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FORCED POLITICAL REORIENTATION IN JAPAN: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF DEFEAT ON JAPANESE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

# FORCED POLITICAL REORIENTATION IN JAPAN: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF DEFEAT ON JAPANESE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

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BEN SUN KIM

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FORCED POLITICAL REORIENTATION IN JAPAN:

A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF DEFEAT ON

JAPANESE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Ben Sun Kim
November 24, 1984

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

There seems to be an ambiguous aspect with regard to Japanese national consciousness.[1] A great deal of serious attention had been given to Japanese national consciousness and their perfervid political loyalties until Japan's defeat in 1945.[2] In contrast, since the defeat there has been a studied indifference to the very same question.

In the course of planning the Occupation of Japan,

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[1]National consciousness, once a very popular idea employed freely and blithely by most students of social science, is in recent decades shunned or employed sparingly and grudgingly by those seeking precision and solidity in their scientific studies.

[2]Insofar as this writer is aware, there has appeared no work dealing with Japanese national consciousness that is comparable,in scope and content, to the study done immediately before the war by John Paul Reed, "Kokutai: A Study of Certain Sacred and Secular Aspects of Japanese Nationalism" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1937).

all agreed about the difficulty involved in re-educating the Japanese people.[3] The utmost concern of the Occupation was to eliminate ultranationalism so as to make the Japanese a "peacefully-oriented" and "democratically-minded" people. In effect, the Occupation attempted to deprive the Japanese of their nationalistic sentiment or prejudice which was believed to have been responsible for militarism and ultranationalism.[4]

This attempt seems to raise two serious questions: 1) Was the military occupation capable of eliminating the national prejudice nurtured and fortified in the course of many centuries?; 2) Could a democracy be established in Japan after the Japanese have been deprived of their sense of political loyalties? Of course, the former is closely related to the theory of acculturation[5] and the latter to

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[3]For a highly sophisticated discussion of the controlled social change by the alien force, see Talcott Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change," Psychiatry, VIII, No. 1 (February, 1945), 79-101.

[4]For an overview of the objectives of the Allied Occupation in Japan, see the complete text of the Potsdam Declaration, The Department of State Bulletin, Publication 2367, XIII, No. 318 (July 29, 1945), pp. 137-38; also see "the United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan," in Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Political Reorientation of Japan, September 1945 to September 1948 (2 vols.; Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), II, 423-26.

[5]The widely-accepted principle in acculturation theory tells us that the first and easiest transfers between societies are in the realm of material culture, that transfers of forms of social organization are slower and

the theory of political development.[6]

It needs little intelligence to see that political loyalties as well as national prejudice can be neither created nor eliminated for immediate political purposes.[7] Given the above reasoning, we seem in need of an explanation as to whether the pre-defeat treatment of Japanese national consciousness simply read more significance into it than it really had, or the post-defeat inattention to it is simply a manifestation of wishful thinking, indulged in an exercise of explaining away difficult political problems.

It is quite obvious that we cannot deal with the problem of Japanese nationalism with the assumption that the Japanese were an extremely nationalistic and aggressive people until the defeat, and that they have become fast

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more difficult, and that the transfers of values and beliefs are slowest and face the greatest obstacles. For a fuller discussion of this point, see, for example, William H. R. Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society, Vol. I (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1914), pp. 440ff; Raymond Firth, "Notes on the Social Structure of Some South-Eastern New Guinea Communities," Man, LII (June, 1952), 86-89; idem, Economics of the New Zealand Maori (2nd edition; Wellington: N. Z.: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1959), esp. pp. 443ff.

[6]For a convenient overview, see Lucian W. Pye, "The Concept of Political Development," The Annals, CCCLVIII (March, 1965), 1-13.

[7]For a forceful discussion of this argument, see Henry Walter Brann, "Is the Complete Disappearance of Racial and National Prejudice Realizable?," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XXVI, No. 1 (June, 1945), 76-85.

learners of peace and democracy since the defeat.[8]

In short, this study attempts to examine the impact of military defeat and subsequent forced political reorientation on Japanese national prejudice and political loyalties.

In 1945, Ronald Lippitt declared: "It is now easier to smash an atom than to break a prejudice."[9] The obvious implication of this statement is that mankind is able to make headway more in the realm of the physical world than in the mind of man. The intractability, or rather power, of mind has baffled and annoyed many thinkers and social scientists. In the words of Joseph Conrad: "The mind of man is capable of anything--because everything is in it, all the past as well as all the future."[10]

Given the importance of the subjective factor in political life, few would question that the two most outstanding features that characterize Japan's modern hitory would be the lightning speed of her industrialization and

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[8]Kenneth B. Pyle, "Some Recent Approaches to Japanese Nationalism," Journal of Asian Studies, XXXI, No. 1 (November, 1971), 5-16.

[9]In his Preface to the August 1945 issue of The Journal of Social Issues devoted to the "Problem of Re-Education," p. 1.

[10]Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 30.

the perfervid loyalties of her people.[11] Discussing the importance of loyalty in their study of political culture, Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba asserted:

> Loyalty to a political system, if it is based on purely pragmatic considerations of the effectiveness of that system, represents. . . a rather unstable basis of loyalty, for it is too closely dependent upon system performance. If it is to remain stable in the long run, the system requires a form of political commitment based upon more general attachment to the political system--a commitment we have called "system affect."[12]

The assumption and implications of this statement inspired the theme of this study. The present study will attempt to demonstrate the utility of "system affect" in examining the national consciousness of the Japanese people. The introduction by Almond and Verba of the new concepts of "system affect" and "output affect" to the study of loyalty seems to be a definite contribution to the problems of political stability, system performance, and nationalism.[13]

Handicapped by its inability to distinguish between ultranationalism and "the creative power of the national

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[11]For a good discussion of this point, see Robert A. Scalapino, "Ideology and Modernization: The Japanese Case," in Ideology and Discontent, ed. by David E. Apter (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 93-127.

[12]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965), p. 354.

[13]Ibid., Ch. III.

sentiment,"[14] the Occupation launched a frontal attack on Japanese nationalism as a whole in an attempt to inculcate democratic ideas in the Japanese and to create a democratic society in Japan. This attempt by means of the military occupation not only did not fit well with the generally accepted acculturation theory, but also was apt to jeopardize the hope of making a democracy established in a reformed Japan, for the political stability in the post-defeat Japan would have been extremely unlikely without the political loyalties grounded in the national sentiments.[15]

Ironically, it may be stated that the partial failure of the Occupation in its attempt to eliminate Japanese nationalism has contributed toward political stability and "democratization" in Japan.[16]

Despite the rosy pictures painted by the panegyrists of the Occupation, numerous studies indicate that the Japanese remain as thoroughly nationalistic and patriotic as

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[14]Michael Karpovich, "Vladimir Soloviev on Nationalism," The Review of Politics, VIII, No. 2 (April, 1946), 191.

[15]Kenneth B. Pyle, op. cit., p. 5.

[16]Commenting on the accomplishments of the Occupation, Chalmers Johnson used the following description: ". . . one is drawn to the conclusion that although many right things were done, they were almost invariably done for the wrong reasons." Conspiracy at Matsukawa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 6.

ever.[17] In the immediate post-war years, there was a general tendency to mistake a temporary setback compelled by a guilt-feeling on the part of the Japanese and a thoroughness of defeat for a complete change in Japanese national consciousness. As Fujiwara Hirotatsu has argued:

> The forces which weakened ultranationalism in post-war Japan have also served to shake the base upon which natinalist sentiment rests. The unity which characterized prewar nationalism has been lost.[18]

Fujiwara's view does not find an echo in Maruyama Masao's heart. Maruyama rather sees this post-war trend as:

> The spiritual structure of past nationalism did not undergo a qualitative change; rather it would be correct to say that the change was quantitative: nationalist feelings were atomized, disappearing from the political surface and becoming embedded in the lower strata of national life.[19]

A recent study from a broader perspective with the benefit of the passage of time since the defeat tells us

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[17]For typically critical views, see W. Macmahon Ball, "Reflections on Japan," Pacific Affairs, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1948), 3-13; Douglas G. Haring, "Aspects of Personal Character in Japan," Journal of Asian Studies, VI, No. 1 (November, 1946), 12-22; Addison Gulick, "The Problem of Right and Wrong in Japan and Some of Its Political Consequences," Journal of Social Psychology, XXVI (Spring, 1947), 3-20.

[18]Fujiwara Hirotatsu, "Nationalism and the Ultra-right Wing," The Annals, CCCVIII (November, 1956), 82.

[19]Quoted in Ivan I. Morris, Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan: A Study in Post-War Trends (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), p. 40.

that the basic characteristics of Japanese nationalism have not been altered by the defeat. Matsumoto Sannosuke notes:

> Postwar nationalism in Japan is simply an apolitical replacement, rather than a political alternative, of prewar nationalism. With the increasing importance of Japan's international role, however, postwar nationalism will find it exceedingly difficult to remain apolitical.[20]

Another study by Hayashi Fusao, blunt but controversial, argues that there was nothing wrong with the Second World War. He explains the history of Japan's modern century as a continuing struggle against Western domination in Asia. He attempts to restore a sense of dignity to the Japanese people, who have suffered needlessly a war guilt in 1945. According to his words:

> The Japanese people are a people blessed with a long history and tremendous potential. Japan, for this reason, survived as the sole independent country in the midst of the tempest of Oriental colonization by Western nations, undertook the internal reform known as the Meiji Restoration, and for approximately a hundred years has continuously supported a difficult counteroffensive war for the sake of Japan and Asia.[21]

Many were quick to demur that Fusao's writing is

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[20]Matsumoto Sannosuke, "The Significance of Nationalism in Modern Japanese Thought," Journal of Asian Studies, XXXI, No. 1 (November, 1971), 56.

[21]Hayashi Fusao, Daitōa Sensō Kōteiron (The Affirmation of the Greater East Asian War) (2 vols.; Tokyo: Bancho Shobō, 1964-1965) I, 61.

dangerous and untimely, and smacks of the war-time militarism.[22] Perhaps James W. Morley is more convincing when he states that any kind of diplomatic Pearl Harbor is extremely unlikely, but Japan's economic muscle is bound to fortify the sense of Japanese nationalism.[23] Thus, it seems quite misleading to regard the postwar liberalizing trends in Japan as the fizzling out of the political loyalty and national consciousness of the Japanese people. An impressive recent study by Franz Michael and Gaston Sigur seems quite right when it claims that ". . . the Japanese are highly motivated in their loyalty to their country and their identity as Japanese."[24] This assertion has further been confirmed by a recent Brookings Institution study which concludes that the greatness of Japan is attributable to human factors.[25] The study confidently claims:

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[22]See, for devastating attacks, Hani Goro, "Daitōa Sensō Koteiron O Hihansuru" (Criticizing The Affirmation of the Greater East Asian War), Chūō Kōron, July, 1965, pp. 165-87; Yamada Munemutsu, Kiken na Shisōka: Sengo Minshushuqi O Hiteisuru Hitobito (Dangerous Thinkers: Those Who Reject Postwar Democracy) (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1965).

[23]James W. Morley, "New Options for Japan: 1946-1966," Asia, No. 8 (Summer, 1967), 3-21.

[24]Franz Michael and Gaston J. Sigur, The Asian Alliance: Japan and United States Policy (New York: National Strategic Information Center, Inc., 1972), p. 35.

[25]Looked at from the standpoint of the scarcity of natural resources, the importance and role of human factors in Japan becomes axiomatic. For a comprehensive survey of Japan's natural resources, see General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Japanese Natural Resources:

> Though present difficulties are legion (oil and internal strains), Japan's vitality, ingenuity, flexibility of leadership, the ability of its citizens to identify personal with national interest indicate that the progress will continue. (Emphasis added.)[26]

Nevertheless, the importance of Japanese nationalism is only occasionally touched upon just in passing at best or ignored at worst. The continued inattention to the most dynamic force of Japanese political life, in sharp contrast to the wealth of studies on nationalism in general, seems quite surprising when we take into account the fact that Japan has emerged as the second strongest capitalist economic power in the world in less than three decades from the ashes of defeat in 1945.[27] Instead, considerable attention has been directed almost exclusively to the remarkable physical recovery from the war ruins and the "outward" signs of democratization in Japan.[28]

Perusal of the literature of political development

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A Comprehensive Survey (Tokyo: Hosakawa Printing Co., 1949).

[26]Hugh Patrick and Henry Rosovsky, eds., Asia's New Giant: How the Japanese Economy Works (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1976), p. 581.

[27]International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics, December, 1972.

[28]See, for example, Robert E. Ward, "Political Modernization and Political Culture in Japan," World Politics, XV, No. 4 (July, 1963), 569-96.

attests that the subjective factors in political life continue to play an important role in national and international politics. In the words of Lucian W. Pye, "the problems of political development are affected on the one side by international development and on the other by the state of individual psychology within the domestic society."[29] We also have to admit that James Reston was quite right when he acutely observed that:

> For the moment it would seem that the bawling demands of nationalism are louder than ever, and while the leaders of the world talk incessantly about cooperation, consultation and common problems of a distracted world, each grabs what he can for himself and his own people.[30]

Seen in light of Pye and Reston, the question of Japanese political loyalty and national consciousness deserves continued serious attention.[31] The hypotheses set

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[29]Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966), p. 14.

[30]The New York Times, December 19, 1971.

[31]More than six decades ago, the importance of nationalism was forcefully described by a historian, William T. Laprade, "Nationalism," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1915, p. 228: "The only thing pertaining to nationalism about which I should be willing at present to commit myself in definite language is that it is the most fertile field for doctoral dissertations in modern history with which I am acquainted. . . .it offers the richest possibilities of immediate returns of any species of historical undertakings now in sight. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that hundreds of monographs must be written before it will be possible to say with authority what nationalism was in the past, what it is now,

forward for this study are: that individuals tend to assimilate or reject societal changes in terms of their dominant values; that any self-conscious national society has certain well-defined national values to which the individual's dominant values must be adjusted in some degree; such a national society, therefore, tends also to mediate the individual's reaction to greater and more remote societal changes.

The purpose of this study is threefold. First, this research is intended to gain a substantive understanding of the "uniqueness" of Japanese national consciousness.[32] A good understanding thereof is a prerequisite condition[33] for exploring a host of serious problems stemming from the dynamic force of Japanese nationalism. Moreover, this understanding will be of use to the study of nationalism in general. It would also be useful in understanding the location of Japan's national potential. Second, in attempting to examine the impact of defeat on Japanese national

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or what it is likely to become."

[32]We should note here that an impressive study was done by Gebhard L. Schweigler under the supervision of Professors Karl W. Deutsch and Herbert C. Kelman on the postwar German national consciousness: "National Consciousness in Divided Germany" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1973), later published by Sage Publications in 1975.

[33]Ibid., p. 55. As Schweigler rightly argues, "National consciousness is clearly a precondition for nationalism: there can be no will without consciousness."

consciousness, the author would like to make use of the concepts of "system affect" and "product affect" suggested by Almond and Verba. Third, this research will attempt to find out why some aspects were amenable, while others were resistant, to the forced political reorientation by the Allied Occupation.

On account of the nature of the subject, the research method used here is largely qualitative and historical. Yet, extensive use has been made of Japanese Opinion Polls with Socio-Political Significance, 1947-1957 compiled and edited by Allen B. Cole and Naomichi Nakanish; and Kokuminsei no Kenkyū (A Study of the Japanese National Character) by the Tokei Sūri Kenkyūjo, Tokyo (Institute of Statistical Mathematics, Ministry of Education, Tokyo), a series of surveys conducted at intervals of five years beginning in 1953.

The present state of our understanding of the subject, however, necessitates it to be mainly qualitative rather than quantitative.[34] Dissatisfied with the qualitative description of nationalism, Karl W. Deutsch made a pioneering attempt to present an operational scheme of quantitative measurement set forth in his celebrated

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[34]Cf. Louis L. Snyder, Varieties of Nationalism: A Comparative Study (Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, 1976), pp. 5-7.

Nationalism and Social Communication[35] published in 1953. Despite the ambition involved in writing the book, the book was not greatly different from the traditional approach to the study of nationalism save that he confined his attention to the limited scope of nationalism: the function of the language in political integration.[36] It is also historical, for history "is the laboratory in which we work." What is more, ". . . history and science in the study of politics are united by necessity in a permanent and inextricable alliance."[37]

In Part One (Chapters II through VI), we will briefly examine the historical background of Japanese nationalism and the development of ultranationalism by dint of Shinto, Kokutai, and "thought control," and see the relationship between the Japanese national consciousness and the changes in external factors.

In Part Two (Chapters VII through XI), we will discuss the effects of the forced political reorientation on the Japanese people. This chapter is intended to deal

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[35]Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1953).

[36]For a penetrating critique of Deutsch's works, see Wee Don Chang, "Political Development: A Critique of Theories," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1966), pp. 319-62.

[37]Charles Lockhart, Bargaining in International Conflicts (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 115, 118.

primarily with how the military defeat and the subsequent Allied Occupation affected the deep-lying Japanese sentiment toward their country.

In Chapter XII, we shall examine the growing national pride of the Japanese people in proportion to their economic power. Here we will dwell upon the major elements that have historically contributed to Japanese nationalism.

