moved to head off that possibility by agreements between Japanese field commanders and local Chinese leaders. The Ho-Umezu (10 June) and Ch'in-Doihara (23 June 1934) agreements were designed to ward off the danger of Kuomintang authority in North China.

These events were, however, overshadowed by revolt in Japan: the largest, perhaps, since the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877. General Nagata Tetsuzan, who had taken decisive action against participants in a plot against the government, was hacked to death in his office by a sword-wielding Colonel Aizawa. The public trial Aizawa received became a circus for ultranationalist emotionalism, as propagandists extolled the morality and patriotism of the defendant. Currents of emotion seethed so erratically the Foreign Ministry gave up any attempt to work things out with Nanking. At home Professor Minobe Tatsukichi, whose "organ theory" of the emperor's role had long been accepted, suddenly became the target of a campaign that ended in his resignation from the House of Peers and the burning and banning of his books. To a large extent, Minobe was the innocent victim of internecine strife among professional patriots who were out to redress the ouster of Generals Araki and Mazaki.

In this atmosphere of hysteria a group of civilian extremists conspired with young officers to stage a rebellion that broke out on February 26, 1936. The army's First Division was slated for transfer to Manchuria; this, like the impending transfer of Ishiwara and Itagaki from the Kwantung Army five years earlier, triggered the timing of the insurrection. In a late winter snowfall assassination squads moved out to remove the principal conservative members of the authority structure. The recent prime minister and now Lord Privy Seal Admiral Saitō (age 78), Inspector General of Military Education General Watanabe (62), who held one of the army's "big three" posts, and Finance Minister Takahashi Korekiyo (82) were awakened from their sleep and gunned down in their bedrooms. Admiral Suzuki Kantarō (69), grand chamberlain, was severely wounded but survived because his wife pleaded for the privilege of dispatching him herself. The captain in charge of the assailants explained to her that the admiral was dying for the good of the country, saluted the old man on the floor, and left. Still another group of soldiers attacked the inn in Yugawara, in the foothills of the Hakone mountains, to deal with Saitō's predecessor as lord keeper of the privy seal, Count Makino Shinken (75). Po-

licemen on guard exchanged shots with the surprised attackers, and Makino, together with his daughter, a nurse, and a policeman, made his escape from the back door. The most important squad was assigned to eliminate the prime minister. The soldiers quickly took possession of the official residence, only to err by shooting Admiral Okada's brother-in-law, who resembled him somewhat, instead of the prime minister, who escaped by hiding in a closet. Okada was declared and assumed to be dead, but he managed to slip out of the residence in disguise a few days later. Nevertheless his political career was clearly at an end.

While the assassination squads were doing their work, officers of the Imperial Guard Division led their men to take over the gates to the imperial palace. Possession of the emperor was nine-tenths of the game, they thought, and they prepared to separate Hirohito from his "evil advisers." They saw the sovereign as a bespectacled and nervous young man who could be persuaded by their own righteous integrity to appoint a military government, led by General Mazaki Jinzaburō as prime minister and Araki Sadao as home minister, to carry out a "Shōwa Restoration." Should he hesitate, one young officer was prepared to disembowel himself on the spot to drive home the point.

The conspirators' plans to enter the palace, however, miscarried badly. They had hoped to gain access to the palace with reasonable decorum by presenting counterfeit orders, but the palace guard commanders on duty already had word of the murders that had been carried out and managed to block their entry. The rebels had reason to believe that sympathizers in the army high command were on their side, but after some initial waffling on the part of Imperial Way faction leaders, Emperor Hirohito's personal outrage swung the balance against them. For a few days Japan witnessed something the Meiji founders had tried to avoid, personal and direct imperial rule. By not appointing a successor to Admiral Okada immediately the court, in effect, became the cabinet. In communiqués the high command initially described the rebels as an "uprising" but gradually, with subtle changes of terminology, they became a "rebel" force. Additional and more dependable units were called into Tokyo to surround and doom the First Division core. The rebel leaders expressed satisfaction with initial statements that granted the purity of their motives, but to their consternation these never extended to approval of what they had done. It is clear that the personal opposition, even fury, of young Emperor Hirohito was central to this shift. The surviving members of the Saionji court faction maneuvered skillfully; they prevented the appointment of a successor cabinet, left the rebels in uncertainty and doubt, and finally ordered their commanders to give in.

This time there was no tolerance for the brazen action of the rebel terror-

ists. Of those who had participated 1,483 men were interrogated, and 124 were prosecuted and tried in secret courts martial. Nineteen officers, 73 noncommissioned officers, 19 soldiers, and 10 civilians faced the court in separate trials. Secrecy prevented any of the histrionics that had marred earlier trials, and the courts' refusal to entertain discursive explanations about motives made it possible to complete the proceedings in two months. Thirteen officers and four civilians were sentenced to death and another fifty to lesser sentences. Only three high officers, among them General Mazaki, were prosecuted; Mazaki was acquitted, and the others received light sentences. Right-wing leaders Nishida Zei (Mitsugi) and Kita Ikki, of whom more below, were executed, but financiers who had helped provide support were interrogated but not prosecuted. Most Japanese were puzzled by this outcome; press and many spokesmen had praised the young officers' "sincerity," and even the initial army announcement had seemed to suggest approval.

Some, closer to the facts, felt the young officers had been used and then abandoned by their sponsors. General Ugaki indicated this in his diary:

> How disgusting it is to watch these rascals, holding in one hand the matches and in the other the water hoses, setting fire and putting it out at the same time, inciting and purging young officers, pleading their cause and then claiming credit for having put them down.

Much has been written about the insurrection and its leaders; it, and they, should not be dismissed out of hand. Many of the young officers were well connected, including one who was son-in-law of General Honjō, who was now the emperor's aide-de-camp. Honjō pleaded his case for the leaders' "sincerity" with his ruler, but to no avail. Had the insurgents managed to take and control the palace, moreover, the ambivalence of the high command might have gone the other way.

With this chapter, insubordination and violence on this scale now came to an end. The army high command became dominated by members of the faction dedicated to control and efficiency, bureaucrats and no longer ideologues. Abashed civilian ministers and the Imperial Diet granted the army huge budget increases, and within a year the China War turned attention abroad. Insubordination and rebellion appeared once more, but only at the very end of imperial Japan a decade later when young officers opposed to the surrender once more invaded the palace and seized radio stations in hopes of blocking the broadcast and reversing the decision to surrender. That, too, failed.[18]

The years of murderous insubordination were few, but they left their mark on Japan. There was a hysteria abroad in the land that seems difficult to reconcile with the methodical bureaucratic leadership we have come to expect. That

may be one reason why the courage and idealism, however misplaced, of the young officers made them appealing figures for contemporary observers and even for postwar romantics like the novelist Mishima Yukio.[19] As late as 1988 the discovery of court records previously unknown fastened popular interest once more on this strange era.[20]

In army politics the suppression of the rebellion brought a moratorium on the kind of factionalism that had caused so much bloodshed. A group that has become known as the Control (*tōsei*) faction now did its best to end controversy by getting rid of both the Imperial Way and the Ugaki partisans. Political affiliation of any sort (Ugaki, after all, had worked closely with political party leaders) was now to be avoided. When the emperor commanded Ugaki to organize a cabinet in 1937 the army blocked his efforts. As Professor Kitaoka puts it, sectionalism now replaced factionalism; the office of the army minister lost influence in relation to that of the chief of General Staff. Army budgets, which had been kept in some sort of check by Finance Minister Takahashi, suddenly increased by a dramatic 33 percent as new officials embarked on massive spending programs designed to lessen internal squabbling as much as to prepare for greater war. The future lay with cool-headed, bureaucratic figures like General Tōjō Hideki.[21]