In Chapter XIII, we shall consider the implications of national interest for domestic and world politics. Then we will examine the relationship between the ever-intensifying "trade war" and the Japanese national consciousness. Finally, in Chapter XIV, we will present summaries and conclusions.

This study draws, for much of its sources of reference, upon previously published materials. In addition to the extensive use of the materials already mentioned (i.e., Japanese Opinion Polls with Socio-Political Significance, 1947-1957 and a series of Kokuminsei no Kenkyū), heavily relied upon, in particular, are: Nihon no Rekishi (A History of Japan) published in 1965-1967 by the Chūō Kōron Sha; Harada Kumao, Saionji Ko to Seikyoku; Hara Kei Nikki, edited by Hara Heiichiro; Asaki Shimbun; Mainichi Shimbun; Yomiuri Shimbun; Nihon Keizai Shimbun; The White Paper on Defense, International Trade, Foreign Affairs; Asia Year Book; Japan Statistical Yearbook; The New York Times; Congressional Record; The United States Department of State

Bulletin; Foreign Relations of the United States by the Department of State; The Political Reorientation of Japan by SCAP; The Yearbook of the United Nations. Other materials used are included in the bibliography.

PART ONE

CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

# CHAPTER II

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Whether or not one is wont to regard the nineteenth century as the era of the nation-state and the twentieth century as that of international integration movements, nationalism does not seem to be fizzling out.[1] What Carlton J. H. Hayes declared more than half a century ago seems to remain as valid now as then: "The most important emotional factor in public life today is nationalism."[2]

Though much has been written on nations in general,

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[1]Students of nationalism agree that nationalism is by no means on the decline. For a few writings representative of this view, see Hardy C. Dillard, "Nationalism: Midcentury Puzzle," Virginia Quarterly Review, XXVIII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1952), 532-46; Anthony D. Smith, "The Diffusion of Nationalism: Some Historical and Sociological Perspectives," British Journal of Sociology, XXIX, No. 2 (June, 1978), 234-48; Henry Steele Commager, "To Consult Our Hopes and Not Our Fears," The Christian Science Monitor, January 7, 1980, pp. 12-14.

[2]Carlton J. H. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 1.

on the evil nature of the nation-state, and on the trouble-making proclivities of Japanese "ultranationalism," the near total lack of writing on Japanese nationalism itself, since 1945, in particular, is very surprising.[3] Perhaps, it is not too far-fetched to state that Japanese nationalism is more often than not treated in a rather perjorative sense.[4] Indeed, it is true that Japan's foreign policies of aggressive and adventurous nature for several decades prior to 1945 had inflicted a host of inhumanities on other peoples.

Looking at superficial appearances only, one may be tempted, at least for the sake of convenience, to see the undeniable fact of military defeat in 1945 and the subsequent "programmed installation of democracy,"[5] to

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[3]Kenneth B. Pyle noted this tendency very cogently: "Once seen as necessary and beneficial, nationalism came in the post-war period to be villified or simply ignored amidst the scholars' preoccupation with their antiestablishment liberal heroes. With some notable exceptions, nationalism has been slow to receive in Japan the thoughtful, dispassionate study it needs." In his "Introduction: Some Recent Approaches to Japanese Nationalism," Journal of Asian Studies, XXXI, No. 1 (November 1, 1971), 5.

[4]See, for example, Maruyama Masao, Nationalism in Post-War Japan, Eleventh Conference, Institute of Pacific Relations (Lucknow, India, October 3-15, 1950); Owen Lattimore, "The Sacred Cow of Japan," Atlantic Monthly, CLXXV, No. 1 (January, 1945), 45-51; "The Japanese Empire," Fortune, September, 1936; "Japan and the Japanese," Ibid., April, 1944.

[5]John D. Montgomery, Forced to Be Free: The Artificial Revolution in Germany and Japan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 4.

borrow John D. Montgomery's expression, as sufficient justification for ignoring or discounting the importance of Japanee nationalism. Reasons for this postwar inattention to the pre-1945 extreme nationalisms seem to lie in the following: (1) it is not too rewarding academically, because it is too complex and elusive; (2) it seems repugnant to the idea of the seeming international cooperation; and (3) the enormous human tragedy and havoc wrought by German Nazism, Italian fascism, and Japanese militarism in our times attach a negative, unpopular connotation to nationalism.[6]

Yet, what is clear is that the reality of nationalism does not disappear by being ignored. Contrary to the hopes of internationalists, international development is increasingly influenced by the shadows of competing nationalisms. After the First World War and particularly after the Second World War, nationalism has rapidly spread over the rest of the world to the "expectant peoples."[7] In view of the looming spectre of competing nationalisms, it is quite obvious that Japanese nationalism means much more than the war-time "ultranationalism." The fact that the Japanese

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[6]For an extended discussion of this point, see Godfried van Bentham van den Verge, "Contemporary Nationalism in the Western World," Daedalus, XCV, No. 3 (Summer, 1966), 828-61.

[7]K. H. Silvert, Expectant Peoples: Nationalism and Development (New York: Random House, 1964).

ultranationalism during the militaristic era was unquestionably discredited by the defeat in 1945 and the subsequent Allied Occupation of Japan did not signify a complete disappearance of Japanese nationalism.

If we are to agree with Body C. Shafer that "Loyalty, patriotism, and national consciousness are the ingredients in nationalism and preceded it in time,"[8] then the general nature of Japanese nationalism has to be seen in the light of Japanese national history. Though the emergence and development of Japanese nationalism in the modern sense of the word may be thought to date only back to the time of the Meiji Restoration,[9] the national consciousness of the Japanese people, however, seems to have preceded the

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For a fuller discussion along this line, see Fujiwara Hirotatsu, "Uyoku Nashionarizumu ni okeru Sengoteki tokushitsu no shozai: Sono Shisoteki tachiba no Mondai" (Post-war Characteristics of Right-Wing Nationalism: The Question of Their Ideological Basis), Shiso (Thought), No. 340 (October, 1952), 964-82; Oda Makoto, "The Meaning of 'Meaningless Death'," Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan, IV, No. 2 (1966), 75-85; George R. Packard, III, "Japan's New Nationalism," Atlantic Monthly, CCXII, No. 4 (April, 1963), 64-69; Hugh H. Smyth, "Nationalism in Japan," Fortnightly, CLXXII (September, 1952), 147-54; Asian Student, February 25, 1978.

[8]Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism: Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt, Brach and Co., 1955), p. 5.

[9]Kurt Steiner argues that "in pre-Meiji Japan popular orientation toward Japan as a national political system was minimal." See his "Popular Political Participation and Political Development in Japan," in Political Development in Modern Japan, ed. by Robert E. Ward (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 218.

Meiji Restoration by many centuries.[10] This fact that the Japanese national consciousness is many centuries old is bound to have an important bearing on any study of Japanese nationalism, for "national consciousness," as Gebhard L. Schweigler rightly argues, "is clearly a precondition for nationalism: there can be no will without consciousness."[11]

The longevity and "uniqueness" of Japanese national consciousness have amply been manifested in historical events as well as in literature. Already in the Nara era are found Japanese sentiments and attitudes that may be regarded as the forerunner of the modern Japanese national consciousness. As many poems in the Manyōshu[12] reflect the affective sentiments of the Japanese toward their society already existing at the early stage of Japanese national

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[10]History reveals that the Japanese and the Jews have had an exceptional history of national consciousness. See H. L. Featherstone, A Century of Nationalism (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939), p. 11.

[11]Gebhard Ludwig Schweigler, National Consciousness in Divided Germany (London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 55.

[12]Almost contemporaneous with the accomplishments of the Kojiki in 712 (Records of Ancient Matters)--the so-called "bible of Japanese nationalism"--and the Nihongi in 720, which is also known as Nihon-shoki (Chronicles of Japan), the compilation of the Manyōshū (A collection of Ten Thousand Leaves), a collection of more than four thousand short and long poems composed from the earliest period to around the year 760, was a very significant literary accomplishment in the Nara period, reflecting, like the Kojiki and the Nihongi, the growing sense of "ethnocentrism" and the moral and intellectual outlook of early Japan. These poems have been regarded as the purest manifestation of the early Japanese spirit.

development, an expression of loyalty to the Emperor is discernible in the following poem:

> At sea be my body water-soaked,
> On land be it with grass overgrown,
> Let me die by the side of my sovereign!
> Never will I look back.[13]

Devotion to the Emperor was considered essential for the preservation of the honor of the family and clan:

> Our forefathers served the Imperial House
> With all their hearts faithful and true.
> . . . . . .
> So Cherished and clean is the name of our clan,
> Neglect it never, lest even a false word
> Should destroy this proud name of our father.[14]

Many writings seem to establish that once a strong national consciousness is rooted in a people, many factors such as national tradition, political antecedents, victories in war, and humiliations in the world community tend to fortify the existent national consciousness.[15] The national

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[13]The Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, ed., The Manyoshū (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1940), p. 151.

[14]Ibid., p. 177.

[15]For various arguments in this connection, see John Stuart Mill, Consideration on Representative Government, 1861 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), pp. 120-24; Arnold J. Toynbee, Nationality and the War (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1915); Frederick Hertz, Nationality in History and Politics: A Study of the Psychology and Sociology of National Sentiment and Character (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944); Yanaga Chitoshi, "Japan: Nationalism

consciousness of the Japanese is not merely a product of the thirties and the early part of the forties, but a product of a centuries-old national history. The unique nature of Japanese national consciousness still baffles us as much as it did many thoughtful observers in the past. What a war-correspondent of the epoch of the Russo-Japanese War wrote seems still cogent and merits quotation here:

> We recognize almost grudgingly and in spite of ourselves, the existence of a moral force that appears able to govern and sway the whole conduct of a whole people, inspiring not a caste but a nation, from the highest to lowest, to deeds that are worthy to rank among the most famous in history and legend. We want to know what this force is, whence it came, and what it means; the sense of its existence makes us jealous, uncomfortable, almost annoyed.[16]

Whether the nature of Japanese national consciousness is envied or denounced, one cannot fail to see the stark fact that the world is still divided into independent sovereign states, each of which has its own national consciousness. Writing in 1933, Frederick L. Schuman stated wishfully but pessimistically that a true world federation may come into being "if the members of the Western State System are capable of integrating their particular national

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Suceeds and Fails," Current History, XIX (August, 1950), 67-72; Karl Loewith, "The Japanese Mind," Fortune, December, 1943, pp. 132ff.

[16]Alfred Stead, Great Japan: A Study of National Efficiency (London: John Lane, 1906), p. 38.

interests into world-wide international interests."[17] A thorny aspect of the national interest is that the rising standards of living and heightening levels of education do not seem to be conducive to the diminution of the pursuit of national interests.[18] In effect, national interest and national consciousness are mutually supportive. Many studies even in recent decades have revealed that neither the advanced industrial countries nor the developing ones are in the process of jettisoning nationalism in favor of international collaboration based upon the sentiment of universal brotherhood.[19]

Since there is, on evidence of history, a close relationship between Japan's modernizaton and Japanese national consciousness,[20] it is almost impossible to deal

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[17]Frederick L. Schuman, International Politics: An Introduction to the Western State System (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), p. 273.

[18]Anthony D. Smith, Nationalism in the Twentieth Century (New York: New York University Press, 1979), p. x.

[19]Gunnar Myrdal harbored no illusion as to the early demise of natinalism when he said: "The Welfare-State is nationalistic." Beyond the Welfare-State (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 159; Cyril E. Black informs us that nationalism is a means to modernization, and modernizatin in turn becomes a vehicle in furtherance of nationalism in developing countries. See his The Dynamics of Modernization (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 9-34.

[20]For a fuller discussion of the relationship between Japan's modernization and Japanese nationalism, see Robert A. Scalapino, "Ideology and Modernization," in Ideology and Discontent, ed., David E. Apter (New York:

with the postwar state of Japanese national consciousness without first understanding its past.

## Historical Background

As many studies have pointed out,[21] the "unique" nature of Japanese national consciousness is largely attributable to geography and the Emperor system. Unlike many other countries whose geography impeded the political unification of their countries, Japan is an island country, a fact which has so conditioned and influenced her history as to facilitate the achievement of political integration and the consequent growth of national consciousness at a very early date.[22]

The geographical separateness of Japan was historically very crucial in that it was not only far enough from the continent of Asia to offer the needed security against

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The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 93-127.

[21]See, for example, Tsurumi Shunsuke, "Nihon Shisō no Tokushoku to Tenno-sei" (Characteristics of Japanese Thought and the Emperor System), Shisō, No. 336 (1952), 44-53; Maruyama Masao, Nihon Seiji Shisō Shi Kenkyu (A Study of History of Japanese Political Thought), (Tokyo: Tokyo Diagaku Shuppankai, 1970), esp. pp. 321-63; idem, "Nihon ni okeru Nashionarizumu, Sono Shisō teki Haikei" (Intellectual Background of Nationalism in Japan), Chūō Kōron (January 1951), pp. 295-304; Kinoshita Hanji, Nihon Kokka Shugi Undō Shi (History of Japanese Nationalist Movements), (2 vols.; Tokyo: Iwasaki Shoten, 1952).

[22]The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Nationalism: A Report, 1939 (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1966), p. 160; Delmer M. Brown, Nationalism in Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955), pp. v-vi.

from the Chinese civilization. The geographical location of Japan made the Japanese nation a cultural daughter of China; but, unlike the case of Korea, Japan's isolation kept her from becoming a cultural colony of China.[24]

The history of Japan amply suggests that Japan always sought to remain Japanese, on the one hand, and she kept herself busy with importing and assimilating things foreign that were deemed useful and beneficial to her, on the other.[25] It may be stated that striking a balance between things imported from superior foreign cultures and things Japanese has been a very serious task in Japan ever since she was first exposed to the ancient civilization of China.[26] "No nation," as Sir George B. Sansom states, "has

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[24]For a good discussion in this regard, see Naoki Kōjirō, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. II: Kodai Kokka no Seiritsu (A History of Japan, Vol. II: The Formation of the Ancient (Japanese) State) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1965), pp. 61-78.

[25]H. Paul Varley, "Early Japan," in An Introduction to Japanese Civilization, ed. Arthur E. Tiedemann (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 4. "The Japanese have been cultural borrowers, from China in premodern times and from the West during the past century. They have taken eagerly from others whose things they have found appealing or useful. Yet Japan's cultural borrowing, apparently indiscriminate at times, has usually proven in the long run to be highly selective and the resultant advances in its civilization have been more the product of synthesis than outright imitation."

[26]For Japan's sensitivity to shifting influences in neighboring countries and her flexibility in absorbing foreign culture in the Yamato period, see Inoue Mitsusada, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. III: Asuka no Chōtei (The Great History of Japan, Vol. III: The Imperial Court of Asuka)

been more ready to consider new teaching, and yet none has been more tenacious of its own tradition."[27]

An example will illustrate this point well. Prince Shōtoku, a strong advocate of Buddhism, who exercised authority as regent to Empress Suiko from 593 until his death in 622, sought to accomplish the following things among others. The first was the consolidation and strengthening of imperial authority. The second was the propagation of Buddhism. The third was an attempt to restore Japan's influence in Korea, where her position had been on the decline since the kindom of Silla seized the control of Mimana in 562. Lastly, he tried to strengthen Japan's cultural ties with China.[28] In short, what Prince Shōtoku attempted to accomplish implies that Japan already in the Yamato period was assiduously pursuing her national aggrandizement through domestic reforms, ventures abroad, and cultural assimilation.

Confronted with the instability of the government amid the power struggle among the leading families and with the advent of the Sui dynasty, Prince Shōtoku promulgated

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(Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1974), pp. 198-217; John Whitney Hall, Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), pp. 35-47.

[27]George B. Sansom, The Western World and Japan (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950), p. 169.

[28]See Naoki, op. cit., pp. 61-78.

the so-called "Seventeen Article Constitution"[29] in the year 604 to cope with the situation. Though the Constitution clearly modeled after, and benefited from, Chinese ethical principles and Buddhist doctrines, it was intended to create the desired unity, by strengthening the position of the Imperial Court, and by providing moral principles for public officials.

It should not go unnoticed that, even while Japan wholeheartedly embraced the Chinese civilization, she could entertain a sense of natonal pride. Prince Shōtoku and Japanese leaders after him not only adopted the Chinese concept that tenshi (the Son of Heaven) was the supreme ruler possessing the Mandate of Heaven, but also added more myths to cast special luster on the Japanese Emperor, by equating him with Heavenly power itself. The Japanese believed that the Emperor of Japan, being the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess, was different in nature from that of China in that the Emperor of Japan was not a mere mortal who received a Mandate from Heaven--a mandate the Emperor of China received on account of his superior moral character--but also a living God.[30]

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[29]For the entirety of "Seventeen Article Constitution," see W. G. Aston, Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A. D. 697 (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956), pp. 129-33.

[30]Daniel C. Holtom, The National Faith of Japan (London: Kegan Paul, 1938), pp. 50-52.

An extraordinary thing that seems to have always typified Japanese national consciousness ever since their initial entering upon the stage of high civilizaion under Chinese tutelege is that their enthusiastic importation of superior foreign culture has hardly dampened the deep-lying currents of Japanese national consciousness.

As early as A. D. 607, Japan claimed an equal, if not superior, status vis-a-vis China. Despite the fact that Prince Shōtoku and the political leaders who succeeded him expanded Japan's contacts with China in an attempt to adopt the Chinese culture and change it to their needs, sending quite a few missions to the courts of the Sui (581-618) and T'ang (618-907) dynasties, and encouraging monks and students to travel to China to learn her culture and religion, Prince Shōtoku defied the idea that Japan should play an inferior role in her dealings with China.[31]

In a message he wrote for the Japanese Empress Suiko (554-628) to be delivered to the court of Sui through an official mission, he referred to the Japanese Emperor as the Emperor in the land where the sun rises and to the ruler of China as the Emperor in the land where the sun sets.[32] Modern Japanese historians tend to view this episode as early evidence of Japan's insistence on national equality

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[31]Naoki, op. cit., pp. 90-94.

[32]Varley, op. cit., p. 25.

with China. H. Paul Varley seems quite right when he states:

> . . . the Japanese from the time of the first references to the land of Wa in the Later Han and Wei histories had freely and even eagerly accepted an inferior, tributary relationship vis-a-vis China. Shōtoku, if he was in fact the author of the 607 message, appears thus to have been the first Japanese leader to assert that Japan's national status was on a level with that of China. Prewar Japanese scholars chauvinistically overstressed the importance of this. Yet the fact remains that the Japanese, alone among the peoples of East Asia, were, with one exception, never again to accept subordinate treatment in their official dealing with China. (Emphasis added.)[33]

Thus, it is discernible that at this early date there was an extremely sensitive national pride that was to thereafter characterize Japanese national consciousness and Japan's relationship with the outside world. The grandeur of China during the Sui and T'ang dynasties further sharpened the already exisitng Japanese national consciousness and caused the political leaders to feel the urgent need to strengthen the powers of the central government.[34] The acuteness of Japanese fear of China's growing influence was quite justified when we look at the greatness of the Middle Kingdom. James Murdock describes the dazzling immensity of the Chinese Empire in the following words:

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Brown, op. cit., pp. 11-16.

> At this time (during the 627-650 Tai-tsung reign) China undoubtedly stood in the very forefront of civilization. She was then the most powerful, the most enlightened, the most progressive, and the best governed empire, not only in Asia, but on the face of the globe. Tai-tsung's frontiers reached from the confines of Persia, the Caspian Sea, and the Altai of the Kirghis steppe, along these mountains to the north side of the Gobi desert, eastward to the Inner Hing-an, while Sogdiana, Khorasan, and the regions around the Hindu Kush also acknowledged his suzerainty. The sovereigns of Nepal and Magadha in India sent envoys; and in 643 envoys appeared from the Byzantine Empire and the Court of Persia.[35]

Indeed, grave concern about Japan's security was prompted by the situation in Korea. The Sui dynasty had invaded Korea three times during the second decade of the seventh century to bring the kingdom of Koguryo (37 B.C.-668 A.D.) under its control. The Sui invasions against Koguryo had miserably failed, resulting finally in its own downfall. The T'ang dynasty which succeeded the Sui dynasty also entertained ambitions of conquering Koguryo. In 644 Emperor Tai-tsung of the T'ang dynasty launched an attack against Koguryo in an attempt to bring the latter to its knees. Like the Sui invasions against Koguryo a generation earlier, T'ang's attempt to eliminate Koguryo was a complete failure.

T'ang's three further attempts against Koguryo were equally unsuccessful in 647, 648, and 655. The military alliance toward the middle of the seventh century between

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[35]James Murdock, A History of Japan (London: K-gan Paul, 1925), I, 146.

the T'ang dynasty and the Silla dynasty, Japan's long-time antagonist, was established as a marriage of strategic convenience in that each party was pursuing conflicting political goals: T'ang, having failed many times in its attempts to conquer Koguryo, hoped to achieve the same goal plus subdue eventually all of Korea with the help of Silla, whereas Silla hoped to conquer Paekche and Koguryo to establish its hegemony over all of Korea with the aid of the T'ang's military forces.[36]

It was obvious that the Japanese were very apprehensive of the growing power of Silla and the expanding influence of the Chinese Empire. Either eventuality was deemed by the Japanese as posing a serious threat to Japan's security. This sense of foreign threat undoubtedly caused Japan to embark upon the reform movement. In 646 Nakatomi no Kamatari, founder of the Fujiwara family, formulated the Taika Reform edict, which, in essence, was the application to Japan of the centralized bureaucratic system of the Chinese Empire.[37] It should be noted here that the Taika Reforms, like the Meiji Restoration later, were undertaken in part out of fear of foreign encroachments.

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[36]For a detailed discussion of this period, see Woo-keun Han, The History of Korea (Seoul: The Eul-Yoo Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 75-91.

[37]For an exhaustive treatment of this point, see Sir George B. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History (rev. ed.; New York: Appleton-Century, 1962), Ch. V.

Though it may be stated in broad outline that the Nara period was acquisitive, the early Heian period assimilative and the later Heian period selective, emphasizing mainly such features as the unending power struggles among the leading families and discrepancy between the sumptuous luxury and extravagance of the court aristocracy and the abject poverty of the common people. This tendency seems to becloud the real state of people's consciousness in those days about their country. Despite the bloody succession quarrels and dynastic intrigues, the Japanese national consciousness seems to have remained unaffected, for it is the function and product of the Japanese insularity, the Emperor system, and the fear of foreign encroachments.[38]

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[38]Yanaga Chitoshi had the following to say in discussing the importance and influence of geography of Japan: "The fact of insularity which is not unlike that of Great Britain has had a profound influence on her national character and development. The comparative physical isolation it afforded has enabled the nation to develop her own culture without being completely overshadowed and engulfed by Chinese civilization." See his Japanese People and Politics (New York: John Wiley, 1964), p. 10.

The prevalence of Japanese pride in their imperial system already in the seventh and eighth centuries is well described in the following words: "It is usually stated that veneration of the emperors, amounting almost to religious worship, is a national characteristic of the Japanee, going back to the dawn of their history, and its belief is supported by the dogma that the succession has been and shall be 'unbroken for ages eternal.'" Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History, p. 176.

For Japan's early fear of foreign encroachments stemming from the unified Shilla, see Inoue, op. cit., pp. 369-401.

It is quite obvious that the threats from the domestic and external foes have contributed to the fortification of Japanese national consciousness from the early days of Japanese history. The Ainu, among other unsubjugated, hostile, domestic tribes, which "gathered together like ants, but dispersed like birds,"[39] had harrassed the Yamato state until the early years of the ninth century. Silla's conquest of Mimana in 562, the unified Korea under Silla in 668, and Silla's attempt to conquer the island of Tsushima in 894 did unquestionably heighten the security concern of the Japanese by compelling the Japanese to maintain military vigilance for more than three centuries following Japan's loss of Mimana to Silla in 562.

The Japanese national consciousness coupled with their security concern culminated in the Mongol Invasions in the late thirteenth century.[40] As Yanaga Chitoshi cogently describes:

> The unsuccessful attempted invasions by the Mongols in 1274 and 1281 did more than anything else to awaken national consciousness. Out of these two experiences of successfully repulsing the would-be-invaders was developed the belief that Japan was under divine protection and

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[39]Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History, p. 196.

[40]For a full explanation of the implications of the Mongol invasions for Japanese national consciousness, see Kuroda Toshio, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. VIII: Mongoru Shurai (A History of Japan, Vol. VIII: The Mongol Invasions) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Sha, 1965).

therefore could not be conquered by invaders.[41]

Indeed, the failure of the Mongol invasions was to have a profound influence on the centuries-old Japanese national consciousness and on the "uniqueness" of their imperial system. The close relationship between war and national consciousness has attracted the attention of many social scientists. "War is," as Walter Sluzbach writes, "of immense importance in the formation of national consciousness."[42] In dwelling upon the influence of wars on history and politics, Frederick Hertz made a sweeping statement that merits quotation at length.

> The modern nations have been mainly formed by wars, partly by conquest, partly by fusion under the menace of conquest. Every nation, furthermore, has developed its personality in great wars and everywhere the national ideology and character have been deeply influenced by them. Territory and language, religion and civilization, ideas of national interest and honour, the organization of the State and the structure of society were always to a large extent the product of wars.[43]

The power struggle between two major military fami-

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[41]Yanaga, op. cit., p. 27.

[42]Walter Sulzbach, National Consciousness (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943), p. 55.

[43]Frederick Hertz, Nationality in History and Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), pp. 217-18.

lies--the Taira and Minamoto clans--and the Mongol invasions ushered in the tradition of military dominance in Japan in the Kamakura period (1185-1333).[44] From around the year 1200 on, the Imperial Court and the Emperor were gradually relegated to the background and played no role of great import in the political life of Japan until the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The military dominance in Japanese politics, eclipsing the power and influence of the Imperial Court and the Emperor, did not extend so far as to deprive the Emperor of his imperial dignity. No military dictator attempted to bring the entire country under his direct control. He regarded the Imperial Court as the legal government and secured imperial sanctions for all his policies and decrees.[45] It is worth noting the striking contrast of the monopolization of political power by the Shōgunate with the continuous attachment of Japanese national sentiment and allegiance to the Imperial Court. A typical description of the sad state of the Imperial Court in the Ashikaga period

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[44]It may be pointed out that although the military profession had not been highly respected in Japan until the triumph of the samuarai in the Kamakura, there had almost always been a need for certain military forces to cope with the threats from possible external foes and unpacified internal tribes, keeping the military spirit alive.

[45]For an understanding of the relationship of the Shōgunal rule and the Imperial authority, see Herschel Webb, "What is the Dai Nihon Shi," Journal of Asian Studies, XIX, No. 2 (February, 1960), pp. 135-49.

(1392-1568) is found in the following passages:

> The imperial house no longer mattered. The throne, as an institution, had no political significance. No emperor was important enough to be forced to abdicate his empty title, as they used to do under pressure. One was confined to the Shogun's Kyoto buildings for thirteen years, and another lay unburied for lack of funds for several months. The palace, after it was sacked and burned, was not properly rebuilt or guarded, so that commoners picnicked on the grounds, and members of the imperial family were pleased enough to sell their autographs or quotations for the classics copied in their elegant calligraphy.[46]

In contrast, Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354), writing in the middle of the fourteenth century, described the political and symbolic signficance of the imperial system in the following words:

> Great Yamato is a divine country. It is only our land whose foundations were first laid by the divine ancestor. It alone has been transmitted by the Sun Goddess to a long line of her descendants. There is nothing of this kind in foreign countries. Therefore it is called the divine land.[47]

Despite the vicissitudes of political fortune of the Imperial Court, the Emperor has been the rallying point for the Japanese.[48] It is useful to see that the Kamakura

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[46]Langdon Warner, The Enduring Art of Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 54.

[47]Quoted in William George Aston, A History of Japanese Literature (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1972), p. 167.

[48]Helen Craig McCullough, The Taiheiki: A Chronicle

period signaled the beginning of the feudalization of Japan and the triumph of the Samurai, necessitating and facilitating the advent of the warrior code. The ethic of the samurai dictated that the warrior live by the principles of duty, loyalty, integrity, honor, justice, and courage. Even though the term Bushido was not in use during the Kamakura period, the codes of the bushi that emerged with the military dominance in Japan eventually developed into the concept of Bushido in the Tokugawa era. Bushida, emphasizing loyalty in particular, served well in the feudalization of Japan and in the maintenance of feudalism in Japan for several centuries, on the one hand, and the concept of loyalty deeply embedded in Bushido was to be later mobilized for the destruction of the feudal Tokugawa Shogunate, by channeling feudal loyalty into national loyalty focused on the Emperor, on the other.[49] The fortification of the primordial loyalty of the Japanese toward the Emperor, the political doctrines of the Nichiren sect founded by Nichiren (1222-1282) espousing militant ethnocentrism and loyal service to the country, and the elevation of feudal loyalty to a national level during the

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of Medieval Japan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. xx.

[49]For a good discussion of the influence of Bushidō on Japanese morals and social thought, see Ienaga Saburō, Nihon Dotokushisōshi (A History of Japanese Moral Thought) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1951).

days of the Meiji Restoration resulted in a synthesis of national consciousness and loyalty which was to have a profound influence on the political and social life of the Japanese.

The symbolic significance of the Japanese national habit of veneration for the Imperial Court is so deeply rooted in Japanese political culture that it scarecely needs emphasis or elaboration. Even during the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1603) and the Tokugawa era (1603-1867) when the military dominance of politics was undisputed, no military dictator failed to show the due reverent attitude toward the Throne. Unlike the leaders of the Fujiwara, Taira, and Ashikaga families, who had shown disloyalty to the Throne and had with indifference suffered the Imperial Court to sink to indigence, Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) paid due respect and deference to the Sovereign even when he was the supreme military master in Japan. Following his mentor's attitude of respecting the Throne, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) allocated definite funds for the maintenance of the Imperial Court and enjoined his followers not to encroach on the rights and prerogatives of the Throne, the nobles of the Court, and the princes. In 1588, Hideyoshi compelled the six most powerful military barons to sign an oath binding themselves forever to respect the properties of the Throne and to give scrupulous attention to the well-being of the

Imperial Court.[50]

Though the Tokugawa family ruled Japan unchallenged for more than two and a half centuries (1603-1867), the Tokugawa rulers were never free from the fear that the Imperial Court might become a rallying-point for those who were inclined to oppose the political authority of the Tokugawa Shōgunate.[51] The Tokugawa rulers made every effort to create and strengthen the belief that the Throne was the supreme spiritual authority in the land and the Shōgun the highest political authority. The Tokugawa leaders, like political leaders before them, held the Throne in high respect.[52]

The seclusion of the Edo era from the ouside world had a variety of profound influences on the Japanese socially, culturally, and politically. Since it is unnecessary and beyond the purview of this study to treat the entirety of the Tokugawa heritage, we will briefly touch upon the aspects that had bearings on the growth of Japanese national consciousness.

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[50]Shimmi Kichihi, Nihon ni okeru Buke-Seiji no Rekishi (A Political History of Military Families in Japan) (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1941), p. 218.

[51]George Sansom, A History of Japan, 1615-1867 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963), pp. 17-18.

[52]Tsuji Tatsuya, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. XIII: Edo Kaifu (A History of Japan, Vol. XIII: Laying the Foundation of the Edo Shogunate) (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Sha, 1966), pp. 116-20.

It was as much a concern for internal security, stability, and peace as the fear of foreign encroachments and anti-Christian attitude which was accountable for the isolation of Japan. The enforcement of isolation policies was, in a sense, a logical corollary of the national unification campaigns carried out by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Since Japan had finally been united after a long period of turmoil and warfare, the Tokugawa Shōgunate was steeped in maintaining and furthering the national unity.[53]

The enforcement of national isolation had redounded to the strengthening of the insularity historically characteristic of the Japanese. The insularity, which tends to take on the notion that "stronger means enemy,"[54] naturally stimulated "we-feelings" and contributed to the growth of a strong sense of exclusiveness. What is more, the national isolation virtually made Japan a "world state." As Arnold Toynbee writes:

> The smallest human community constitutes the whole world for the people inside it if it is insulated from all other human communities on the face of

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[53]It is not an idle play of wordage to depict the three principal figures in the national unification campaigns of Japan as that Ieyasu "ate the pie which Nobunaga had prepared and Hideyoshi had baked." Sansom, A History of Japan, 1615-1867, p. 17.

[54]Max Sylvius Handman, "The Sentiment of Nationalism," Political Science Quarterly, XXXVI, No. 1 (March, 1921), p. 106.

> the planet; and it will be insulated from them if its members feel that outsiders do not count. . . . [E]ven tiny Japan was a world state during her two centuries of insulation under the regime of the Tokugawa shoguns. . . . [T]he world governments of the past have concentrated their energies on self-preservation; and they have tried to preserve themselves by a policy of freezing. They have tried to freeze not only their frontiers against the outer barbarians and not only the structure of public administration inside those frontiers; they have tried to freeze the private lives of their citizens as well. The most notorious recent instance of this policy is that of the Tokugawa regime in Japan.[55]

Deeply interested in staying in power and concerned about a possible threat to its political authority, the Tokugawa Shogunate, like any dictatorship, brooked no insubordination. The Tokugawa dictatorship needed a set of moral principles to maintain political and social order and a social doctrine to regulate human relations and conduct. It believed that Buddhism, being tethered to abstract speculation, was incapable of providing answers to such problems as the legitimacy of the Tokugawa rule and the loyalty to one's feudal lord and country.[56]

Buddhism was abandoned in favor of Confucianism, for Confucianism was secular and stern.[57] Indeed, Confucianism

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[55]Arnold Toynbee, "How to Change the World Without War," Saturday Review, May 12, 1962, p. 17.

[56]Hyōe Murakami and Edward G. Seidensticker, eds., Guides to Japanese Culture (Tokyo: Japan Culture Institute, 1977), pp. 159-60.