4. The Sacralization of *Kokutai* and the Return to Japan

The "purification of the army" that was carried out by the surviving members of the high command after the shake-up that followed the bloodletting of the February 26 revolt did not by any means end the careers of the targets or proponents of the violence that had taken place. The Ugaki, "Chōshū" mainliners, and Araki "Imperial Way" leaders lost their places in the high command, but they reappeared in other posts. Ugaki, who had served as Hamaguchi's war minister (and was the hope of the plotters of the March 1931 Incident) then followed the Admiral Saitō as governor general of Korea from 1931 to 1936; the army vetoed him as nominee for prime minister after the 1936 revolt, but he followed Hirota Kōki as foreign minister under Prince Konoe. After a few months he resigned in protest over the downgrading of the Foreign Ministry that followed the establishment of an Asia (Kōain, later Kōashō) ministry, and retired from public service altogether.[22] The reemergence of Araki, who was to have become prime minister after the October 1931 plot and who took a fatherly view of the February 1936 rebel officers, was more startling and fateful, for Konoe resurrected him to serve as minister of education. In that post he presided over a crusade of spiritual rearmament designed to make sure that every Japanese would, as he put it, have as the

first and major element of his identity the consciousness that "I am . . . a Japanese." What this required was gratitude in the heart of every schoolchild and subject that the polity of *kokutai* centered in the "family state," a myriad of familial hierarchies in a pyramidal structure with the compassionate figure of the emperor, at once parent and divine descendant, at its apex. It was something to inspire awe and gratitude, devotion and a fierce but also protective resolve.[23]

The distillation of this narcissistic view was necessarily ambiguous, bolstered by invocations of mythic tradition and documented by evidence of Japan's martial and moral superiority. In 1937 the Ministry of Education issued *Kokutai no hongi* (Cardinal principles of our national polity), with which it blanketed schools and media. The first draft was from the brush of a distinguished Tokyo Imperial University scholar of Japanese literature, but by the time it appeared special committees and bureaucrats had added to its obscurity. Replete with invocation of elaborately named deities from the texts in which eighth-century Japanese had recorded oral transmission of ancient lore, the book seemed at once mysterious and profound.[24] Although it was the Meiji court officials who had resuscitated much of this in an effort to provide a ritual basis for the modern national state, by 1937 the invocation of ideas couched in such language represented a retreat from Japan's embrace of Western culture and institutions and a "return to Japan," albeit one that had never existed. In the 1880s Fukuzawa had advocated "Departure from Asia and Entry into the West" *(datsu A, nyū Ō);* now voices sought to reverse that slogan.[25]

This was the culmination of a process that had been under way since the late 1920s, and its chief components were agrarian culturalism and ethnicity. Self-appointed spokesmen for the virtues of Japan's rural past had decried the impact of capitalism, the luxury of urban life, and the corruption of politics that had followed. Gondō Seikyō (Seikei, 1868–1937) and Tachibana Kōzaburō (1893–1974) wrote widely to deplore Japan's departure from its rural roots to follow the false gods of capitalism. Western-style representative government, they argued, institutionalized partisan conflict and corrupted the familial patterns of Japanese social organization. The makers of the modern bureaucratic state had tried to throw off the village values that lay at the core of Japanese tradition. Tachibana went a step farther to identify virtue and country with the emperor, and called for the establishment of a brotherhood of men prepared to lay down their lives to carry out his presumed wishes. Gondō saw the imperial house as the center of a national tutelary shrine, and felt it had been disfigured and dishonored by the trappings of modern Western-style royalty. The Nichiren Buddhist priest Inoue Nisshō (1886–1967), it will be remembered, had organized a Blood Brotherhood Band (Ketsumeidan)

of youths prepared to take responsibility for the death of individual leaders of the capitalist elite. Ōkawa Shūmei (1886–1957), a student of Islam and Asian philosophies, also believed it necessary to purge society of capitalist and bureaucratic leaders so that Japan could become the center of a renaissance of Asian peoples who would look to it for moral guidance and physical liberation from the imperialist West.

It is beside the point that these spokesmen for the scorned and disinherited were themselves educated representatives of the modern society who turned away from or, in Ōkawa's case, utilized "modern" prestigious attainments as a platform from which to denounce modernity. They were intimately involved in the plots and terrorism of the early 1930s. Their instigation was particularly attractive to young navy and especially army officers, who were at once commanders of recruits who followed their orders unthinkingly and yet trapped by the bureaucratic structure of the armed forces. They could deplore the "state of the villages" whose young men they led and the process and privilege of bureaucracy which they themselves exemplified. Ben-Ami Shillony has shown that for all the talk of "villages" the young officers who led the insurrection in 1936 were for the most part well connected with army families in higher echelons; they were, as R. P. Dore has put it, more interested in villages than villagers.[26]

Disapproval of capitalist political institutions found support from a quite different perspective. Kita Ikki (1883–1937), an advocate of national socialism, was a true outsider to the social elite. Born on the Japan Sea island of Sado, he audited courses at Waseda University and immersed himself in socialist writers. An early result was a slender volume entitled *Kokutai oyobi junsui shakaishugi* (Our national policy and pure socialism) that was quickly banned. He was acquainted with Kōtoku Shūsui and other socialists, and then turned his attention to revolution in China. When that broke out in 1911 he was sending regular and voluminous reports to Japanese Asianists, especially the Kokuryūkai (Amur or Black Dragon Society) leader Uchida Ryōhei. Kita attributed the failure of revolution in China in good measure to the greed of Japanese capitalism, which failed to supply the revolutionaries with resources of which they were critically short. Japan's future in Asia, he concluded, was limited unless it carried out a decisive social and institutional renovation of its own. A return to China during the May Fourth movement of 1919 gave him personal experience of anti-Japanese sentiment. The problems of Asia thus had their roots in Japan.

From this background Kita worked out a proposal for a corporate state. Private greed and power would be replaced by state-led enterprises; even the emperor would be a "people's emperor," living on an annual salary instead

of being able to draw on private resources.[27] Kita was clearly not an agrarianist; he was far more in tune with contemporary national socialism than with the virtues of premodern Japan. The book in which he outlined these plans was censored so heavily that whole sections—notably on the emperor—were reduced to empty pages by his publisher. For all his criticism of capitalist corruption, however, Kita accepted a subsidy and an automobile from businessmen who may have regarded this as a form of insurance. But his brand of radicalism also commended him to young officers. Documents discovered in 1988 show that the 1936 rebels planned for Kita to be named minister without portfolio in the Mazaki government that would take power. He was one of six civilians charged and executed for plotting rebellion after the February 26 uprising. Kita was one of the few accused who refused to shout "Long live the emperor!" *(Tennō heika banzai!)* when they faced the firing squad.

Currents of nationalism and cultural ethnicity also reached into higher levels of society. Among academics the leading voice calling for reverence for the emperor as the sole criterion of value was that of Hiraizumi Kiyoshi (1895–1984), who came to play the role of theoretician or theologian for matters of *kokutai.* His interpretation of history, known as "imperial history" *(kōkoku shikan),* became a force academic skeptics had to contend with. A graduate of Tokyo Imperial University's Faculty of Japanese History,[28] Hiraizumi became known as a specialist on the religious and cultural life of medieval Japan. In 1930 he traveled to universities in Germany, England, Austria, and Italy to better prepare himself in the practice and history of historical scholarship, and on his return the following year he published an influential work on the attempted ("Kenmu") imperial restoration of 1333. That failed effort, it will be recalled, had ushered in the competition between rival imperial courts that had caused so much controversy in interpretation two decades before. Hiraizumi seems to have immersed himself in those issues and factored in a disapproval of trends in the Japan of his own day, He became an advocate of a "Shōwa Restoration" and began to delegate some of his university teaching to disciples. The historian Irokawa Daikichi, who entered the university as war clouds were breaking, describes these men as follows:

> When I entered the National History Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University, we were told by disciples of Hiraizumi Kiyoshi that "The leaders of the Japanese navy are secretly pro-American and pro-British, and advocate peace; they will have to be dealt with when the time comes." Those men saw everything in black and white, and talked like fanatics. But they provided no data or evidence of any sort, and so I half believed and half doubted what they said.[29]

Hiraizumi himself lectured in a private school he established near the campus. Before long he had a following of young military officers who were glad to have one of Japan's foremost historians espousing the cause of ethnic nationalism and imperial sovereignty. As Japan's armies advanced, so too did Hiraizumi, invited to lecture to Henry Pu Yi, head of state of the new Manchukuo. He may have been implicated in the planning for the attempted coup of February 26, but if so, drew back and added his voice to others dissuading the emperor's brother, Prince Chichibu, from showing sympathy for the rebels. Hiraizumi's highest reward was an invitation to assist in drafting the emperor's declaration of war in 1941.

A final element that should receive mention is that of ultranationalist organizations. Though oriented more toward action than thought, patriotic societies were numerous and everywhere. They seemed to thrive at the intersection of the respectable and disreputable, the legal and the illegal, exhorting and intimidating as the occasion demanded. The parent, and strongest, of these was the Kokuryūkai or Amur Society. It won fame in the West through a literal translation of its name as Black Dragon, as the Amur is written in Chinese. Its manifesto asserted, long before the establishment of Manchukuo, that the Amur River should be Japan's northern border, but its efforts went well beyond agitation for a strong foreign policy against Russia. The organization traced its genesis to participation in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, and worked for freedom—in collaboration with Japan—for Asian nationalists like Sun Yat-sen and Kim Ok-kyun. It was sharply critical of Japanese capitalist society and active in calls for a "Shōwa Restoration." It warred against an education system slavishly copied from those of the West. A purified polity, centered on the divinity of the imperial line, could then extend its compassionate governance to Asian lands burdened by Western imperialism. The career of the leading figure in these activities, Tōyama Mitsuru (1855–1944), illustrates continuities in Japan's modern history. Born to samurai parents in Fukuoka, his imprisonment for antigovernment activities prevented his participation in the Satsuma Rebellion. After being released he formed a Kyushu branch of the *jiyū-minken* movement, but soon turned to lead opposition to the government's slow progress on treaty reform. He was implicated in the attack on Foreign Minister Ōkuma in 1889, and then busied himself in efforts to strengthen Japanese policy in Korea, the while trying to organize help for Sun Yat-sen—in anticipation of cooperation with China—as well. For some decades after that he was a behind-the-scenes manipulator and funder with growing influence, on the fringes of politics and business, and by the years of World War II, always pictured in his native dress and flowing beard, he was the grand old man of patriotism, writing newspaper columns

calling for united national effort. At the last Tōyama's rival columnist was Tokutomi Sohō. The two nonconformists of the 1880s, different as they were, thus ended as pillars of the nationalist establishment.

5. The Economy: Recovery and Resources

Japanese aggression in China, the political fallout of the early 1930s, the murderous vendettas of army factionalism, and agitation for a "Shōwa Restoration" all took place during the years of the world depression. They were years in which the international trading system broke down as countries pursued goals of economic nationalism. The collapse of the international silk market devastated thousands of Japanese villages, and also handicapped the country's need for export earnings with which to finance the import of raw materials. The international capitalist order seemed to have broken down; trade preferences, protectionism, and currency crises that resulted in bank failures brought investment to a halt. Agrarianists could call for return to an imagined Eden of the past, reformers could argue for an increase of bureaucratic state controls, but all had to agree that the current system seemed to have run its course.

Yet Japan also proved to have advantages relative to other capitalist countries. Its banking crisis came earlier with the events that brought down the Wakatsuki government in 1927; consolidation and mergers left the system better prepared to weather future storms of international competition. The government's brief dalliance with the gold standard was followed by a deflation so severe that, while it further distressed the agricultural sector, made exports more competitive. Japan was in crisis before its competitors among developed countries, and its steps toward recovery also preceded theirs.

Dimensions of control advanced as cartels and mergers came to dominate markets that had been competitive. A new combine produced 97.5 percent of iron and 51.5 percent of steel production, and a new trust controlled 90 percent of newsprint. All along the line new combinations in banking, machinery, electric power, and consumption items like beer, each centered around a larger and more powerful zaibatsu bank, dominated the economy. This did not, to be sure, endear the zaibatsu to the Japanese people. Zaibatsu banks were accused of profitable currency speculations during the brief experiment with the gold standard. Every writer who deplored the devastation of the villages contrasted it with the prosperity of the new economic royalists, and the murder of politically connected industrialists like the Mitsui head Baron Dan Takuma could bring a chorus of praise for the purity of the assassins' motives. The contrast was greatest in agricultural districts within range of the great

metropolis; the single prefecture of Ibaraki, on the outskirts of Tokyo, had the dubious distinction of producing the murders of Baron Dan, Finance Minister Inoue, and Prime Minister Inukai.

In this period of economic emergency the Ministry of Finance was headed by Takahashi Korekiyo (1854–1936). No modern Japanese leader has had a more striking career or better deserves a full biography. Born in Edo and adopted by a Sendai samurai, Takahashi studied English as a houseboy for a foreigner (and later also worked for Mori Arinori), attended what was to become the Imperial University, dabbled in speculation and in an unsuccessful attempt to develop a silver mine, and then found his niche in finance. He advanced steadily in the Bank of Japan and the Yokohama Specie Bank, worked in government at Matsukata's elbow, and then joined the Seiyūkai, headed the Finance Ministry under Hara Takashi and briefly succeeded him as prime minister. Takahashi returned to head the Ministry of Finance under Tanaka Gi'ichi, a role in which he resolved the banking crisis, and served again under Prime Ministers Inukai, Saitō, and Okada, serving from 1931 to 1936 except for a six-month interlude, before he was shot on February 26.

Nakamura Takafusa describes Takahashi as an early Keynesian.[30] During his years at the helm government spending rose markedly, and steps to spur production combined with economic nationalism to accelerate industrialization. He allowed the yen to find its market valuation, resulting in a devaluation of some 40 percent. Spending for agricultural relief and military expansion increased, much of it financed by government bonds. Low interest rates, low exchange rates, and higher government spending for public works, relief, and armament brought a rapid improvement. A revival of exports and government spending combined to expand the economy. Terms like "national emergency" and "national defense state" became popular as justification for measures to restore prosperity at home and permit expansion abroad. Tariffs were raised to protect industries, and as the exchange rate worsened the higher cost of imports further contributed to domestic investment and capacity in chemical and heavy industries. Low interest rates were made available for village reconstruction, and public health insurance and other social legislation built confidence and welfare. Military spending was an important item in this renewal of growth, but not, it seems, as central as many have thought. In heavy machinery and chemicals the percentage of outputs devoted to military needs was at its highest at the beginning of the decade, and then declined by 1936. It may, of course, have played a particularly important role in the start-up stage of economic recovery.

In this context the enthusiastic responses to the military moves in Manchuria and North China that the media and their readers showed is probably

understandable. Many people felt they were better off. Some were, none more so than urban laborers in the modern sector of the economy. Years later one man recalled how good things seemed, especially after war broke out with China in 1937:

> Machinists welcomed the munitions boom. We'd been waiting anxiously for a breakthrough. From that time on, we got really busy. China news was everywhere. Even my father subscribed to *Asahi Graph* since every issue carried lots of pictures of soldiers in China. By the end of 1937, everybody in the country was working. For the first time, I was able to take care of my father. War's not bad at all, I thought. As a skilled worker I was eagerly sought after and earned my highest wages in 1938, '39, and '40. There were so many hours of overtime! I changed jobs often, each new job better than the one before. In 1940, a draft system for skilled workers was introduced to keep us from moving around.[31]

By the time Takahashi was murdered in 1936, his policies had succeeded in creating full employment and reflating the economy. He now thought it desirable to rein in the agents of inflation, but those who followed him instead approved expansion plans for the army and navy to extend five and six years respectively. The government's 1937 budget was almost 40 percent higher than that for the previous year, but even that percentage paled after the outbreak of the war with China in July 1937, for in the three months that followed military spending rose to consume practically the entire national budget for that year. The inevitable result was a spiral of inflation that drove up further the cost of the imports of raw materials essential to the industrial sector. Business leaders stockpiled imports in anticipation of future price increases, and the balance of trade worsened day by day.