[57]Confucianism had always been a very vital influ-

found a strong ally in Shinto which made use of the teachings of Confucianism to strengthen itself and promote Japanese nationalism for the first half of the Tokugawa period. The alliance did not last long, for the Shinto doctrinaires, upon the destruction of Buddhism as an intellectual force, began to denounce Confucianism as an alien philosophy which had put an unwholesome influence on the Japanese people and conditioned the Japanese to be servile Sinophiles.[58]

It is of interest to note that, though the teachings of Confucianism was largely responsible for the making of Bushidō, the second half of the Edo period witnessed the eclipse of Confucianism as the first half had witnessed the eclipse of Buddhism. Up until the late Middle Ages there had been a general belief that Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto were not in essence mutually incompatible: Shinto explained the origin of Japan, Confucianism was concerned with the present state of society and the moral principles regulating it, and Buddhism dealt with

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ence in forming the ethical code of the samurai class. It was not until the Edo period, however, that the Confucian philosophy became the officially approved basis of government and the generally accepted code of all social conduct. For a list of approved attitudes and behavior patterns stemming from Confucianism, see Arthur F. Wright and Denis C. Twitchett, Confucian Personalities (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1962), p. 8.

[58]R. P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), p. 64.

the future and the maturity of the human mind.[59]

Despite the evidence that the Bushidō--a product of Confucianism--came to constitute the soul of Japan, Shinto was gradually eclipsing Confucianism. This clearly points to the fact that the Japanese led a movement toward a Japan-centered thinking. The Shinto adherents took Confucianists to task to the effect that the Confucian scholars had accepted China's primacy over Japan. Hiraga Gennai (1728-1779), though not an ardent patriot, railed against the Confucianists:

> These frog-in-the-well scholars are earnest admirers of things Chinese and call Japan--their native land--the country of the Eastern barbarians. . . . But for all their farting drivel about the "Way" and the arts of peace and the arts of war, if they had their rice salaries measured out in ancient Chinese bushels, they might not be so admiring of the Sages.[60]

As the dictatorship of the Tokugawa family progressed, the influence of the Confucianists replete with the so-called Karagokoro (Chinese psychology)--a perjorative term often used by the more patriotic scholars for those who paid homage to the greatness of the Chinese civilization--gave way to the doctrine of "Japaneseness." What the patriotic Japanese attempted to accomplish by discrediting

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[59]For a detailed treatment on the relationship between philosophical principles and political action, see Sansom, A History of Japan, 1615-1867, Ch. VII.

[60]Dore, op. cit., pp. 45-66.

the Confucianists was to bring about a respectful statue of Japan vis-a-vis China. Mindful of the indelible truth that the Chinese civilization had influenced Japan in great measure, the patriotic Japanese resorted to Kokokushugi (the Doctrine of the Imperial Country) in order to disabuse the Japanese of inferior Japanese mentality toward China and to justify that Japan is not partial to China. Instead, Japan, they argued, was unique because her Emperor had no parallel elsewhere.[61] In effect, the patriotic Japanese reversed the traditional order of placing China above Japan and argued that Japan was superior to China on the ground that, unlike the political system in China where anyone might acquire a virtue and become a ruler, in Japan virtue was always inherent in the Imperial dynasty. hence the Emperor was entitled to absolute and unconditional respect and devotion from his subjects, and the respect and devotion of the Japanese toward their Imperial system constituted the basis of Japanese national morality.[62]

The Kokugaku (National Learning) scholars, who were

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[61]For an exhaustive treatment of the anti-Buddhist arguments by Confucianist, Shinto and Kokugaku scholars and the anti-Confucianists' arguments by Shinto and Kokugaku scholars, see Sajja A. Prasad, "Country of the Soul: Some Japanese Varieties of Patriotic Experience," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1970).

[62]Mauaoka Tsunetsugu, Iwanami Kozo; Toyo Shicho, Vol. XIV: Nihon Shinto no Tokushitsu (Iwanami Lecture: The Trends of Oriental Thought, Vol. XVI: The Characteristics of Japanese Shinto) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1936), pp. 7-8.

the most formidable of the critics of Confucianism, shifted their emphasis from the original attention to Japanese culture to the attention to the Japanese nation.[63] Briefly stated, the Kokugaku movement as an active political movement was intent upon distinguishing between "superior" and "inferior" nations and peoples. Its attempts were concerned not only with freeing Japanese learning from its heavy dependence upon Chinese philosophy and literature, but also establishing the superiority of the Japanese political morality and cultural tradition over the moral and political principles of China. The Kokugaku scholars came to conclude tht both Buddhism and Confucianism were inferior to Shinto. The Emperor of Japan, they argued, was duly entitled to the complete obedience of the people because he was descended from the Sun Goddess. The "uniqueness" of the Japanese natiion lay in the eternal rule of the divine Emperors.[64]

The most prominent figure among the scholars of National Learning, Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), ascribed the ill-treatment of the Imperial family by Hojo Yasutoki and Ashikaga Takauji to the harmful influence of the Chinese

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[63]For an authoritative discussion on the relationship between Confucianism and Kokugaku, see Maruyama Masao, Nihon Seiji Shiso Shi Kenkyu (A Study of the History of Japanese Political Thought) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970), pp. 140-82.

[64]For a recent study on Kokugaku see Matsumato Sannosuke, Kokugaku Seiji Shisō no Kenkyū (A Study of Kokugaku Political Thought) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shōten, 1957).

classics. In China anyone with political ambition could topple a ruler by alleging that the ruler was deficient in virtue and become a ruler himself by dint of demagogic propaganda and superior military force.[65] This denunciation of the "pernicious" Chinese influence may be said to have been a harbinger of the later fervor of xenophobia which obtained in Japan in the wake of the "black ships." The Kokugaku political movement further shifted its emphasis from the nation to the Emperor, instilling patriotism in the Japanese.[66]

Parallel to the cultural-literary works of the Kokugaku scholars ran the historical research by the scholars at Mito. The results of the Mitogaku exerted a decisive influence on the loyalty and patriotism of the Japanese in the mid-nineteenth century.[67] While the Kokugaku was concerned with the Japanese literature and

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[65]Ernest M. Satow, "The Revival of Pure Shin-Tau," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, III (1883), Part 1, Appendix, p. 13.

[66]It is interesting to note that the Kokugaku movement inadvertently redounded to the destruction of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. The advocates of Kokugaku, being the strong supporters of the Edo Bakufu and of the feudal system, merely discovered the longevity and significance of the Emperor system through their researcher. The fruits of the Kokugaku movement were used later by the Mito school in the latter's attempt to undermine the Edo Bakufu.

[67]For a good discussion of the implications of the fruits of the Mito school for later political development, see Herschel F. Webb, "The Thought and Work of the Early Mito School," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1958).

philosophy to discover the purity of the Japanese nation, the Mitogaku was concerned with the Japanese history to establish the legitimacy of the Emperor system for the Japanese nation.

Even though the Kokugaku scholars held the view that the Emperor was the only legitimate focus of national loyalties, they did not go so far as to advocate the Emperor's direct rule. They were still disinclined to place the Emperor above Japan. The Mito scholars, however, enlarged upon the idea of Sonnō (reverence for the Emperor) so far as to restore a direct Imperial rule. Since the political authority of Japan, they argued, had orginally belonged to the Emperor and it had been taken away frm him by the Minamoto clan, it should be restored to him again. By the same token, they argued that the continuation of the Shōgunate was tantamount to a division of national loyalties between the Shōgun and the Emperor.[68] Finally, the Mitogaku made a contribution to the development of Tennōshugi (Emperorism), whereas the Kokugaku was conducive to the development of Nihonshugi (Japanism).

Another line of intellectual activity may be mentioned here in that it also exerted a significant influence on Japanese national consciousness and patriotism.

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[68]Herschel Webb, The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period (New York: Columbia Univeristy Press, 1968), p. 183.

Roughly toward the late eighteenth century Tokugawa Japan could no longer remain unconcerned with the happenings in the outside world. The increasing awareness of new techniques used by the "barbarian" intruders, which supplemented by increasingly detailed information on political and social conditions in Western countries, naturally alerted the Japanese to do something about the external threat. The first step was the encouragement of Rangaku (Dutch Studies). The scope of Rangaku was expanded to include such subjects as geography, mathematics, chemistry, physics, and astronomy. As the Japanese concern about their national security increased in the early nineteenth century, the Japanese widened their learning to include metallurgy, gunnery, military science, shipbuilding, survey, weapons, navigation, etc. This new learning came to be referred to as Yōgaku (Western Learning).[69]

The more the Japanese learned about the Western world, the more they became convinced of the technical superiority of Western countries. The Chinese defeat at the hands of the British in the Opium War (1839-1842) was a truly ominous signal to the Japanese who had already been

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[69]Kitajima Shōgen, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. XVIII: Bakuhan no Nayami (A History of Japan, Vol. XVIII: The Problem in the System of the Edo Government) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Sha, 1966), pp. 354-63. For a historical overview of Western learning in Japan, see Itazawa Takeo, Iwanami Koza, Vol. IV: Rangaku no Hattatsu (Iwanami Lecture Vol. IV: The Development of Dutch learning) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1933).

haunted by the national vulnerability to Western domination. The subjection of China to a semi-colonial status following the Opium War completely divested the Japanese of their illusion that the Western threat and "barbarian" outsiders' pernicious influence could be sucessfully dealt with through the policy of seclusion.[70] Japan's clear realization of the international situation and the United States' pressure,[71] in particular, led to the "opening of Japan." Thus the arrival of the Perry mission in 1853 marked a new beginning for the modern Japan. The frustration felt by the Japanese at the time is well described by George Sansom:

> It is humiliating to reflect that in Japanese minds Western culture stood for a knowledge of advanced methods of slaughter, but it cannot be denied that guns spoke with a convincing voice to a people with a long military history.[72]

Indeed, 1853 and 1945 were the two most important epoch- making watersheds in Japan's modern history not only in the sense that they were the new beginnings of social change, but also in the sense that they subjected the

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[70]Ibid., pp. 482-84.

[71]It is worth noting that the advent of the "black ships" was not the first and only direct threat to Japan. "Some historians' treating of the opening of Japan that took place at the instance of Commodore Perry in 1854 are inclined to ascribe it almost entirely to American pressure; but the influence of Russia was of great importance and should not be overlooked." George Sansom, The Western World and Japan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 212.

[72]Ibid., p. 243.

Japanese to a similar national humiliation. The Japanese response to the advent of the "black ships" seems to have demonstrated two very important characteristics of the Japanese people. The Japanese are situational and nationalistic. That the Japanese signed, albeit under duress, Kanagawa Jōyaku (A treaty of friendship concluded at Kanagawa on March 3, 1854 between Japan and the United States) indicates that the Japanese are capable of accepting the inevitability of situations.[73] The acceptance by the Japanese of realities as given, however, did by no means go so far as to stultify their national consciousness. Despite the warning that came from the disastrous defeat of the Chinese at the hands of the British, the unmistakable threat that came from the "black ships," and the fact that the Japanese clearly understood the uselessness of temporizing in meeting American demands, the nationalistic feeling of the Japanese was not daunted. The national mood in the wake of the 1854 treaty finds a characteristic expression in the following passages:

The Shogun's officials, by a wilful error, have

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[73]One of the outstanding features characteristic of the Japanese way of thinking is the affirmation of the world as it is. It can be stated that, on evidence of history, the Japanese tend to reject the viewpoints that seek the absolute in some realm beyond phenomena. For a detailed discussion in this respect, see Nakamura Hajime, Tōyōjin no Shii Hōhō, Vol. III: Nihonjin no Shii Hōhō (Ways of Thinking of Oriental Peoples, Vol. III: The Way of Thinking of the Japanese People) (Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1962).

> given permission for friendly relations and commerce; worse than this they have promised to open ports, acts which must excite the profoundest indignation. If they go on in this slothful and supine way, they will gradually fall into the snares of these people, the fundamental laws of the state will be altogether lost, we shall be insulted, get our Government and laws from jurisdiction of barbarian States. Then the national glory which has lasted for thousands of years, will be utterly tarnished; then it will be too late to gnaw our entrails with rage, and disgraced as a country we shall become a dependent state.[74]

The reaction to the weak-kneed policy of the Bakufu giving in to foreign threats led to the Sonnō Jōi (Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians) movement which was to resound throughout Japan until the Japanese were made aware of the impracticality of shouting the Jōi part of the Sonnō Jōi movement. Convinced, following the joint display of American, British, Dutch, and French warships in Ōsaka Bay, of the futility of defying Western powers, the Japanese replaced the "Revere the Emperor and Expel the Barbarians" with the "Revere the Emperor and Down with the Bakufu."[75]

Upon the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the Japanese began to take drastic steps to catch up with Western countries with the political slogan of Fukoku-Kyōhei (Rich

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[74]Quoted in Brown, op. cit., p. 78.

[75]Konishi Shirō, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. XIX: Kaikoku to Jōi (A History of Japan, Vol. XIX: The Opening of Japan and the Expulsion of the Barbarians) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Sha, 1966), pp. 291-96.

Country--Strong Army). What should not escape our attention in understanding the Sonnō Jōi and the Fukoku-Kyōhei is that both movements were signal manifestations of a more positive form of national consciousness.[76] As implied by the Fukoku-Kyōhei, the Japanese nationalism, seems to be a combined function of a sense of foreign danger, of a persistent quest of national prestige, and of the glorification of the Emperor system.[77] As many historians argue, the years of foreign pressure prior to the Restoration gave birth to Japanese nationalism in the modern sense of the word. Fearful of further foreign pressures or possible encroachments and mindful of the usufruct of military superiority, Japan embarked upon an ambitious career of national aggrandizement through fervid nationalism, industrialization, and military preparedness. Thus, Japan's modern overseas adventures resulted in a great measure, from the examples of international competitions among nations and of obnoxious features of Western imperialism.[78]

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[76]Brown, op. cit., p. 90.

[77]Writing on the problems of nationalism in 1921, Handman was led to declare with forceful cogency that: ". . . what lies at the bottom of nationalistic behavior is not interest in the other members of the group, but solidarity in repelling a common enemy. It is not so much sympathy with one's fellows as hostility toward the outsider that makes for nationalism." Handman, op. cit., p. 106.

[78]For an authoritative discussion of the impact of imperialism on nationalism in a broad historical perspective, see the Royal Institute of International Affairs, op. cit., esp. pp. 170-99.

## CHAPTER III

## JAPAN'S IMITATION OF WESTERN POWERS

It is scarcely questioned that the display of naval fleet by occidental powers prior to the Restoration made a deep impression on the Japanese. They were confronted, as James Murdoch well pointed out, "with the alternative of assimilating and utilising its (occidental) most important intellectual and material products, or losing their existence as a nation."[1] While they became unmistakably convinced of their military inferiority, they were determined lest the "national honor" be overwhelmed and swept away. Yet, accustomed to the Confucian concept of hierarchy, it was extremely difficult for the Japanese to accept their new position in international relations.

According to the traditional Confucian system of foreign relations, there were no relations of equality.[2] The States could be either tribute-offering or tribute-receiving ones.[3] Considering the Japanese abhorrence of an

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[1]Murdoch, op. cit., I, 23.

[2]For a fuller discussion of the conduct of foreign relations in a Confucian world order, see J. K. Fairbank and S. Y. Tēng, "On the Ch'ing Tributary System," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 6 (1941-42), pp. 135-246.

[3]Ibid., p. 141.

inferior position in dealing with foreign countries, the opening of Japan and the subsequent signing, under duress, of the treaties; containing the stigma of inequality, with Western powers doubtlessly militated against their national pride.[4]

Obsessed with the national humiliation to which they were subjected and fearful of foreign invasion, the Japanese toward the Meiji Restoration were dragooned into believing that the survival of Japan was contingent upon the drastic improvement of their defense posture and the speedy realization of national unity. It would serve us well to recall that the struggle among Western powers for colonies and colonial expansion in Asia was at its height toward the mid-nineteenth century.[5] It was, therefore, quite natural that the Japanese feared that the struggle for colonial expansion among the Western powers might result in a tragic fate for Japan similar to that imposed on China or an outright enslavement of their country.[6]

The Japanese fear for national independence not only rekindled the centuries-old national consciousness in a very special way, but also stimulated the latent military tradition. "The seeds of modern nationalism," as Yanaga Chitoshi writes, "were thus sown with the arrival of Europeans whose colonial

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[4]Konishi, op. cit., pp. 120-23.

[5]For a detailed discussion of this period, see Parker Thomas Moon, Imperialism and World Politics (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), esp. 320-26.

[6]Konishi, op. cit., pp. 103-105.

and expansionist activities came to be known to the Japanese."[7]

Japan's military inferiority in the face of the Western naval squadrons and the existence of "unequal" treaties were not only distasteful to the Japanese natinal pride, but also powerful stimuli for fanning Japanese nationalism.[8] The seriousness and extent of the humiliation suffered by the Japanese in the quarter century following the Perry visit had peculiar claims of sympathy of General U. S. Grant during his visit to Japan in 1879. The general was so shocked by the inuustice of Western powers in the Far East as to utter the following words:

> Nothing has been of more interest to me than the study of the growth of European and foreign influence in Asia. . . . I have seen things that made my blood boil, in the way the European powers attempt to degrade the Asiatic nations. I would not believe such a policy possible. It seems to have no other aim than the extinction of the independence of the Asiatic nations. . . . I feel so about Japan and China. It seems incredible that rights which at home we regard as essential to our independence and to our national existence, which no European nation, no matter how small, would surrender, are denied to China and Japan.[9]

Given the fear, as expressed by the former President

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[7]Yanaga, op. cit., p. 27.