In the analysis of Bai Gao this led to an increasingly "managed economy" that became at the last a command economy.[32] Government leaders created new boards, notably the Cabinet Planning Board (October 1937), the Diet passed laws designed to control some industries (beginning with the Important Industries Control Law, 1931) and control imports (Temporary Capital Adjustment Law and Temporary Export and Import Commodities Law), culminating in the National Mobilization Law of 1938. Under its provisions the government was empowered to establish firms, issue directives relating to the manufacture, distribution, transfer, and consumption of materials related to imports, and issue directives for the management of labor, working conditions, and the administration, use, and expropriation of factories and mines.

By the mid-1930s Japanese leaders saw the world becoming divided into

dollar, sterling, and yen blocs. One notes the absence of a Soviet bloc; the USSR's external trade was not yet a significant factor, and in any case the Japanese army was deeply committed to the view of a coming struggle with the Soviet Union once the Soviet Five-Year Plan was completed in 1936 (the so-called crisis of 1936). Ishiwara Kanji's vision for Manchukuo now became formalized in a series of plans to prepare for what he considered a certain war with the Soviet Union that would precede Japan's struggle with the West. Plans envisioned the creation and consolidation of a Northeast Asia bloc centered on Japan, drawing on the resources of Manchuria (iron, coal, aluminum, gold, industrial salt, and agricultural products, chiefly soybeans). Korea would contribute coal, iron, aluminum, magnesium, cotton, and wool, and North China coal, cotton, wool, salt, and meat. China, however, was not yet completely in the fold, and that is why army leaders preferred working with local leaders of splinter regimes, where the disparity of strength with Japan was greatest, to trying to deal with the national government at Nanking.

All well and good, but this "yen bloc" was a dream of the future, based on hopes of rapid industrialization through the expenditure of vast sums, particularly in Manchukuo. In the meantime precious gold reserves were being drained away to pay for essential raw materials, particularly petroleum, for which the bloc could make no provision. Out of this came complaints of unfairness on the part of the United States and the European imperialist powers in South Asia; by virtue of getting there first they found themselves in control of impressive resources in what is now Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia, the while presuming to lecture—and gradually to strangle—Japan in its search for a place in the sun.

At this point ironies abound. The skilled machinist quoted above felt better off and saw his life as one of prosperity brought about by war, but many more workers, particularly those in textiles, suffered from the shift of national priorities to heavy industry. Moreover Japan was shifting to an area in which its need for imports placed it at a comparative disadvantage. The decline of Japanese exports and the worsening of the trade balance, together with the inflation this spawned, began to reduce real wages. Yasukichi Yasuba summarizes these contradictions particularly clearly:[33] Japan was emerging successfully from the depression on the basis of exports of light industry, when the military buildup shifted weight to chemical and heavy industry, in which Japan was poorly equipped. "Since military build-up and the resultant expansion of heavy industries tremendously increased demand for natural resources, the previously non-existent shortage of natural resources eventually became real, and the terms of trade started to deteriorate" at that point. The military buildup and imperialistic expansion started to look necessary. Warnings of

impending economic crisis became self-fulfilling and the imagined problems had become real.

Many who observed this taking place had their doubts about the wisdom and practicality of political and military policies, but no sector of society protested. Leaders of export industries and zaibatsu banks were unenthusiastic about the prospect of wartime taxes, but they profited from the government loans and guarantees that financed increased expansion of capacity and conversion.

The crisis that resulted from the dispute with China helped bring labor leaders into line. Labor was by this time divided between right- and left-wing organizations; the right led, and the left followed, to support the state in time of perceived crisis. Government measures to promote order and productivity improved working conditions and stifled worker organizations. Home Ministry bureaucrats worked to improve standards of safety and thereby efficiency in the workplace. The same years that saw the end of internal army violence brought an end to open disputes between labor and management. The outbreak of hostilities with China shortly afterward served to firm things up. The military were eager to curb radicalism in the union movement, and in this they had the enthusiastic support of big business. Soon the unions pledged not to strike. After the China War began Sōdōmei leaders resolved that "our task is to protect the rear base of the nation as soldiers who fight in the industrial front in thus time of emergency." They went on to propose the establishment of a council representing labor and industry, but the government had its own ideas. In 1938 preparatory work began on what would become the *Sangyō hōkoku kai* (Patriotic industrial organization), which was under state control. Five million workers in more than six thousand firms were enrolled. In 1940 labor unions were banned. Regulations designed to prevent worker mobility became an ironic forerunner of the much-praised "life time employment" of postwar Japan, and a free labor movement was ruled out until after the surrender in 1945.

6. *Tenkō:* The Conversion of the Left

The sense of national and international emergency that animated the "return to Japan" in the intensity of ethnic nationalism that was shown in the homiletics of *kokutai* and imploded in army factionalism was equally compelling for the left, as a campaign for *tenkō*—conversion, or apostasy—brought radicals back to the fold. In the 1920s categories of Marxist analysis had become overwhelmingly popular in the study of social problems and political economy. State guardians of public morality, alarmed by this, had launched the great

police drives that resulted in the large-scale arrest of real and suspected radicals in March 1928. These arrests broke the back of the labor movement and extinguished the underground Communist Party, but prosecutors continued to puzzle over the fact that so many of those contaminated by Marxist cosmopolitanism were intelligent and indeed outstanding young people. Manchuria, and the sense of international crisis, came to their rescue.

In 1933 Sano Manabu (1892–1953), who had joined Yoshino Sakuzō's Shinjinkai as a student at Tokyo Imperial University and subsequently became a leader in the Japan Communist Party, and who had been arrested in Shanghai in 1929, issued a statement from prison together with Nabeyama Sadachika, who was also a member of the party's Central Committee. The two announced their defection from the Communist Party. They withdrew their opposition to the events in Manchuria, and said they no longer believed self-rule was necessary in Korea and Taiwan. Most important, they no longer believed (as the Comintern's thesis issued that year had specified) that the "emperor system" *(tennōsei)* was an impediment to institutional reform in Japan.

This defection of two top Communist leaders had an electrifying effect on Japanese who were in police custody, and it was followed by what can only be called mass apostasy. Within a month 45 percent of those not yet convicted (614 out of 1,370) and 34 percent (133 out of 393) of those who had been convicted of radical thought or activities followed suit and defected. Within three years 74 percent (324 out of 438) of those convicted of subversion were ready to announce that they, too, had returned to the fold.

These defections were of great interest for psychology and for theory. Although coercion in various forms was undoubtedly exercised, interrogators were warned to avoid the resistance that argument or duress would provoke. The radicals, most of them still young, were, after all, better educated than most of the police. Instead every effort was made to get them to "return" to the values of home and hearth that had now been threatened by the clouds of war and crisis. A workbook prepared for interrogators suggested that they begin by providing a bowl of chicken and egg on rice (*oyako dombori,* lit. "parent-child" bowl) which would remind the prisoner of the parental bond. The policemen should say nothing about ideology, but offer a reproachful reminder that "your mother is worried about you." He should by all means avoid mention of the father, as that might trigger defiance of authority.[34] There was something distinctively Japanese, almost soft and cloying, about these tactics. Determined recalcitrance, to be sure, brought worse food and harsher treatment.

The impact of the *tenkō* movement in terms of social science scholarship and Marxist theory was even more important. In the early 1930s a group of

outstanding historians and social scientists battled over theoretical issues that had immediate relevance for political action. These concerned the nature of the Meiji Restoration: was it a revolutionary development, in which case Japan might be ready for the next move and stage of democratic-socialist revolution, or was it an incomplete, "from-above" reform that had to be transcended before Japan could enter a stage of modernization in which presocialist democracy was to be sought? Was Japan, in effect, ready for revolution or not? These debates, published by Iwanami Shigeo's publishing house in multiple volumes entitled *Lectures on the Historical Development of Japanese Capitalism (Nihon shihon shugi hattatsushi kōza),* set the parameters for private thinking before 1945 and public debate thereafter so solidly that a multivolume bibliography of the controversy bears testimony to the earnestness with which this debate was carried on.

Tenkō apostates gave up their communism, but not by any means their Marxism. They did reject the standard thesis that capitalism was a system under which the ruling class held power by its exploitation of the surplus value created by oppressed workers. They also rejected the cosmopolitan aspects of Marxism, under which an international bourgeoisie exploited an international proletariat. Japan's was a different case. Calls to class conflict should end; real social reform could be achieved only through cooperation among all classes in Japan. This was because nationalism had merged with theory. If Meiji readers of Samuel Smiles saw Japan as a poor boy in the family of nations, the Shōwa scholars, chastened by their personal and Japan's national experience, saw Japan as a somehow exploited, "proletarian" land, exploited by international capitalism. Its own imperialism was of a different sort, motivated by a shortage and not a surplus of capital, and necessary to its survival.

In some instances this position had been anticipated by liberal and radical writers before the large-scale apostasy from the Communist line. Takahashi Kamekichi, for instance, a member of Prince Konoe's Shōwa Research Association, found it possible to argue that Japanese domination of Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria was transitional, forced upon it by the competitive international system, unlike the imperialism of the more exploitative West. Expansion, in fact, was historically progressive and furthermore necessary for Japan's mission.[35]

There was frequently a continuity of underlying assumptions in much writing in the 1930s. Japan was disadvantaged by lack of resources. It suffered from population pressure. It had somehow been victimized by its historical lateness, and by racial prejudice that made it impossible for foreign critics to understand its problems.

And yet this should not be taken to mean that there was no opportunity

for dissidence among intellectuals. Right-wing critics certainly had no difficulty in finding men and ideas they could deplore; when they had institutional backing, as in the persecution of Professor Minobe's interpretation of the imperial role, selected individuals might be stifled. But there was also a tradition of university autonomy that survived a number of crises. The rise of student interest in social questions had naturally drawn the attention of educational authorities, who suspected that their teachers were at fault, and this led to a number of confrontations between faculties and educational bureaucrats. Unfortunately, as the example of Uesugi Shinkichi's vendetta against Minobe Tatsukichi showed, the resistance of university faculties was frequently weakened by a factionalism that was personal as well as ideological. University administrators tended to strive for compromise when crises arose, as they were aware that direct confrontation with educational bureaucrats would bring down on them the criticism of self-appointed zealots outside the university whose ties with military and civilian rightists found them better prepared for combat.

The more impressive, then, to note that when Professor Takigawa Yukitoki of Kyoto Imperial University drew criticism in 1931 for a lecture he had given at a private university, his colleagues in the Faculty of Law submitted resignations in protest against proposals of the Ministry of Education that he be dismissed. Despite this, the ministry ultimately had its way. After intense pressure and prolonged negotiation the ministry agreed to accept three resignations, one of them Takigawa's. Academics, clearly, were fighting rearguard actions and were anxious to avoid direct battle in a conflict they knew they could not win. There are additional things to note. One is that the spread of education and inflation of institutions had served to weaken the position of the university professor as compared with his more exalted Meiji predecessors, and another is that it was unusual for embattled faculty members to enjoy the united support of their colleagues. After the outbreak of the China War the opportunity for the free exchange of ideas and speaking out on public issues diminished sharply. Those opposed to national policy had a choice between silence and speaking in obscure indirection. At the Tokyo Imperial University Faculty of Economics, which was already polarized between Marxist and non-Marxist instructors, a number of able young faculty members were taken into police custody in 1938. A first trial acquitted all but Arisawa Hiromi (of whom more below) and Abe Isamu; the government appealed; new trials were held two years later with much the same result, only to have the case reopened once more. The case of the "professors' group," as it became known, dragged on, and it required six years before Arisawa and Ōuchi Hyōei, and four years before Kawai Eijirō, were fully cleared.[36]

The events best chronicled concern cases in which freedom of speech and thought was challenged in a particularly striking manner by bureaucrats anxious to avoid public criticism of their lack of vigilance. What is probably more striking, however, is the lack of public discussion and examination of the basic premises that underlay Japanese policy and aggression. By the 1940s, as will be seen, this was clearly impossible. The question of when it became so, and why so few raised their voices to protest or warn, has had its effect in the compulsion Japanese intellectuals have felt to exercise that freedom in postwar Japan.

7. Planning for a Managed Economy

It is ironic that this pursuit of suspected subversives freed some of Japan's finest young economists from the tasks of teaching and enabled them to offer their services to research groups of the South Manchurian Railroad and other think tanks in Tokyo. Men who were suspended from their duties, sometimes with pay, could not speak or write openly, but neither could they be kept from thinking. Some published under others' names and others did not publish at all, but all of them turned to wrestle with problems of Japan's economic predicament.

Some of the most important of these figures found employment in the Shōwa Research Association, a study group established by Prince Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1945) in 1936 to study options for national policy. The organization was headed by the influential Tokyo Imperial University political scientist Rōyama Masamichi, and his mandate was to organize a group prepared to plan for whatever structural changes might be required for Japan in the uncharted waters that lay ahead. Politics, diplomacy, economics, and education; no area of investigation was to be overlooked. The capitalist order seemed to be disintegrating everywhere in the developed world; in America the New Deal, in Germany national socialism, in Italy corporatism, and in the Soviet Union a Communist economy—all seemed to indicate permanent change in the international order. Konoe's brain trust had the task of deciding what changes would best apply to Japan's situation. Konoe himself, an aloof and moody figure whose intentions were rarely made explicit, had, it will be remembered, won prominence with warnings about the preference of "have" countries and an "Anglo-American peace" he published immediately prior to the Paris Peace Conference.

The Soviet model, with its ruthless demolition of the social order, must have seemed least useful, but the announcement of five-year economic plans were already being taken up in Manchukuo. The mass movements focused

on charismatic leaders of the fascist states offered even less relevance for Japan, but the notion of structured economies and economic planning, rooted in the experience of World War I, was another matter. Nevertheless it seemed possible and in fact necessary to achieve much of what was worthwhile in the foreign examples within Japan, and to do so from above by bureaucratic direction that would transcend the sectionalism of the administrative state that had taken form. "Reform bureaucrats," as some of Konoe's followers became known, and reform planners of a nonviolent "Shōwa Restoration" might produce a more effectively guided and united polity. The Meiji Constitution might remain inviolable, but its nonspecific generality could cover differences in direction to rejuvenate a Japan that seemed to have come to a dead end. It was a vision that enthused young intellectuals no less than it did President Franklin D. Roosevelt's young planners on the other side of the Pacific. By the time Konoe came to power in 1937 his chief cabinet secretary, Kazami Akira, was armed with plans his committees had drawn up.[37]

It is useful to show how these trends intersected in the life of Arisawa Hiromi (1896–1988), a young member of the group who went on to become one of the chief planners of Japan's postwar economy. Arisawa began his study of economics at a time when the rice riots of 1918 seemed to foreshadow a crisis in the Japanese economy, and the post–World War I depression suggested there were structural flaws that required attention. As a young instructor in the newly established Faculty of Economics at Tokyo Imperial University, Arisawa had as colleagues young scholars who would become known as some of Japan's most able and also most radical intellectuals.