[8]Yanaga Chitoshi contends that modern Japanese nationalism was a product of Japanese mysticism and modern Western nationalisms. Moreover, Japanese nationalism has been spurred by international humiliation and economic difficulties. See his "Japan: Naitnalism Succeeds and Fails," Current History, XIX (August, 1950), 67-52.

[9]John Russell Young, Around the World with General Grant (2 Vols.; New York: The American News Co., 1879), II, 543-44.

of the United States, that Japan, like China, might be carved up as the victim of Western imperialism, it needs no great imagination to fathom the Japanese national feeling about their political situation at the time. In order to understand the Japanese national psychology of the times, we have to project this humiliation resulted from the military inferiority against their national pride surrounding the Emperor. The significance in the Japanese nation of the relationship between the Emperor and his subjects warrants quotation at length:

> The office (of the Mikado) is the highest known development of the royal quality. Other sovereigns reign because of the divine right, the grace of God. The Mikado reigns because he is divine--not alone because his office is sacred, but that he is sacred himself, destined when he passes away to become one of the immortal gods. In all the changes that have befallen Japan the reverence that surrounds the throne has never abated. When the tycoons reigned, holding the sword and the purse--absolute masters of Japan--a word from the secluded monarch of Kiyoto, who had never seen the sun shine beyond the walls of his castle, was sufficient to undo them. At his bidding the Tycoon resigned an empire. When the Emperor commanded, the feudal princes . . . surrendered rank, honor, heritage, and emolument. . . . The priests, the noblemen, the army, all obeyed his command because they regarded it as a command from heaven. Even the people, conversative as the Oriental mind naturally is, and proud of the traditions of an ancient civilization, changed in a day, and never questioned the change, because it was the will of the Emperor. No internal commotion or external pressure has affected the legend that makes holy the imperial person. The revolutions have never been against the Mikado, only against his officers, while the treaties made with the Tycoons never had any value in the eyes of the Japanese until they had been confirmed by the sacred will.[10]

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[10] Ibid., pp. 566-67.

The above observation made by John Russell Young accompanying General Grant in 1879 at least suggests the dignity and influence which the Emperor commanded in Japan culturally, emotionally, socially, and politically. Defiant of Japan's degraded status, the Japanese political leaders, armed with the awe-inspiring influence of the Emperor, the people's traditional obedience to the government, the increasingly strong national consciousness, and the single-minded national passion for improving Japan's military strength, embarked upon the epochal task of creating a proud and strong nation so as to "stand tall in the world" and "attain equality with nations abroad."[11]

Reforms and changes were forcefully and calculatingly undertaken either to strengthen Japan militarily and industrially or to impress the Western world with an eye on the revision of the unequal treaties. While Japan was adopting and refining Western technology, she introduced a national conscript army and a national education system, and made improvements in communucations and transportation. All of these measures were solely directed at national aggrandizement and unity.[12]

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[11]Maruyama Masao, Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 142.

[12]For a good account of the relationship between the Meiji policies and Japanese nationalism, see E. Herbert Norman, Japan's Emergence as a Modern State (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), pp. 185-209.

Of particular importance is that the new system of national education was made to be a means of serving the State.[13] Because the Japanese sincerely believed the slogan, the so-called "Eastern morality and Western Arts,"[14] even during the hectic years of Westernization and modernization following the Restoration, the political leaders relied on "moral" education for achieving greater national unity, eliciting political loyalties, and instilling patrioticism.

The utmost emphasis put on moral training in loyalty and filial piety was demonstrated in the Memorandum for Elementary School Teachers of June, 1881. Article 1 of the Memorandum reads:

> In order to guide people, make them good, give them wide knowledge, and to do this wisely, teachers must particularly stress moral education to their pupils. Loyalty to the Imperial House, love of country, filial piety toward parents, respect for superiors, faith in friends, charity toward inferiors, and respect for oneself constitute the great path of human morality. The teacher must himself be a model of these virtues in his daily life, and must endeavor to stimulate his pupils along the path of virtue.[15]

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[13]The Explanation of School Matters of 1891 stated that the "first objective" of education was "the spirit of the reverence for the Emperor and patrioticism (Sonnō Aikoku)." See Kyōiku-Shi Hensankai, ed., Meiji Ikō Kyōiku Seido Hattatsu-Shi (History of the Development of the Post-Meiji Educational System) (Tokyo: Ryūjin Sha, 1938), III, 131-32.

[14]Irokawa Daikichi, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. XXI: Kindai Kokka no Shuppatsu (A History of Japan, Vol. XXI: The Beginning of the Modern State) (Tokyo: Chūō Koronsha, 1966), p. 45.

[15]Mombusho, Gakusei 80-Nen Shi (A History of Eighty Years of the School System) (Tokyo: Okura-sho Insatsukyoku, 1954), pp. 844-45.

That we can deduce from the above emphasis on morals is that the Japanese political leaders were solely intent on rapid modernization and industrialization "without the risk of social upheaval which might attend the attempts to extend the democratic method in a nation which had emerged so suddenly and so tardily from feudal isolation."[16] Proper understanding of the political history of modern Japan is almost out of the question without appreciating the role which the state-controlled education played in making the Japanese obedient subjects, hammering away at foreign threats, sharpening national consciousness, and indoctrinating the Japanese about Japan's "national mission." Japan's national mission had a host of implications.[17]

In short, it embraced the strengthening of Japan to meet the West on its own terms, Japan's expansion for the sake of Pan-Asianism as opposed to Western imperialism, and eventually the realization of Japan's "Divine Mission," based on the elements of Japanes tradition, to rule the entire world.[18] Be that as it may, the political situation amid foreign threats in the mid-nineteenth century provided Japan a twisted justification that her national honor could be

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[16]Norman, op. cit., p. 102.

[17]For a fuller discussion of the effects of education on the Japanese, see Kyoiku-shi Hensankai, op. cit.

[18]Mary Estes Lieberman, "Okawa Shumei and Japan's 'Divine Mission,'" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1956), Introduction.

restored through aggressive expansionism in Asia by imitating the predatory methods of Western powers.[19] The Japanese believed that their success in expansionist policies would not only enhance their national prestige in the eyes of the world, but also solve their economic problems.[20]

Japan's hunger for national honor, the smallness of her land, her population pressure, the pausity of natural resources and raw materials for their industries, and the need for overseas markets to sell her manufactured goods contributed in a large measure to the justification of her expansion abroad.[21] Viewed in a slightly different sense, since the Japanese are known to be concerned with a sense of "shame" rather than that of "guilt"[22] and they are accustomed to the identification of morality with power, the only thing that seemed to have mattered to them in international power

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[19]Maruyama, Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics, p. 18.

[20]In his study of Japanese nationalism, Hilary Conroy has discovered that the nature of Japanese nationalism could not be treated apart from Japan's economic insecurity and expansionism. See his "Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism," American Historical Review, LX, No. 4 (July, 1955), 818-29. E. Herbert Norman has given a good account of the impact of industrialization on Japan. See his op. cit., esp. pp. 104-135.

[21]Fukutake Tadashi, Nihon no Shakai (Japanese Society) (Tokyo: Yoshobo, 1952), p. 15.

[22]For a good study on the primacy of "shame" in Japanese life, see Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946). Also see Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 142-77.

politics during the heyday of imperialism and colonialism was either to conquer or to be conquered.[23]

As already touched upon, the history of Japan had not been innocent of expansionist policies. Yoshida Shōin (1831-1860), for example, was already advocating Japan's expansionism at the time of the Perry expedition. He preached to the effect that exapnsion was the health of the State and called for a course of conquest which included not only Korea and Formosa, but also the Philippines and Manchuria.[24]

It can only be explained in terms of the callous logic of imperialism that Japan launched into a career of expansionism against neighboring countries in less than two decades after her humiliation at the hands of Americans in 1853-1854. Japan's imitation of gunboat diplomacy against Formosa and Korea in the 1870's was the bona-fide beginning of Japan's expansionism.[25] Korea was subjected to humiliation at the hands of Japan in the same way in 1876 as the latter had been subjected to humiliation at the hands of the Americans

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[23]Moruyama, Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics, p. 140.

[24]Delmer Brown, op. cit., p. 75.

[25]Japan's exploitation of the Unyō incident in the course of compelling Korea into signing the treaty of 1876 belies Japan's assertion of noble aims and attitudes toward Korea. A Japanese writer recently declared that the Unyō incident had resulted from a deliberate Japanese scheme to intimidate Korea with a show of naval power. Thus it is evident that the Japanese provocation was responsible for the incident. See Yamabe Kentarō, Nikkan Heigō Shōshi (A Short History of Japan's Annexation of Korea) (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1966), pp. 22-27.

a little more than two decades earlier. Japan began to practice the "transfer of oppression,"[26] by "Perryizing" her neighbor Korea. The 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa compelled Korea to open up three ports and grant Japan extraterritorial privileges.[27]

Japan's initial success in expansive policies led her to the notion that the prideful future of Japan would result from the sufficient military strength needed for expansionism and the people's moral armament to rally behind the national goals. That the national education was to play a crucial role in mobilizing Japanese national will hardly needs illustration. A speech to Saitama Normal School delivered by a high-ranking Japanese official in February, 1885 illustrates the point very well. In part, it reads:

> Our country (Japan) . . . must move from its third-class position to second-class, and from second-class to first; and ultimately to the leading position among all countries of the world. The best way to do this is (by laying) the foundation of elementary education.[28]

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[26]In discussing the psychology of the Japanese, Maruyama contends cogently that, due to the hierarchical nature of Japanese society, the Japanese tend to transfer the oppression coming from above in a downward direction in inter-personal relations. This "transfer of oppression" among individuals was extended to the international plane. As Maruyama writes, "as soon as the country (Japan) was unified it used its new strength to stage a small-scale imitation of Western imperialism. Just as Japan was subject to pressure from the Great Powers, so she would apply pressure to still weaker countries--a clear case of the transfer psychology." See his Thought and Behaviour, p. 18.

[27]Harold W. Sunoo, Korea: A Political History in Modern Times (Seoul: Kon-Kuk University Press, 1970), Ch. 10.

[28]Karasawa Tomitarō, Nihon Kyōiku-Shi (History of

What the above implied was that Japan, being keenly sensitive to their international image,[29] indulged in national aggrandizement, by changing whatever stood in the way to the development of a respected, industrial, and strong Japan and by instilling a stronger national consciousness in the Japanese people by dint of national education.[30]

The characteristics of Japanese national consciousness took on a special significance in the wake of Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. The Japanese began to attach for the first time in their national history "greatness" in addition to "uniqueness" to their country.[31] The victory

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Japanese Education) (Tokyo: Seibundo Shinkō Sha, 1962), p. 231.

[29]A noted scholar of comparative culture, Kawabara Takeo, attributes the Japanese sensitivity concerning their international image to the historical fact that Japan was a late-starter in modernization and a late-comer in the imperialist race. For a fuller exposition, see his "Nihonjin no Umdashita Mono" (Things the Japanese Have Created), in Nihonhin to wa Nanika (What Does It Mean to Be Japanese), eds. Iijima Sōichi and Sabata Toyoyuki (Tokyo: Nihon Keijai Shinbunsha, 1973).

[30]The promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education on October 30, 1890 was the single most important document that framed education to serve the state. For the entire text of the Rescript, see Daniel C. Hotom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto: A Study of the State Religion of Japan," The Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XLIX--Part II (1922), p. 72.

[31]It took the victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 for Japan at long last to begin to draw the respect of the Western World. With the victory she distinguished herself from the other nations in Asia by casting off the stigma of extraterritoriality that had been profoundly repugnant to her national feeling for four decades. For a fuller discussion, see Oka Yoshitake, Kindai Nihon Shisoshi Koza, Vol. VIII: Kokuminteki Dokuritsu to Kokka Risei (Studies on the History of Modern Japanese Thought, Vol. VIII: National Independence and

in the war meant the end to Japan's lingering inferiority complex toward China, the beginning of Japan's new image as a World Power, and the first major overt step toward a career of insatiable "precaution-nationalism" and "prestige-nationalism."[32]

Japan harbored no illusion concerning the hard realities of international power politics that one nation's humiliation meant another nation's honor.[33] In the words of Jean Jacques Rousseau, "Nations have all a kind of centrifugal force by which they act continually against each other, and tend, like the vorticies of Descartes, to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbors."[34]

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the Reason of the State) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1961), pp. 19-25.

[32]Max Sylvius Handman classified nationalism into four types: oppression nationalism; "irrendentism;" precaution nationalism; and prestige-nationalism. See his op. cit., 104-21. In discussing the career of Japanese imperialism, one American scholar considers the "prestige" aspect a very weighty factor. Robert T. Pollard, "Dynamics of Japanese Imperialism," Pacific Historical Review, VIII, No. 1 (March, 1939), esp. 28-35.

[33]The vitality of national honor in international politics is fully treated in Leo Perla, What is National Honor (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918). The vicious cycle of national honor and humiliation finds characteristic description in Arnold J. Toynbee, Nationality and the War (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1915), p. 4:

> If we beat Germany and then humiliate her, she will never rest til she has "redeemed her honour," by humiliating us more cruelly in turn. Instead of being free to return to our own pressing business, we shall have to be constantly on the watch against her.

[34]Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1947), p. 70.

Japan's unprecedented jubiliation over the conclusion of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which formally ended the Sino-Japanese War, was frustrated six days later by a sudden and cruel turn of events--in the form of the so-called "Triple Intervention." The Triple Intervention was as much humiliating and galling to the Japanese national pride as the Perry arrival had been four decades earlier.[35] The humiliated Japanese were conditioned to further sharpen their national consciousness and came to value the gospel of national power with greater seriousness. As E. Herbert Norman describes the impact of the Triple Intervention on Japanese national consciousness:

> The national consciousness (of the Japanese) which had been forced into existence by events surrounding the Restoration, matured in the heated struggle for treaty revision, was to be strengthened a hundred-fold by the famous Triple Intervention, of April 23, 1895.[36]

Despite the humiliating setback dictated by the Triple Intervention, Japan achieved what she had set out to do through the war with China. Japan's smashing victory over China placed her alongside the other great expansionist powers of the world. The Western world was rudely awakened to the fact that Japan became a power to be reckoned with. Among others, one by-

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[35]For a good discussion of the Japanese identity and national pride in this period, see Kenneth B. Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), esp. pp. 163-87.

[36]Norman, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

product of the Triple Intervention was that the Japanese people once more came to be fully convinced that their national dignity was in direct proportion to their national strength. That the securing of a status of equality with Western Powers was a national obsession was sufficiently illustrated by the following passages.

> We (Japanese) must remember that we are fighting (this war with China) before the whole world. Why do some Japanese say we fight in order to reform Korea, or to vanquish Peking, or to establish a huge indemnity? They should realize that we are fighting to determine once and for all Japan's position in the world. . . . If our country achieves a brilliant victory, all previous misconceptions will be dispelled. The true nature of our country and of our national character will suddenly emerge like the sun breaking through a dense fog.[37]

The heightened status of Japan, after the Sino-Japanese War and Russia's undisguised grandiose ambitions in the Far East following the Triple Intervention pandered to a further aggravation of inveterate mutual mistrust between Japan and Russia.[38] Though "Japan was humbled to the dust"[39]

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[37]Pyle, op. cit., p. 73.

[38]Even as early as 1797, in making note of the Russian menace from the north, Ōhara Kokingo stated:

> The foreign threat is not a menace to a single clan, but is a threat to the entire body of the clans. It is, thus, necessary for us (Japanese) to try our utmost efforts to work out plans to defend ourselves together.

Ohara Kokingo, "Hokuchi Kigen" (Warnings from the North). Quoted in Maruyama, Nihon Seiji Shisoshi Kenkyū, p. 340.

[39]Asada Keiichi, Expenditures of the Sino-Japanese War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 33.

by the Triple Intervention, Russia could not fail to duly appreciate Japan's growing military power and her expansionist ambitions. In the words of Sergyey Yulievichi Witte who engineered the Triple Intervention:

> We (the Russians) cannot allow Japan to sink her root deep into the Chinese continent and to possess an area like the Liaotung Peninsula which would seal the fate of Peking in certain circumstances. Based on this conclusion, I have proposed the necessity of preventing the effectuation of the new treaty concluded between Japan and China.[40]

No event in the immediate post-Triple Intervention years incensed the Japanese and aroused Japanese national consciousness more than the Convention of March 27, 1898, by which Russia leased from China the southern tip of the Liaotung Peninsula--the very same peninsula that Russia, Germany, and France had compelled Japan to retrocede to China on the pretext that Japan's occupation of continental territory would be prejudicial to the peace of the Orient. The reaction of the Japanese to Russia's aggressive moves in China finds a representative expression in the following words:

> Japan believed (in 1894) that the peace of the East could not be maintained unless the independence of Korea were secured, and she did not shrink from war to attain that end. Russia now occupies the place that China held in 1894, and the China of today is the Korea of that time. . . . Whatever reasons existed to fight China in 1894 exist with incomparably greater force to fight Russia today. There is no excuse, no palliation, for Russia's conduct in Manchuria. To look back upon the

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[40]Quoted in Kajima Morinosuke, The Emergence of Japan As a World Power, 1895-1925 (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1968), p. 25.