In 1926 Arisawa left for two years of study in Germany, where his understanding of Marxist thought deepened. He also read widely on problems the German economy had encountered during World War I, and became something of an authority on the theories of "total war" worked out by German thinkers. Arisawa returned to Tokyo just as the police sweeps of 1928 were netting many of his friends and colleagues, but he went on to organize a series of seminars devoted to what he saw as the impending crisis of capitalism in Japan. After the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, he turned his attention to the need to prepare for wider, indeed total, war. It would, he concluded, require state intervention in many areas of production to provide the basis for total national mobilization. His interests now began to draw closer to those of army planners like the future prime minister Koiso Kuniaki, who had organized a study to determine the measures required to achieve the ideal of a "national defense state." Contrasting the experience of the United States and Germany during World War I, Arisawa argued that it was particularly important for a resource-poor country like Japan to control and allocate re-

sources effectively. Then, as Japan entered the China War, Arisawa prepared a comprehensive framework of steps that would be required for the larger war. What was needed, he thought, was a "state capitalism" that would eliminate the waste of unnecessary duplication and competition, and allocate capital where it was most needed. Many of his studies, though not the last, were published in monthly magazines as he developed his analysis.

Arisawa was arrested in 1938 in the "professors' group" incident mentioned earlier, and through the long period of litigation that followed he was not free to teach or write openly. This did not prevent him from writing influential articles and books that were published under the names of his friends. He now prepared plans for a state-managed economy that would separate capital from management and provide a more efficient economic structure.

The conclusion Arisawa reached in his study was that Japan could not possibly prevail in a war with the more developed and productive democracies of the West. That was not what army planners who had encouraged his study wanted to hear, however, and his report was quietly suppressed. Even so, a number of his recommendations saw action as the Japanese economy girded itself for a larger war, and others saw implementation in postsurrender days when his gospel of managing scarce resources for economic growth was even more badly needed. The young scholar who had been purged as subversive ended his days with Japan's highest imperial decoration as one of the key planners of postwar industrial policy.[38]

8. War with China and Konoe's "New Order in Asia"

In North China Japanese field commanders had bullied Chinese authorities into agreements that protected their forces from interference by units of the Nanking government, but until 1936 Japanese government policy had been relatively cautious. Chiang Kai-shek, embattled with problems of military unification, had temporized in his response to the creation of Manchukuo. The T'angku Truce that demilitarized the Peking area could be, and by some critics was, read as acquiescence in Japanese domination of northeastern China. Chiang was determined to solve his internal problems of unification by defeating the Chinese Communist regime that had fallen back to positions in the southeastern province of Kiangsi after Chiang's coup in Shanghai. After surviving a series of "extermination campaigns" in which Chiang had the help of German military advisers, the Chinese Communist armies undertook the famous Long March that enabled them to resettle in Yenan in the northwest. Chang Hsüeh-liang, the defeated commander of the Manchurian Fengtien

Army, had been given a title and nominal command in exchange for his acceptance of Kuomintang primacy. In Japan the generals of the Imperial Way *(kōdōha)* faction had propounded a "crisis of 1936" that would require a preventive strike against the Soviet Union, and that would not by any means have been unwelcome to Chiang. There seemed to be a tacit agreement between Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese generals that suppression of the Communists had first priority. The events of 1936 changed all this, and permanently. The failure of the February 26 revolt in Japan was followed by eclipse of the leaders of the Imperial Way faction and their fixation on war with the Soviet Union. Then the Sian Incident of 1936, in which Chang Hsüeh-liang and Communist leaders kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek—just as he was planning a final campaign against Yenan—and forced his agreement to a United Front against Japan, changed the entire situation.[39]

In Japan, as has been noted, the Hirota cabinet agreed to accommodate the increased budgetary demands of the armed services. It also restored the provision, in abeyance for two decades, that the army and navy ministers be chosen from generals and admirals on the active list, thereby giving the services veto power over nominations of men (like General Ugaki) considered unreliable. Later that spring and summer Hirota and his foreign minister, Arita Hachirō, made it clear that Japan would no longer feel bound by the interlocking network of treaties that made up the Washington Conference system. A new military view required a new military buildup, and during the summer months Imperial Army and Navy staffs prepared contingency plans for possible war with China, the Soviet Union, and the Atlantic powers and submitted them to the cabinet for approval. It was the first time that a formal state document, as opposed to military plans, had begun to lay out conditions of what would be needed for Japanese domination of East Asia.

It was also the first time that the turbulence of European politics intruded on Japanese decisions. It has been argued that the outbreak of World War II can be treated with the virtual exclusion of Japan, but Japan's policies and politics were inextricably intertwined with its perceptions of developments in the West. Fear of the Soviet Union and of communism led in this. In November 1936 Japan and Germany agreed to form an Anti-Comintern Pact which Italy joined a year later. The three agreed to exchange information on Comintern activities and consult together in the event of attack by Russia. This agreement, strengthened a few years later, provided the bond for what became known as the Axis powers. Japan was thus backing away from its ties with the Anglo-American powers and associating itself with the "revisionist" states of Europe. Army leaders backed the new arrangement, and saw it as useful in negotiations with the United States, but it had the opposite effect on the

Roosevelt administration. In the United States suspicion of Japanese intentions and disapproval of Japanese moves in China were growing; at the same time Japanese dependence on outside, and especially American, resources was increasing. Therein lay a crisis far greater than the 1936 crisis with the Soviet Union that Japanese army leaders talked about.

Japan had now committed itself to an international anti-Comintern stand just as the Comintern was encouraging the formation of a United Front against Japan in North China. At Sian Chou En-lai, as representative of the Yenan government, prevailed upon Chang Hsüeh-liang to release Chiang Kai-shek on the condition that he give up his campaigns to crush the Communist regime and instead join with it to lead a United Front against any further Japanese advance. Chiang was now able to stand as leader of Chinese nationalism and appeal for world opinion and support. Recent events had improved his position considerably. Monetary reforms worked out with American advisers had strengthened China's economic position, and army assistance provided by German advisers had improved Chiang's military capability. In an astonishing transformation Chiang, rescued from incarceration and possible death at Sian, emerged as a national hero and effective leader just as Japanese generals were prepared to dismiss him as an ineffective nuisance. Anticommunism was their sole criterion. Japan prevailed upon Berlin to have it withdraw the German military mission to China, and prepared to concentrate on developing the gains it had made.

These events set the stage for what was to follow, but even so contingency played its part. The war that followed was unplanned by Japan, and unwanted. In the spring of 1937 a short-lived cabinet headed by General Hayashi Senjūrō, a former army minister, brought in as foreign minister a professional diplomat, Satō Naotake, who tried to regain control over Japan's China policy. He emphasized the importance of trade with China, and did his best to lower the pitch of Japanese rhetoric. Unfortunately the Hayashi cabinet, which lacked a single political party representative, was denounced as rigidly bureaucratic and proved unable to win cooperation from the Imperial Diet. Although there had not been a political party cabinet for the six years since Inukai's death, the political parties were still powerful, and their cooperation was essential for any government. After setbacks in national elections the Hayashi cabinet resigned. It had lasted only three months.

Saionji now turned to Prince Konoe Fumimaro. He had long had doubts about his judgment. But Konoe was acceptable to political party leaders, and that seemed to promise a smoothly functioning government. Konoe had been asked and declined to serve in the aftermath of the February 26 military revolt, but he now accepted the challenge, albeit somewhat reluctantly.