> events that are occurring now must make every Japanese thrill with indignation. If ever there was a time when the country should assert itself, now is the time.[41]

Russia's shrewd and ingenious means of aggrandizement at the expense of Japan not only re-taught the Japanese that there national honor and interests would be maintained and further enhanced only through the medium of a stronger military strength, but also led the Japanese to claimor for a war with Russia.[42] The elimination of extraterritoriality in the summer of 1899 marked a momentous watershed in the development of Japanese national consciousness. This achievement of "complete self-determination among the nations of the world"[43] indeed inflated the Japanese national pride, on the one hand, and egged the Japanese on to harbor gashin-shōtan[44] (struggling against difficulties for the sake of vengeance) against the Western powers, in particular, against Russia which kept adding insults to Japan's injury, on the other.

Keenly realizing that her smashing victory over the disgraced China, which had been mercilessly humiliated in the

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[41]Quoted in Delmer Brown, op. cit., p. 135.

[42]Hara Keiichirō, ed., Hara Kei Nikki (Diary of Hara Kei) (9 Vols; Tokyo: Kenkensha, 1950-1951), II sequel, 142.

[43]Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto," p. 30.

[44]Sumiya Mikio, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. XXII: Dai Nippon Teikoku no Shiron (A History of Japan, Vol. XXII: The Crucible of Imperial Japan) (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1966), p. 321.

Opium War more than half a century earlier, failed to extract from the West such a coveted respect that would measure up to her "national honor" and "the danger of playing the imperial game single-handed against older and more experienced opponents,"[45] Japan assiduously pursued policies[46] that eventually culminated in the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902.[47] This alliance with the most powerful Empire at the time clearly bolstered Japan's national prestige internationally, on the one hand, and provided Japan greater confidence in dealing with Russia's aggressive activities in the Far East.

Japan's timely alliance of convenience with England for the sake of long-range strategic objectives and national interests and Russia's unabated exploitation in Korea and Manchuria made a war between these two ambitious powers inevitable.[48] Simultaneously with the progress of scrupulous

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[45]Charles Nelson Spinks, "The Background of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance," Pacific Historical Review, VIII, No. 3 (September, 1939), 322.

[46]Japan's policies of moderation during, and immediately after, the Boxer Rebellion sufficiently suggest that Japan was keenly interested in insinuating herself into a favorable international opinion to enhance her national image and to facilitate her expansionist goals in due time. See, for example, Paul A. Varg, "The Foreign Policy of Japan and the Boxer Revolt," Pacific Historical Review, XV, No. 3 (September, 1946), 279-285.

[47]That the Japanese behavior during the Boxer Rebellion was so highly judged occasioned a Western writer to state that it falsified "the theory of the Yellow Peril." See Herbert Paul, "The New Alliance," The Nineteenth Century and After, October, 1905, p. 522.

[48]For excellent and exhaustive treatments of various reasons and factors which were responsible for the inevitability

diplomacy took place a dramatic increase in Japan's military strength. As the following table indicates, the strength of the Japanese armies had been doubled in the crucial decade.

TABLE 1

Comparative Figures of Japanese Armies[49]

| | Before Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 | Before Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 |
|---|---|---|
| Generals | 36 | 94 |
| Higher Officers and Officers | 4,235 | 8,480 |
| Petty Officers | 8,970 | 11,865 |
| Trained Men | 65,241 | 132,348 |
| Untrained Men | 185,000 | 425,000 |
| Army Divisions | 7 | 13 |

By the same token, the increase in Japan's naval forces for the same period had been even more impressive, as may be inferred from Table 2, following.

When the two competing nations failed to resolve differences through diplomatic negotiation, the long-antici-

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of confrontation, contrast Asakawa Kanichi, The Russo-Japanese Conflict: Its Causes and Issues (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904), esp. pp. 1-64 with Payson J. Treat, "The Cause of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894," Pacific Historical Review, VIII, No. 2 (June, 1939), 149-57.

[49]William M. McGovern, Modern Japan: Its Political, Military, and Industrial Organization (New York: Scribner, 1920), p. 176.

TABLE 2

Comparative Figures of Japanese Naval Forces[50]

| | Before Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 | Before Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 |
|---|---|---|
| Battleships | 1 | 6 |
| Armored Cruisers | 4 | 8 |
| Cruisers | 7 | 20 |
| Light Cruisers | 9 | 9 |
| Destroyers | 0 | 19 |
| Motor Torpedo Boats | 24 | 85 |

pated armed conflict flared up. Japan's incredible victory over such a Western Power as Russia made the whole world wonder and marvel at the transformation of Japan which had taken place since the Perry visit in 1853.[51] While the victory

[50]Robert P. Porter, Japan: The Rise of a Modern Power (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1918), pp. 319-20.

[51]Admiration for Japan's accomplishments in such a brief period of time finds a characteristic expression in the following words:

> There is nothing in human history more astonishing than the swiftness and success with which, in the course of a very few years, Japan discarded the forms of an ancient and admirable civilization under which she had lived contentedly for many centuries and by an extraordinary effort of national will adopted, and adapted to her own needs, a totally different system.

Ramsey Muir, A Short History of the British Commonwealth,

over China made Japan merely "a minor power"[52] which could not be ignored any longer, the victory over Russia established Japan as a full-fledged major military and political power in the world. Since Japan's dazzling victory against Russia was so momentous in terms of stimulating further Japanese national consciousness and enhancing Japan's international ranking, we should present some illustrations.

Immediately prior to the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War,

> Nicholas the Second was so firmly convinced of it (Russia's victory) that he hesitated to make war on Japan, lest he should compromise the dignity of his "great" Empire by the easiest conquest of so small a State.[53]

It was obvious that the Russians, with the contempt bred of valor and vodka, thought that they could easily crush the absurd impertinence of the yellow islanders. They failed, however, to realize that the yellow islanders could die but could not fail, for the Japanese religion was well-nigh inseparable from patriotism. "Patriotism and religion," as

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Vol. II: The Modern Commonwealth (1763-1919) (New York: World Book Co., 1923), p. 617.

[52]Spinks, op. cit., 317. Also Hugh Borton, in this connection, writes as follows: "In 1895 Japan was largely an unknown quantity. Despite its victory over China, it was still considered by the Western powers as a backward, semi-feudal, inferior country." Borton, op. cit., p. 272.

[53]Herbert Paul, "Liberals and Foreign policy," The Nineteenth Century and After, November, 1905, p. 863.

a Westerner has written, "has been so often at variance that country whose religion is patriotism has an obvious advantage."[54]

Japan's smashing military victories against Russia turned the latter's prewar arrogance into a humiliating embarassment. General Staessel's last report to the Czar, dated January 1, 1905, a day before he surrendered at Port Arthur to General Nogi, contains the following passages:

> We shall be obliged to capitulate, but everything is in the hands of God. We have suffered fearful losses. Great sovereign, pardon us. We have done everything humanly possible. Judge us, but be merciful. Nearly eleven months of uninterrupted struggles have exhausted us. Only one-quarter of the garrison is alive, and of this number the majority are sick, and, being obliged to act on the defensive without even short intervals for repose, are worn to shadows.[55]

It is worth contrasting the distressing war situation on the part of a divided Russia,[56] which was devoid of patriotism,[57] with the self-sacrificing patriotism of a strongly united Japan. The Japanese soldiers went to the war, stern,

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[54]Herbert Paul, "The New Alliance," The Nineteenth Century and After, October, 1905, p. 523.

[55]Quoted in "The Surrender of Port Arthur," The Independent, January 12, 1905, p. 63.

[56]For a convenient glimpse of Russia's political situation at that time, see Catherine Breschkovsky, "The Internal Condition of Russia," The Independent, January 5, 1905, pp. 12-16.

[57]That the pitiful history of autocratic Russia had been incapable of fostering patriotism in the Russian people is well discussed by Joseph Conrad, "Autocracy and War," North American Review, CLXXXI, No. 584 (July, 1905), 33-55.

devoted, ready to die if their death might serve their country and enable her to maintain her independence and achieve her destiny. True to the spirit of Bushidō, they valued their life little in comparison with their sense of duty to their Empire and its Mikado. It does appear that they were fully convinced that their victorious death would be the glory of Japan. Japanese contempt for death was well demonstrated by General Nogi when he described the death of both his sons in the war:

> One of my sons gave his life at Hanshan and the other at 203-Meter Hill. Both of these positions were of the greatest importance to the Japanese army. I am glad that the sacrifice of my sons' lives was in the capture of such important positions, as I feel the sacrifices were not made in vain. Their lives were nothing compared to the objects sought.[58]

We are by no means stretching the fact too far when we state taht Japan's dazzling victories over China and Russia were largely attributable to the spiritual force which was the manifestation of patriotism and loyalty of the Japanese people.[59] While the victory over China was a partial realization of Japan's ambition, the victory over Russia was the consummation of his ambition. The sudden rise of Japan to a foremost place among the major powers of the world added anew a special meaning to her national consciousness. Prior to

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[58]"The Surrender of Port Arthur," op. cit., p. 63.

[59]Cf. Okuma Shigenobu, "Japanese Problems," North American Review, CLXXX, No. 579 (January, 1905), 161-165.

the Russo-Japanese War, Japan was popularly supposed to be inferior in blood and energy to her great European opponent. Japan's startling triumph over Russia did naturally issue in a greater national pride of the Japanese and the revival of Western concern about the Yellow Peril.[60]

To be sure, the successful extension and broadening of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed on August 12, 1905[61] was a second major diplomatic victory for Japan, which was indicative of Japan's heightened international prestige. No sooner had Japan attained her two most important diplomatic objectives--"equality and security"[62]--than she launched into her long-awaited aggressive expansionism. Having properly

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[60]Even before the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, Western observers sounded warnings with amazing accuracy as to the Japanese menace to the Western Powers:

> Whatever be the issue of the war, there is now a new factor in politics, and as the Pacific is probably the battlefield of the future, in half a century Japan may be a serious menace to Germany, to America, or even to Great Britain herself.

"Musings Without Method," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, October, 1904, p. 569.

[61]The Treaty of 1902 was limited and specific in scope, whereas the revised Treaty of 1905 was much wider and more comprehensive. In effect, the new Alliance acknowledged the sacrifice of Korean independence and condoned the Japanese ambition for expansion. See British and Foreign State Papers, 1904-1905, p. 137; Chang Chung-fu, The Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1931), pp. 204-205; Walter Wallace McLaren, A Political History of Japan During the Meiji Era, 1867-1912 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1916), 311-313.

[62]Viscount Ishii Kikujirō, "The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, XI, No. 2 (January, 1933), 220.

disposed of her main rivals in the Far East, Japan embarked upon the policy of extinguishing Korea as a Sovereign State. As Walter W. McLaren explains:

> . . . the policy of guaranteeing the independence of Korea initiated by Japan in 1885, in which she was followed by the Western Powers, was devised for the purpose of securing the safety of that State until Japan was prepared to carry out her design of absorption. Both the time and the circumstances seemed ripe in 1905, and Japan moved in the direction of her ambitions. Great Britain's acquiescence in the Japanese policy had been assured by the Treaty of Alliance in 1905, while that of the United States was plainly signified by the withdrawal of her diplomatic representative in Seoul.[63]

What the above tells us is that the treaties between nations, like young girls, only last while they last. This logic of international power politics at the time led a Japanese writer to state bluntly: "It is always safe to count upon your own strength than to depend on the sense of justice, humanity, and responsibility of your allies."[64] Japan, emerging as the predominant Power of the Far East in the wake of the war against Russia, had gained universal admiration for her rapid learning of Western civilization and her military strength. Partly out of the Russophobia of the major Powers, in particular, of the Anglo-Saxon World, Japan's emergence as the predominant Power in East Asia for one reason or another succeeded in beguiling the unwary Western Powers into

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[63] McLaren, op. cit., p. 113.

[64] Adachi Kinnosuke, "Probable Japanese Terms of Peace," North American Review, CLXXX, No. 582 (May, 1905), 686.

believing that Japan would be an ideal countervailing force against Russia's expansive ambitions.[65]

Japan's smashing military victories over China and Russia transformed Japanese nationalism from a fearful type to a confident type.[66] The national consciousness of the Japanese people following the victory against Russia took on a new characteristic redolent of blinding national pride and condescension. Unburdened no longer by the fear for Western encroachment and interference, the growing feeling of national pride and confidence bred a sense of national mission which Japan felt obliged to carry out for the sake of the Asiatic peoples. As Paul S. Reinsch wrote in 1905:

> With the last decade (1895-1905) there has dawned upon

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[65]That Japan was preferred to Russia as the ambitious power in the Far East was no secret at the time. For example, see Herbert Paul, "The New Alliance," p. 523:

> There is, of course, no danger of Japan taking Russia's place as a center of Asiatic disturbance. But as a rival power to Russia and a triumphant rival, she becomes a force in Asiatic politics which cannot be ignored.

President Theodore Roosevelt's favorable attitude toward Japan west so far as to wish that Japan would provide a balance of power in the Far East. Simeon Strunsky, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Prelude to 1914," Foreign Affairs, IV, No. 1 (October, 1925), p. 149:

> . . . he (Roosevelt) had callously consented to the destruction of Korean independence. . . .there is little doubt that he had no sympathy to spare for a people incapable of defending its own liberties. If the possession of Korea was necessary to keep Japan satisfied and maintain peace in the Far East, sentimentality should not be allowed to stand in the way.

[66]Delmer Brown, op. cit., p. 147.

> the Japanese mind an influence far transcending any former national experiences, --the feeling of a sacred mission by which the Island Nation is called to act as the guardian of Asiatic civilization, to summon the peoples of Asia to a realization of their unity, and to defend the ideals and treasures of Asiatic life against ruthless destruction through foreign invasion.[67]

This self-assigned sacred mission of Japan[68] was expanded even to include the notion that it behooved Japan to play the leadership role in the "Moral World," by making a unique contribution to civilization. It appeared that the blinding national pride rendered the Japanese capable of almost unbelievable national self-delusion. They apparently believed that their country was destined to play a bridging-function to unite the Eastern and Western ideals.[69] The Japanese experience seems to lend validity to the argument that "the sensitiveness and intensity of a nation's honor increases directly with a recognition of its relative military strength, and inversely with the consciousness of the strength of an opposing military power."[70]

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[67]Paul S. Reinsch, "Japan and Asiatic Leadership," North American Review, CLXXX, No. 578 (January, 1905), 48.

[68]The sacred mission entertained by the Japanese may be likened to Britain's "White Man's Burden," America's "Manifest Destiny," France's "Civilizing Mission," and Belgium's "Civilizing Action."

[69]Watanabe Kunio, "Tōzai Bummei no Shokusetsu-chi" (The Connection Point of Eastern and Western Cultures), Taiyō, January, 1905, reviewed in Japan Weekly Mail, January 28, 1905.

[70]Perla, op. cit., p. 125. Also contrast, in this regard, J. H. Defrost, "The Japan of 1904," The Independent, January 19, 1905, pp. 131-138 with Colonel the Earl of Erroll,

Highly intoxicated in a tide of patriotism and national pride after 1905 and steeped in taking advantage of the political situation favorable to her aggrandizement, Japan began to reveal the true nature of her imperialistic designs in the Far East. Her progressive domination of Korea, culminating in the annexation of the latter in 1910, and the flagrancy of her exploitation in Manchuria and China soon disabused other nations of Japan's limitless ambition for expansion.[71] Western nations' belated realization and distrust of Japan's true intention and the former's demural at the latter's aggressive policies were too impractical and ineffective to stem "the march of events" in the Far East.[72]

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"The Nation and the Army," The Nineteenth Century and After, LIX, No. 349 (March, 1906), 429-34.

[71]Japan, which was admired and respected in 1905 for her military prowess and her swift conversion to Western civilization, was subject to suspicion and distrust in 1910, evoking the panicky fear of a "Yellow Peril." For a good contrast, see Sydney Brooks, "Some Results of the War," North American Review, CLXXXI, No. 587 (October, 1905), p. 595:

> The "yellow peril," as the Kaiser figures it, must always remain a mere nightmare; but that Japan will seek to rouse and harness the vast potential energy of China, to organize her resources and to shape her policy, seems not only natural, but necessary.

Congressional Record, XLVI, February 20, 1911, pp. 2989-2990:

> We are short on providing equilibrium in the Atlantic and we have not a single battleship in the Pacific and our relative naval strength is steadily declining. War is therefore a physical certainty. . . . Japan has been the one nation in the world with acuteness and ability to finance a war before it comes. Japan is hard up now, because the war is already financed.

[72]U. S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1915, pp. 134-37.

Japan was agreeably surprised to find that the immediate effect of her demonstration of military prowess was to make herself both courted and feared. Since the Japanese were not foolish in reading history or in observing international politics, they fully "realized that however far toward social perfection in the individual relations the Western nations may have progressed, in international relations the law of the jungle still holds good."[73]

Having savored the usufruct of comparative military power in international politics and wallowed in the enhanced national pride following the military victories against China and Russia, the Japanese apparently came to the conclusion that they had to play the game in Far Eastern politics as her Western rivals were playing it.[74] By imitating the Western precedents of power politics against her Asian neighbors Japan brought down on her the ill will and distrust not only of Korea, China, and the Wester powers, but also of a host of Asian peoples. Indeed, Japan, which in 1905 seemed to be the champion of Asia against Western encroachments in Asia, came to be feared as an exponent of as selfish a policy as the Western powers had ever attempted.[75]

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[73]James Francis Abbott, Japanese Expansion and American Policies (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 41.

[74]For example, see Kawai Kazuo, "Anglo-German Rivalry in the Yangtze Region, 1895-1902," Pacific Historical Review, VIII, No. 4 (December, 1939), 413-33.

[75]McLaren, op. cit., p. 315.

Of course, Japan was intent on defending her aggressive policies by pointing out the vital interests which she had in Korea and China, so near at hand, while the Western powers had only indirect interests in these regions. It seemed to be the contention of Japan that the security of no Western power would be jeopardized if Korea fell under foreign control or China was carved up among the great powers. The fact remained that the ascendance of Japan to the rank of the great powers by dint of military success and expansive policies further sharpened the centuries-old national consciousness, on the one hand, and occasioned Japan to share with Russia the unenviable reputation of being a disturber of the peace in East Asia.[76]

Emboldened by her military strength and by the absence of direct interference with her expansion on the

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[76]That both Japan and Russia were to be distrusted and feared following the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War by most peoples could be explained by the weakness of China and Korea and by the historical ambitions of Russia and Japan. We should not that the generally pro-Japanese attitutdes that prevailed during the Russo-Japanese War lay more in the antipathy against Russia than in the favorable position of Japan. No passage could represent this opinion better than that by Theodore Roosevelt:

> While Russia's triumph would have been a blow to civilization, her destruction as an eastern Asiatic power would also in my opinion be unfortunate. It is best that she should be left face to face with Japan so that each may have a moderating action on the other.

See Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), II, 153.

continent,[77] Japan persistently pursued her ambitious policies to become an unquestioned predominant power in the Far East. For nearly a decade after 1905, Japan was free from the fear of aggressive acts by foreign powers, enjoying a national consciousness based on confidence and experiencing one of the most remarkable periods of economic growth in her history.[78] This prideful period naturally led the Japanese to broach upon, and delve into, such Japanese nationalistic subjects as Bushidō[79] and Kokutai[80] in order to justify

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[77]A thinly veiled acquiescence in Japanese Monroe Doctrine was implied when President Theodore Roosevelt went so far as to state that Japan had

> a paramount interest in what surrounds the Yellow Sea, just as the United States has a paramount interest in what surrounds the Caribbean; but with, I hoped, no more desire for conquest of the weak than we have shown ourselves to have in Cuba, and no more desire for a truculent attitude towards the strong than with reference to the English . . . (Roosevelt was inclined to believe that there was no) danger of Japan's becoming intoxicated with the victory.

Stephen Gwynn, ed., The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice: A Record (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929), I, 417.

[78]For a detailed discussion of the economic growth of this period, see William W. Lockwood, The Economic Development of Japan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 18-37.

[79]Alfred Stead, a Western war correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War, cogently called the Bushidō the soul of Japan. He attributed the remarkable fighting spirit and discipline of the Japanese soldiers to Bushidō. For a meaningful discussion of the relationship between Bushidō and Japanese national efficiency, see his article, "The Soul of a Nation," The Times (London), October 4, 1904, p. 6.

[80]Kokutai had been such a symbolic and all-embracing

Japan's "uniqueness" and greatness.

The prideful Japanese national consciousness was further stimulated by the heightening national prestige in the world and by the expansion of influence in the Far East during the First World War.[81] Indeed, Japan's ambition to become a full-fledged great power was at last realized when Japan, as an ally of England, the United States, and France, emerged triumphant from the First World War.[82]

While Japan's successive military victories and her expanding influence in world politics catapulted her into the ranks of the great powers, her fulsome ambition for expansion did not fail to elicit suspicion and distrust from most of the nations.[83] Since political leaders in Japan believed that the Western powers were in no position to resist or interfere in Japan's expansive designs in East Asia during the First World War, they were determined to take maximum advantage of the political situation favorable for Japan's exploitation. A memorandum presented on November 29, 1914 by the Black

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political concept in Japan until 1945 that it will be dealt with at some length shortly.

[81]Hara Keiichiro, ed., Hara Kei Nikki (Diary of Hara Kei) (9 Vols., Tokyo: Kengensha, 1950-1951), VI, 175.

[82]Ibid., VIII, 80.

[83]The fulsomeness of Japan's aggrandizement was most vividly revealed in the case of the ill-fated "Twenty-one Demands." The English translations of the original texts of the "Twenty-One Demands" are found in U. S., Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1915, pp. 160-61.

Dragon Society advocating the solution of the Chinese question may be said to be representative of the Japanese nationalistic mood of the time. The memorandum reads in part:

> . . . whether or not the Imperial Japanese Government can settle the Far Eastern Question and bring to realization our great Imperial policy depends on our being able to skillfully avail ourselves of the world's general trend of affairs so as to extend our influence and decide upon a course of action towards China which shall be practical in execution. . . . Now is the most opportune moment for Japan quickly to solve the Chinese question. Such an opportunity will not occur for hundreds of years to come. Not only is it Japan's divine duty to act now, but present conditions in China favor the execution of such a plan. We should by all means decide and act at once. If our authorities do not avail themselves of this rare opportunity, great difficulty will surely be encountered in the future in the settlement of the Chinese question. Japan will be isolated from the European Powers after the war and will be regarded by them with envy and jealousy, just as Germany is now regarded. Is it now, then, a vital necessity for Japan to solve at this very moment the Chinese Question?[84]

The nature of Japanese nationalism for the period from 1905 to 1918 was markedly different from that that had preceded the end of the Russo-Japanese War and even from that that followed the end of the First World War. Japanese nationalism of this period took on a proud and confident type. Superficial treatment of this period, however, could go so far as to contend that the Japanese were interested more in democratic ideals and internationalism than in Japanese nationalism. Nevertheless, "nationalism," as Delmer Brown writes, "was stronger than it would at first appear to be."[85]

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[84] Ibid., pp. 133-34.

[85] Delmer Brown, op. cit., p. 169; for a detailed

That Japan felt no immediate threat to her national security perhaps for the first time in her national history during the period from 1905 to 1918 does by no means imply that she relaxed her concern about essential factors that affected her national security, interests, and honor. Even as early as August, 1914, immediately after the outbreak of the First World War, Yamagata Arimoto believed that it was an age of racial conflicts. He opined that, after the cessation of hostilities in Europe, there would be a confrontation between white races and colored races in the East. Should such a situation occur it would be necessary for Japan to win the confidence of China to jointly cope with Western powers--the theme of a coalition on a racial basis was to prevail in countering the Western challenge.[86]

As Yamagata presciently observed, no sooner had Japan attained her long-coveted great power status than she was confronted with other powers' distrust and jealousy. Also particularly disturbing following the end of World War I was the gloomy aspect of her national economy in contrast to the wartime-economic boom, as depicted in the following table.

The galling humiliation to which Japan was still

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description of Japan's unflagging interest in national aggrandizement rather than international cooperation immediately before and after the end of World War I, see Hara Kei Nikki, VIII, 62-118.

[86]Oka Yoshitake, Nihon Kindaishi Taikei, V: Tenkanki no Taishō, 1914-1924 (An Outline of Modern History of Japan, V: The Turning Point of Taishō, 1914-1924) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1969), pp. 27-28.

TABLE 3

Growth of Trade of Japan With Foreign Countries, Korea, and Formosa, 1885-1938[87]

| Annual Average | Imports | Exports | Balance of Trade |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1885-1889 | 47 | 55 | +8 |
| 1890-1894 | 84 | 86 | +2 |
| 1895-1899 | 206 | 163 | -43 |
| 1900-1904 | 308 | 274 | -34 |
| 1905-1909 | 468 | 413 | -55 |
| 1910-1914 | 650 | 606 | -44 |
| 1915-1919 | 1,423 | 1,663 | +240 |
| 1920-1924 | 2,440 | 1,915 | -525 |
| 1925-1929 | 2,849 | 2,494 | -355 |
| 1930-1934 | 2,212 | 2,058 | -154 |
| 1935-1938 | 3,868 | 3,772 | -96 |

subjected even after her meteoric rise to the rank of world's great powers was the question of racial discrimination.[88] The

[87]Lockwood, op. cit., p. 313.

[88]That the racial question was a serious political issue even after the end of World War I is clearly manifested by the fact that it was repeatedly dealt with by Japanese political leaders. See, for example, Hara Kei Nikki, VIII, 175, 181-82, 186, 204; also see in this connection, Raymond

mixture of national ambition, national frustration,[89] and economic difficulties was largely responsible for ultra-nationalism, military risks and commitments which ultimately led Japan down the path of Pearl Uarbor and subsequent disaster in 1945.

In the following, we will examine such powerful concepts as Shintōism, Kokutai, and "Thought-Control" to come to grips with the political measures which were used by the government to intensify patriotism and extract unquestioning, subservient loyalties from the Japanese people.

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Leslie Buell, "The Development of the Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States," Political Science Quarterly, XXXVII, No. 4 (December, 1922), 605-38.

[89]After the war Japan was ruefully aware of the reality that "the world was to be ruled by the influence of England and America," compelling Japan to pursue her ambition only on sufference of Western powers. Hara Kei Nikki, VIII, 250.

## CHAPTER IV

## FORTIFICATION OF NATIONALISM: SHINTOISM

Shintō (the Way of the Gods), or Kami-no-Michi, is the religious belief indigenous to the land of Japan.[1] It consists mainly of nature worship, containing no theological doctrines. There was some spirit of ancestor worship which was apparently the result of early Confucian influence, though the tradition of ancestor worship is believed to have existed in Japan itself.[2] The medieval Shintō is characterized as "Ryōbu-Shintō" (Two-Sided Shintō),[3]

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[1]For a good treatment of the origin and the meaning of the term Kamino Michi, see Kume Kunitake, Nihon Kodai Shi to Shinto no Kankei (The Relations of Ancient Japanese History and Shinto)(Tokyo: Kodokan, 1907), esp. pp. 1-18; Dr. Holtom has argued in his article "The Meaning of Kami" that the Japanese concept of Kami and the Maori word Mana have the same meaning--namely, that the power or influence which is not physical, but often manifests itself in a physical force. In Maori Mana means "authority," "prestige," "supernatural power," "efficiency," etc. See D. C. Holtom, "The Meaning of Kami," Monumenta Nipponica, III, No. 1 (1960), pp. 1-27; II, No. 2, pp. 32-33; IV, No. 2 (1941), pp. 25-68.

[2]For a detailed discussion of Japanese ancestor worship, see, R. J. Kirby, "Ancestral Worship in Japan," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXVIII--Part IV (1911), 233-67.

[3]D. C. Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō: A Study of the State Religion of Japan," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XLIX--Part II (1922), 8.

because of its alliance with the elements of Buddhism. The Shintō of the early modern period bears the stamp of Confucian influence as well as the reactions to it.[4] The Shintō for about two centuries prior to the Meiji Restoration in 1868 is the revival of old Shintō. This period of Japanese Renaissance of old Shintō merits particular attention in that this movement marks "the beginning of the development of national consciousness."[5]

The Japanese interest in rediscovering the old Shintō was so significant as to merit the laborious treatment of no less a scholar than Sir Ernest M. Satow. As the beginning passage of his study read:

> By 'pure Shintō' is meant the religious belief of the Japanese people previous to the introduction of Buddhism and the Confucian philosophy into Japan, and by its revival the attempt which a modern school of writers has made to eliminate these extraneous influences, and to present Shintō in its original form. The very name of Shintō is repudiated by this school, on the ground that the word was never applied to the ancient religious belief until the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism rendered its employment necessary for the sake of distinction, and the argument that, because this belief is called by a Chinese name, it must therefore be of Chinese origin, is of no value whatsoever.[6]

The Shintō that had been refurbished by the awakening

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[4]For a good discussion of the Confucian influence in Japan, see Walter Dening, "Confucian Philosophy in Japan," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXVI--Part II (1908), 101-52.

[5]Holtom, op. cit., 9.

[6]Satow, "The Revival of Pure Shin-Tau," p. 1.

of modern Japanese national consciousness came to be strongly combined with Japanese nationalism after 1868. Since it is both unnecessary and beyond the scope of this study to dwell upon the details of the historical development of Shintō, we will deal with only those aspects of Shintō that have been responsible for the "distinct"[7] Japanese national consciousness, political loyalties and patriotism, and the extreme nature of Japanese nationalism until 1945.

Sinto in Support of the Japanese State

Meiji Japan adopted Shintō as the State religion to make it "an engine of government."[8] Political leaders of post-Restoration Japan stimulated nationalism skillfully and forcefully in order to centralize the national power, to bring about the national unity needed for rapid modernization and to strengthen national defense against foreign encroachments. It may be said that Japanese nationalism was a compound of Shintō, Emperor worship and Bushidō.[9] As already touched

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[7]A prominent Japanese depicted the distinctness of Germany and Japan in the wake of the end of World War I in the following words: "There are two self-intoxicated nations in the world, Germany and Japan." Quoted in Kagawa Toyohiko, Christ and Japan (New York: Friendship Press, 1934), p. 43.

[8]Cabot Coville, "Shinto, Engine of Government," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Third Series, Vol. I (December, 1948), 4.

[9]Alfred Stead went so far as to call Bushidō "the soul of Japan." See his "The Soul of a Nation," The Times (London), October 4, 1904, p. 6; for a detailed account of Bushido, see Nitobe Inazo, Bushido, the Soul of Japan (New York: Putnam, 1905); for a recent treatment, see Kurt Singer,

upon briefly, Bushido had existed in Japan for centuries, instilling in, and demanding of, the Japanese such qualities as self-sacrifice, discipline, loyalty, and obedience which were regarded by government leaders as ideal moral principles for the Japanese people as a whole during the period of modernization and national aggrandizement which began with the Meiji Restoration, and lasted until 1945.

Indeed, from the Restoration of 1868 until the defeat in 1945 did the State Shintō provide government leaders the ideological weapon with which to keep the Japanese people under control and to elicit unquestioning loyalties. According to the ideology of the State Shintō, the Japanese people existed to serve the State and to do what they were told.[10] The leaders of the Restoration movement, made up of mainly Confucian samurai and Shintō nationalists, were fully convinced of the necessity of inventing a new religion in order to strengthen the authority of the Emperor and his regime. As early as February 10, 1868, the Meiji government issued an order which called for the formation of seven departments of government, of which the Jingikan, the Department of Shintō, was given the highest position. This constituted the so-called Saisei-ich, the unity of worship and government.[11]

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Mirror, Sword and Jewel: A Study of Japanese Characteristics (New York: George Braziller, 1973), pp. 149-68.

[10]Kato Genchi, A Study of Shinto: The Religion of the Japanese Nation (London: Curzon Press, 1971), pp. 206-208.

[11]Holton, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

What the Department of Shintō emphasized most was the unity of education and the central ideas of Shintō.[12] The Department of Shintō was intent on the suppression of Buddhism and the prohibition of Christianity. The Meiji government established Senkyoshi (The Office of Propagandists) to proclaim the political significance of the revived Shintō to the nation. In the first month of 1870, the Emperor issued a rescript specifying the relationship of Shintō to the Japanese State and the intentions of the government in that respect. The rescript was of such political import as to merit quotation at some length:

> We solemnly announce: The Heavenly Deities and the Great Ancestors (Amaterasu-Ōmikami) established the throne and made the succession sure. The line of Emperors, following one after the other, entered into possession thereof and transmitted the same and the innumerable subjects were of a single mind. Government and Education were made clear, above, and the manners of the people were beautiful, below. Beginning with the Middle Ages, however, there were sometimes seasons of decay and sometimes of progress. Sometimes the Way was plain, sometimes, darkened, and the period in which government and education failed to flourish was long. But now, in the cycle of fate, (all this) is reformed. Government and education must be made plain that the Great Way of faith in the kami may be propagated. Accordingly, we newly appoint propagandists to proclaim this to the nation. Do you our subjects keep this commandment in mind.[13]

The rescript signaled a political suppression of Buddhism,

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[12] Yoshii Yoshiaki, Jinja Seido no Kenkyo (A Study of the Shrine System) (Tokyo: Kodokan, 1935), p. 358.