Modern Japanese history has not known a more enigmatic man that the prince who now became prime minister.[40] Scion of one of Japan's most aristocratic families, one intertwined with that of the imperial family since the dawn of recorded Japanese history, Konoe was the only one of Hirohito's councillors and ministers who could relax and be casual in his conversation with him; he even scandalized others by crossing his legs when seated in the emperor's presence. Konoe was at once a pampered aristocrat, thoughtful intellectual, and ambitious politician. He had studied philosophy at Kyoto Imperial University with Nishida Kitarō and Japan's most eminent group of neo-Kantian and idealist philosophers. While still a student he was given a seat in the House of Peers, a body his father had chaired. As a young man he became a member of Saionji's delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, as already noted. He had thought of becoming a university professor, only to be warned off by guardians afraid lest he involve himself in controversy. He did not shrink from politics and had a wide circle of acquaintance with men of many stripes. After the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident he was cultivated by middle-rank military figures. Like his father, who had sponsored Asia firsters and refugee Asian nationalists, Konoe cultivated Asianists and came to head an organization his father had helped found, the East Asian Common Culture Association (Tōa Dōbun Shoin). In 1933 he became president of the House of Peers, and three years later he gathered around himself a group of stellar bureaucrats and intellectuals in the Shōwa Research Association. He was deeply interested in all forms of state polity, without completely committing himself to any one, and he encouraged those around him to think that he might be willing to take the lead in a new, super-party national structure. Konoe was personally popular, though aristocratic and remote, and he seemed to project ideas of reform and social progress. Nor was he parochial. In 1933, when he took his eldest son to America to enroll him at the Lawrenceville School preparatory to his enrollment at Princeton, he visited with President Roosevelt to discuss American-Japanese relations. He told his eldest daughter that if she had been a boy he would have wanted her to study in Moscow. He himself responded to the suggestion of his brain trust to ponder the advisability of a new kind of nonparty structure. The ultimate product of this was the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, of which more below, which was supposed to eliminate all partisan bickering and "money power" *(kinken)* to promote true national unity. Far younger in years but superior in rank to Saionji, the last of the *genrō*, he was uncomfortable when the latter addressed him as "your excellency" and suspected ridicule behind the courtesy. In fact Saionji did harbor doubts about Konoe's judgment, a distrust that began with the essay the young prince wrote attacking the British-American peace as

hypocritical and unfair, in 1918. At one point Saionji headed Konoe off by having him named to head the Privy Council, but by 1936 Saionji, in his eighties, no longer saw an alternative to Konoe. As Japan's political crisis deepened it became inevitable that Konoe, acceptable to the armed services, well connected in the party system, a handsome and rather charismatic young aristocrat, should be named as prime minister, and he took that office on June 4, 1937. A month later Japan was at war with China.

The China "Incident," as both sides preferred to call it in order to head off any stoppage of supplies under neutrality legislation, began as what seemed a skirmish on the Marco Polo Bridge just west of Peking on July 7. A Japanese soldier was missing from his formation; his commanders demanded the right to search the area, and the Chinese countered with a proposal for a joint search. By the time the soldier returned (from having relieved himself) small-scale violence had broken out. Hardly, one might think, an event that could lead to years of battle and millions of casualties, but it marked the beginning of the China War.

The area in question was designated as "demilitarized" under the T'angku Truce. Some Chinese security forces were under Japanese command, and others were under the command of the most pro-Japanese of Chinese generals, a man who attended the funeral services when his Japanese counterpart died unexpectedly, and who was prepared to offer his personal apologies for the outbreak of hostilities. Initially both sides hoped for a speedy local settlement, but within a month both sides were rushing reinforcements to the scene.

There was more at stake, however, much more; a match had been struck in a highly combustible environment. Commanders of Japanese field armies in southern Manchuria, including the new chief staff officer of the Kwantung Army Tōjō Hideki, had been urging that Japan take stronger steps to control the resources of North China in preparation for battle with the Soviets. The fear of Russia responsible for the Anti-Comintern Pact had as a corollary fears of Communist cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek in the new United Front. So long as Chiang had concentrated on what he called "extermination campaigns" of "Communist bandits" there was some good in the man and his cause, but after he turned to cooperate with Mao Tse-tung's Yenan government, Japanese army figures, Tōjō among them, saw their cause endangered. Suddenly there was a clear explanation for anti-Japanese boycotts and propaganda throughout China, and the solution was for Chiang to renounce the bargain he had reached at Sian and go back to fighting Communists.

On the China side patience was also wearing thin. Since first becoming foreign minister in 1933 Hirota Kōki, who held that post until 1937 (with the exception of his brief period as prime minister after the February revolt), had

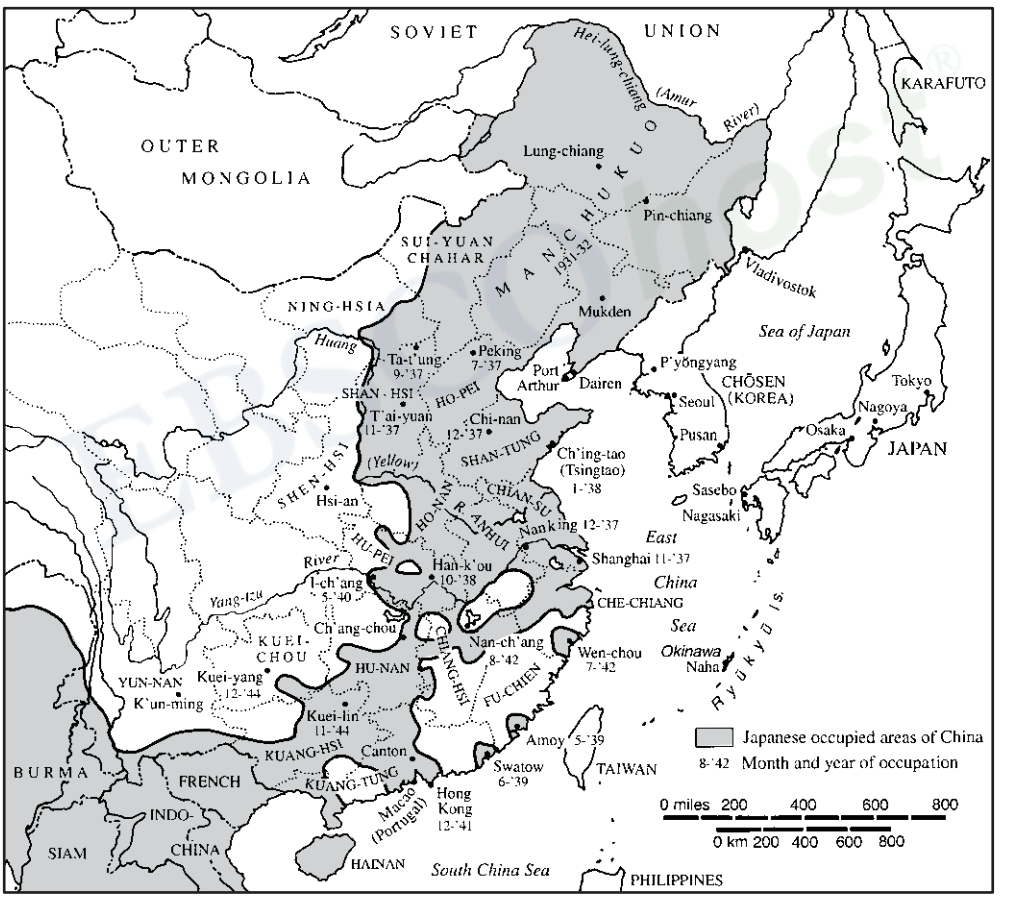
become increasingly peremptory in his statements to the Nanking government demanding cooperation in anti-Soviet policies. Kwantung Army leaders had taken steps to create buffer Mongol regimes west of Manchukuo; the Chinese thought they saw new signs of Japanese designs on the entire Peking area, the province of Hopei, as well.

In the Tokyo General Staff Ishiwara Kanji, obsessed with the larger struggle ahead with the Soviet Union, was convinced that a war with China would be the wrong war at the wrong time. The Army Ministry, however, saw things differently, and divided councils contributed to the dispatch of larger forces. Violence increased as the Japanese tried to oust Chinese forces from the demilitarized zone, with Chinese losses reaching 5,000 in one day. As violence increased additional divisions sailed for China. At the end of July a Chinese "Peace Preservation Corps" under Japanese command rose up, killed their Japanese officers, and went on to kill several hundred Japanese civilians. Pressure for all-out war became stronger. Chiang moved his best, German-trained divisions to the north, and Tokyo civilian and army leaders thought they saw the opportunity for a swift strike that would "solve" the China problem for some time.

Calamitously, the new Konoe government, despite its civilian leadership, adopted a stronger position than its predecessor, under General Hayashi, had. Konoe was no warmonger, but he seems to have seen himself as checkmating army firebrands by giving them responsibility. This made for some very strange appointments indeed to his cabinet. His initial choice for minister of the army was General Itagaki Seishirō, the fomenter (with Ishiwara Kanji) of the Manchurian Incident, and his preference for the post of navy minister, Admiral Suetsugu Nobumatsu, had championed the fleet faction in opposing the decisions of the London Naval Conference. Wiser heads in the Supreme War Council blocked both appointments, but Konoe later had his way with Itagaki, while Suetsugu emerged as head of the Home Ministry. Even more startling was the appearance of General Araki Sadao, idol of the young officers in 1936, as minister of education, a post from which he could work for the diffusion of *kokutai* thought throughout the educational network. Against such leadership the more practical officers in the General Staff faced an uphill fight.

Japan's descent into the quagmire, as it is rightly called, of the China War was neither expected nor desired by Tokyo.[41] Japanese army planners were confident that a show of force would suffice to secure a new and more advantageous position for them. Chiang Kai-shek, on the other hand, had been crowned as national leader of the new United Front at Sian, and thought a strong stand on his part, backed by the signatories of the Nine Power Pact

to which he appealed, would serve to deter further Japanese aggression. In this setting it was the arrogance and overconfidence of Japanese leaders that led them into a maze from which they found no exit. While field commanders were working out a local solution in the immediate aftermath of the clash in July, Tokyo fulminated against the impertinence and lack of "sincerity" displayed by China in calling for outside assistance. Chiang, sensing the need to live up to his new mission, declared North China in danger and moved in some of his best, German-trained divisions, thereby violating, as the Japanese saw it, the T'angku Truce. Three divisions sent from Japan, the first of many to follow, quickly established military superiority in the north and encouraged



7. Japanese-occupied areas of China, 1937–1945, with dates of occupation.

a march to Shanghai and the Yangtze Valley. As Chinese resistance seemed temporarily broken, the Japanese advanced on Nanking, which was vacated by the Kuomintang government as it retreated up river to Wuhan before moving on to Chungking.

The fall of Nanking to Japanese armies in December 1937 was more rapid than expected. General Matsui Iwane's armies found themselves encumbered by thousands of Chinese soldiers, many taking refuge as civilians, for whom they had no preparation. A house-to-house search throughout the city by soldiers drunk with victory and vainglory led to days of murder, rapine, and looting that has to this date never been acknowledged and will stain forever the honor of the Imperial Army. Far from receding into the past, the horror has come to take on a life of its own. The "Rape of Nanking" has advanced to the present, utilized by the People's Republic as an issue in Sino-Japanese relations, fueled by controversies over Japanese textbooks' treatment of the war, and finally memorialized in a museum inscribed, in the calligraphy of Chinese leader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, "300,000 victims."[42]

Matters were also complicated by the difficulty Japanese leaders had in reading world political trends. Tokyo leaders considered the Washington Conference system a dead letter, but Chiang Kai-shek's attempt to breathe life into it by calling on the signatories of the Nine Power Pact resulted in a meeting of Western signatories in Brussels which, however inconclusive, emphasized Japan's isolation. The Anti-Comintern tie forged with Germany seemed to offer alliance with a strong and growing power; when Italy joined as well, the self-proclaimed "have-not" powers were aligned. The Soviet Union remained the major threat. Buffer regimes in Inner Mongolia were designed to secure that border, but the Kuomintang government's acceptance of a United Front with the Chinese Communist Party brought new imagined dangers.

A first idea was to ask for German help in bringing the war with China to an end. Foreign Minister Hirota indicated that Japan would be agreeable to a buffer regime in Inner Mongolia, a larger demilitarized zone in China to be administered by Nanking through pro-Japanese forces, China's cessation of anti-Japanese activities, and cooperation with Japan in opposing communism. Chiang Kai-shek was first scornful. Then, as his military situation worsened, he seemed to show interest, only to have the Japanese raise their demands as appropriate to their new military position. Now Japan added an indemnity as the cost of peace, in effect demanding that China surrender. Small wonder those efforts too collapsed. Next Hitler, who had maintained good relations with both Japan (the Anti-Comintern Pact) and China (through a large military mission), decided to remove his military mission from China in the interests of closer cooperation with Japan. To do so, he reasoned, might help tie

down the United States, England, and the Soviet Union while Germany had its way in Central Europe. Tokyo took comfort from this display of anticommunism, only to be caught short by the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in 1939. This had immediate repercussions in Japan and brought the fall of the short-lived cabinet of Hiranuma, who had succeeded Konoe in January 1939.

While Tokyo groped for ways to end the war, the field armies carried on in China, looking for an enemy to defeat or a mission to carry out. By the end of 1938 most major cities in China had fallen into Japanese hands, and major rail lines connecting them were also reasonably secure. But the vast hinterland of China was in good measure under the control of Communist and other guerrilla forces. The Kuomintang government had retreated to Chungking, but aside from bombing runs the Japanese had no thought or resources to occupy the interior province of Szechuan. Far too much of Japan's military machine was already tied up in China. Worse, Japan remained dependent on its Western, and especially American sources, for resources, especially petroleum, that were essential to its ability to carry on its war. Short of a complete collapse or surrender by Chiang Kai-shek's government, there seemed no end to it.

When, despite Japan's military successes that culminated in the fall of Nanking in December 1937, Chiang Kai-shek showed no sign of willingness to negotiate a peace on Japanese terms, the Konoe government decided to try new tactics. In a remarkably arrogant statement issued on January 16, 1938, Konoe announced that Japan would no longer deal or meet with the Nanking government. This famous "we will not meet" *(aite ni sezu)* position closed off any hope of peace with the Nationalist regime. It was now clear that Japan was in for a longer war. The government presented to the Diet the National Mobilization Law and took steps to institute controls over electricity and other resources. Konoe tried to strengthen his cabinet by bringing General Ugaki and the financier Ikeda Seihin on board. There was the usual talk of bringing about a fundamental solution to Sino-Japanese relations, but Japan's actions had made such an outcome extremely unlikely. This had been the context in which gropings for Western support through Germany to deprive Chiang Kai-shek of the German military mission had taken place; when Chiang, despite the loss of that assistance, persisted, Japanese military leaders began to suspect that the help he received from Great Britain and the United States must be propping him up.

In November 1938 Konoe announced a "New Order" *(shin taisei)* in East Asia, and planning began for the creation of a collaborationist government in Nanking. Sun Yat-sen's disciple Wang Ching-wei fled Kuomintang author-

ity in the expectation that, as head of a substitute Kuomintang, he would have the opportunity to establish a regime of some legitimacy in Nanking. At each step, however, the commanders of the Imperial Army raised their requirements for even a limited withdrawal, with the result that Chinese separatist movements were quickly unmasked as collaborationist puppets. Frustrated and weary, Konoe resigned in January 1939. He would return to office the following July with new hopes for China policy and domestic reform. China would be promised a reconsideration of Japanese policy with hints of troop withdrawal, while in Japan political restructuring in the form of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association was supposed to end political divisiveness and bring about unity of purpose. Some observers saw this as a harbinger of a new totalitarian structure, but in fact it achieved few of those goals. In retrospect it can be noted that, although Japan's problems centered in controlling and curbing its military, these plans for a "New Structure" focused on the civilian sector instead.

The Konoe administrations led Japan into a war with China in which it won the battles but could never prevail in the war. Ever larger numbers of men and resources were tied up in the China quagmire. The high command worked desperately to extricate enough strength to permit it freedom of action elsewhere in Asia, but it also ruled out meaningful concessions and withdrawals that would have permitted negotiators to work out some face-saving settlement with a Chinese regime. There can be very few precedents in the annals of war and diplomacy in which a power, considering itself victorious but unable to have its way, announced that it would no longer recognize its foe. The celebrated *aite ni sezu* proclamation thus portrayed a peace-loving Japan as unwilling to meet with the only party with whom a peace could have been arranged, and it stands as a curious legacy of a failed regime. The next step was to conclude that Chungking survived only because the United States and Great Britain were propping it up, and to take the matter up with them. Work also began on planning for a new Nanking government that would be in more friendly hands.