[13] D. C. Holtom, The National Faith of Japan: A Study in Modern Shinto (London: Kegan, Paul, 1938), p. 55.

for it was an alien religion and had flourished under the aegis of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Buddhists were expelled from the Ryobo Shintō shrines. Legislation was initiated by the politically-minded Shintōists stipulating that the Buddhists priests attached to the Shintō shrines should immediately give up their offices and that all shrines should forego the use of Buddhist images as Shintai.[14] Moreover, Buddhist decorations, scriptures, and statues were forcibly removed. At times things Buddhist were indiscriminately destroyed. In the extreme cases, they were even set on fire together with temples.[15]

The problem encountered in the course of abolishing things Buddhist or persecuting Buddhists lay in the fact that the faith of the overwhelming majority of the Japanese was in the Meiji period, as it is tody, an inseparable mixture of elements drawn without distinction from both Shintō and Buddhism. It did not take long for those in power to realize that the forcible government attempt to separate Shintō from Buddhism was producing an unwholesome wound in the very vitals of national life.[16]

Slowly the government was perforce led to relax its

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[14]Objects of worship, housed in Shintō shrines, in which the Kami were believed to dwell.

[15]When it became clear that the movement for the separation of Shintō and Buddhism made headway, anti-Buddhists were on a burning and destruction spree against all traces of Buddhism, persecuting Buddhist priests and monks. See Kōno Shōzō, Jingishi Gaiyo (An Outline of Shintō History)(Tokyo: Mōrie Shoten, 1927), p. 147.

[16]Ibid., pp. 148-49.

anti-Buddhist policy. The Department of Religion (Kyōbushō) was established to control the affairs of both Buddhism and Shintō on April 21, 1872, supplanting the controversial Department of Shintō.[17] Under the new organization, both Shintō and Buddhist priests came to be called Kyōdō Shoku (Teachers of Religion and Morals), who were to carry out public instruction. The official doctrine of this new system was called the "Great Teaching" (Dai-kyō) instead of Shintō or Buddhism. The underlying principles of the Great Teaching are formulated as follows:

> "1. It should embody the principles of reverence for the gods and love of country.
> 2. It should make clear the Truth of Heaven and the Way of Humanity.
> 3. It should lead people to respect the Emperor and be obedient to his will."[18]

In an attempt to foster the principles of the Great Teaching, the government established a so-called Dai Kyōin (Great Institute of Instruction) in Tokyo, and the subordinate institutes called Chū Kyōin (the Intermediate Institutes of Instruction) in the rural districts. These institutes, in effect, were to further the ideas of Shintō shrines in which the four great Kami--the Sun-goddess and the three Great Deities of Creation--were worshipped. Priests of both Buddhism and Shintō were instructed to combine their efforts in teaching and preaching and overlook their private beliefs. The govern-

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[17]Holtom, The National Faith of Japan, p. 59.

[18]Quoted in Ibid., p. 60.

ment's ambition, however, was soon to be frustrated, for the underlying principles of the Great Teaching, being no more than the ideals of Shintō nationalism, clearly militated against the Buddhist priests. In 1877, the Department of Religion itself was abolished and legal control of Shintō and Buddhism was provided for by establishing anew a bureau of Shrines and Temples in the Department of Home Affairs.[19]

Failures in religious policies convinced the political leaders that the question of national unity under the Imperial Family could only be successfully worked out by the Shrine Shintō. There is no denying, however, that, despite the difficulties involved in religious policies, Shrine Shintō, from the Restoration until 1875 when the Higher Institute of Instruction was abolished, functioned largely as a national cult in Japan.[20]

The shifting religious policies in the first decade after the Restoration indicate the new government's dogged interest in making the best use of Shintō to bring about national unification, on the one hand, and the intractable problem involved in creating a political ideology out of a religious belief that as been inextricably intertwined with the whole fabric of national life from time immemorial.[21]

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[19] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[20] Ibid., pp. 63-65.

[21] How the all-embracing Shintō is to the national life of Japan is neatly depicted by Professor Kakehi: "To

Determined to work out a dominating conception that would silence the political agitation by the liberal-minded, that would be in outward conformity with the political ideas of the civilized Western nations, and that would put Japan in a place of leadership, conservative government leaders searched for a constitutional framework which would facilitate the pressing tasks of national unification and speedy modernization. In Mary, 1882, the Emperor ordered Ito Hirobuni to lead a mission of investigation to Europe to study and observe the various systems of government. The end-result of the mission's investigation was reinforcing of Ito's conservative convictions.[22]

In addition to attending a series of lectures by Rudolph Gneist, Lorenz von Stein, and Albert Mosse, Ito had a meaningful conversation with Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck's political advice to Ito and the latter's whole-hearted acceptance thereof were to pave the way for Japan in the direction of Shintōism-Emperorism and military adventurism. Bismarck advised Ito to the effect that Japan should revive those elements of Shintō that exalt the authority and divinity of the Emperor. Ito was further impressed by the counsel that

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understand Shinto is to gain insight into Japan and the innermost life of the Japanese; for under no circumstances may Shinto be ignored by them, for such would be tantamount to denying their national existence." Quoted in Taid O'Conroy, The Menace of Japan (New York: H. C. Kinsey, 1934), p. 70.

[22]For a critical analysis of Ito's political convictions influenced in no small way by Hermann Roesler, see Johannes Siemes, Hermann Roesler and the Making of the Meiji State (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1968), esp. pp. 9-14; also see Borton, op. cit., pp. 155-58.

the mighty problems of the age would not be solved by speeches and resolutions of majorities, but by blood and iron. The iron Chancellor and German political philosophers reminded Ito with emphasis that the Japanese nation enjoyed a great advantage over Germany. The tradition that the Emperor of Japan was divine was two thousand years old and only needed to be revived. Ito and his associates returned home in August, 1883 with the conviction that "emperor-worship be made the foundation of the Japanese Empire."[23]

Thus, the conservative political leaders, taking advantage of ages-old Shintō, embarked upon "The Invention of a New Religion" to lay an emotional foundation stone for the necessary reverence and obedience.[24] The conservative oligarchy attempted to do this by making the Emperor the focal figure of Shintō. Forced to be not unmindful of the fact that the freedom of faith existed in a civilized nation, the Meiji oligarchy was compelled to do something with Shintō so as to impress the world that the Japanese also enjoyed the freedom of faith, on the one hand, and to make the Japanese honor the ancestors of the Emperor.[25]

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[23]Quoted in Douglas G. Haring, Blood on the Rising Sun (Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Co., 1943), p. 18.

[24]How the Meiji oligarchy maneuvered to bring about a new religion in support of the State is cogently described by Basil H. Chamberlain who resided in Japan in those years of change. See his The Invention of a New Religion (London: Watts & Co., 1912).

[25]Ariga Nagao, "Shintō Kokkyō Ron," Tetsugaku Zasshi, XXV, No. 280 (June, 1910), p. 702.

As a means to kill two birds with one stone, the government divided Shintō institutions, Jinja (Shintō-Shrines) and Shintō Kyōkai (Shintō-Churches). All Shintō bodies classified under the latter division were separated from direct relationship with the state and were obliged to depend upon private initiative for organization and support.[26]

The main points of difference between the two divisions of Shintō can be seen as follows: First, Shintō churches, or Sect Shintō, is mainly concerned with the faith and activities of historical founders whereas Shintō Shrines, or State Shintō, is intent on perpetuating the authentic, traditional beliefs and rituals of the Japanese people, and declares that it has spontaneously developed in national life without the help of individual historical founders. Second, Sect Shintō is engaged in definite religious propaganda through religious preachers and teachers. It conducts such religious services as exhortation, prayer, and ritualistic adoration. State Shintō, on the other hand, is engaged in celebrating ceremonies and festivals deemed suitable to the fostering of national consciousness or for the exaltation of national characteristics. Third, State Shintō is under the control of a special Bureau of Shrines in the Department of Home Affairs, while Sect Shintō is controlled, together with other organized religions, by the Bureau of Religions in the Department

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[26]Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō," 23-24.

of Education.[27]

Despite the official separation of State Shintō from Sect Shintō, we note that there is one conspicuous point of identity between the Shintō of the state and that of the people. It is that the Kami of Sect Shintō and those of State Shintō are for the most part identical.[28] Nevertheless, the government pursued a high-handed policy in the separation of State Shintō and Sect Shintō, arguing that State Shintō was not a religion, but a system of national ceremonies and urging the people to take part in these ceremonies as loyal subjects and out of reverence for the Imperial ancestors.[29]

On February 11, 1889, the government proclaimed the Constitution of the Empire of Japan, which reaffirmed the position of State Shintō. Article I reads

> The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

And Article II reads:

> The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.[30]

The chief architect of the Meiji Constitution, Ito

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[27]Holtom, The National Faith of Japan, pp. 68-69.

[28]Ibid., p. 69.

[29]Ibid., pp. 70-71.

[30]George M. Beckmann, The Making of the Meiji Constituion: The Oligarchy and the Constitutional Development of Japan, 1868-1891 (Lawrence Kansas: University of Kansas Publications, 1957), p. 151.

Hirobuni, explained the Emperor system as the state religion in the following words:

> When politics are committed to the blind councils of the people without an axis, they lose their control and the nation will become decadent. In Europe, since the institution of constitutional governments more than a thousand years ago, this form of government was not only familiar to the people, but also there was a religion as "an axis" which had penetrated into the minds of the people. In our country, however, religions are very weak and insignificant in terms of their influence. Thus none of them could be the "national axis." Buddhism once had a strong influence, but now this influence is waning. Shintō, ableit it is based on the teachings of our ancestors, cannot guide the minds of the people as a religion. Therefore, the only center of the Japanese nation is the Imperial Family. From this point of view most emphasis was placed on reverence for the Imperial House when the draft of the Constitution was made . . .[31]

The passage just quoted clearly indicates the intention of the oligarch: to make Emperiorism a state religion. But, the makers of the Meiji Constitution were so skillful in their wording that the Japanese people were given the freedom of religious belief and deprived of it simultaneously. As Article XXVIII of the Constitution reads:

> Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.[32]

The crux of the matter was that the participation in many of the rites of State Shintō, in particular, for school

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[31]Quoted in Sumiya Mikio, Kindai Nihon no Keisei to Kirisutokyō (Formation of Modern Japan and Christianity) (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1961), pp. 109-110.

[32]Beckmann, op. cit., p. 152.

children, was interpreted as their duties as subjects. In effect, religious freedom was permitted only on condition that any Japanese subject had to be loyal to the Emperor on the basis of the Shintō faith.

The promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education[33] on October 30, 1890 was very important for strengthening the position of State Shintō. The Rescript had been the most important, all-embracing political justification to cope with the rising tide of the utilitarian, even anti-moralistic, tendencies, and the blind exaltation of individualism,[34] to cultivate national morality, and to make the entire system of education subservient to the nationalistic values of Shintō.[35] As Sir George B. Sansom writes with cogency on the purpose of a Japanese university,

> . . . the purpose of a university is to teach the arts and sciences essential to the state, and the educational system is conceived throughout not in a spirit of free

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[33]The importance of the Rescript was so enormous that Dr. Holtom has written as follows: "The Imperial Rescript on Education has come to be regarded as a part of condensed sacred scripture of the official cult, especially by advocates of the Nationalistic-ethical school of Shintō." Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō," p. 77.

[34]For a good treatment of the liberalizing trends in the first two post-Restoration decades, see Ironkawa, op. cit., pp. 109-40.

[35]The attitudes of the government was well described by Mori Arinori, who became the Minister of Education in 1885: that the object of Education was not to promote individual welfare, but to serve the purpose of the state. "In the administration of all schools, it must be kept in mind, what is done is not for the sake of the pupils, but for the sake of the country." Quoted in Sansom, The Western World and Japan, p. 459.

> inquiry but in conformity with strong nationalistic principles of a predominantly utilitarian trend.[36]

The Shintō-nationalists insisted that "national learning" must be the basis of education and that the Shintō tenets concerning the nature of the Japanese State should be the articles of universal belief.[37]

The Rescript called for a return to national tradition and simplicity. It warned the Japanese lest they should go astray by Western ideas in moral and political philosophy. It stipulated the doctrines of ancestor worship, of duty to the State, of filial piety, and of loyalty to superiors as the foundations of national life. Its last paragraph claims that these doctrines date back to an ancient past and are valid for all times and in all places.

The Rescript posed a very delicate political problem to the Meiji oligarchy: (1) how to foster through the public school system those nationalistic values of Shintō that were regarded as essential to a moral education; (2) how to make good the provision of religious freedom laid down in the Constitution so as to prove the existence of a truly modernized government; and (3) how to exercise a proper control over religious teaching conducted in various educational institutions established and operated by religious organizations. The action taken by the

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Kōno Shōzō, Kokumin Dōtoku Shiron (History of Japanese National Morality)(Tokyo: Morie Shoten, 1933), p. 229.

government to deal with the problem was to prohibit religious teaching in the schools on the one hand, and to claim that the State Shintō was not a religion.[38]

Since the schools were the most fertile ground for fostering the so-called national morality, the Rescript was solemnly read on the occasion of every school ceremony. Before reading the Rescript, the portrait of the Emperor was unveiled with utmost reverence.[39] Thus, "the new Rescript," as Dr. Holtom states, "was to constitute the foundation of Japanese education."[40] Tanaka Yoshitō, writing toward the end of the Meiji era, implied that Shintōism is Emperorism, and vice versa.

> The Imperial Rescript on Education gives the essential elements of Shintō. That is to say, it expresses the last testaments of our Imperial Ancestors, which must be kept by our people.[41]

The promulgation of the Meiji Constitution confirmed the position of the Emperor as "sacred and inviolable," whereas

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[38]Holtom, The National Faith of Japan, pp. 71-72.

[39]In April, 1891, the Department of Education issued Shōgakku Setsubi Junsoku (Regulations Concerning Primary School Equipment), which stipulated that every school should possess a copy of the Rescript, the portraits of the Emperor and the Empress, and the national flag. See Kyōiku Hensankai, ed., Meiji Ikō Kyōiku Seido Hattatsu Shi (A History of the Development of the Post-Meiji Educational System)(Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1964), III, 85-87.

[40]Holtom, The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō, p. 75.

[41]Quoted in ibid., p. 78.

the Rescript required the complete submission of the subjects to the Emperor. In effect, loyalty was to be made the highest virtue of Emperorism.[42] From its promulgation until 1945, the Rescript was the greatest single influence on the minds of the Japanese people. It was not only the most important source of nationalistic inspiration and the very foundation of national education, but also an object of unquestioning worship.

Convinced of the importance of political indoctrination early in childhood and of the utility of the educational system toward this end, the government exploited the school system as an agency for inculcating in the minds of the young definite ideas of the nature of the Shintō deities and human obligation to them. The scope of political indoctrination can be easily fathomed by the expansion of school enrollment, as represented in Table 4.

In 1911, Komatsubara Eitarō, the Minister of Education, issued orders in the form of naikun (unofficial instructions) to the effect that "school teachers should conduct their pupils in a body to local shrines and there do obeisance before the altars."[43] The obvious intention of the government was to promote Shintō nationalism, by imbibing the Japanese with a belief in the Emperor as the living incarnation of the Sungoddess and the manifestation of the absolute. Any failure to show due

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[42]Higashi Fushini no Miya, Kōshitsu Shi no Kenkyū (A Study of the History of the Imperial House)(Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1922), p. 128.

[43]Holtom, The National Faith of Japan, p. 73.

TABLE 4

Primary School Enrollment in Japan, 1880-1910

| Year | Boys | Girls | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1880 | 58.72 | 21.91 | 41.06 |
| 1885 | 65.80 | 32.07 | 49.62 |
| 1890 | 65.14 | 31.13 | 48.93 |
| 1895 | 76.65 | 43.87 | 61.24 |
| 1900 | 90.55 | 71.73 | 81.48 |
| 1905 | 97.72 | 93.34 | 95.62 |
| 1910 | 98.83 | 97.26 | 98.14 |

Source: Government of Japan, Mombusho, Gakusei Hachijunenshi (Tokyo, 1954), p. 1036.

reverence for the Emperor or any attempt to question the factual basis of Japanese mythology was tantamount to a lack of knowledge of the duties and place of the person as a furtunate subject of the divine Emperor.[44]

Though there can hardly be any question that the history of Japanese Imperial mythology was "a mere farrago of

[44]Reed, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

childish nonsense,"[45] still it served its purpose quite well. "Ancient and impressive national beginnings, dim legends of a glorious decline from the gods," as Ernest T. Nash writes, "became registered in the national conscience through the purely political device of falsified historical writings."[46] We should not, however, lose sight of the political utilitarianism of the Japanese imperial divinity. "Historical veracity," as Holtom rightly warns, "cannot be permitted to dim the purpose of the directors of the national life to use the text (Nihongi) as an inspired revelation to world expansion."[47] It seems quite misleading to attribute the Japanese national cult solely to the political intention of falsified historical writings. Shintō is rather in its origin a mental production of the Japanese people as a whole. This is the reason why it had no particular founder as in the cases of other religion.

Seeing that Shintō is as old as the Japanese nation itself and will last as long as the nation endures, Lafcadio Hearn has written on the pervasive influence of Shintō at the fundamental level of national life:

> . . . the value of a religion, from the sociological

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[45] W. G. Aston, Shintō: The Ancient Religion of Japan (London: Constable & Co., 1921), p. 18.

[46] Ernest T. Nash, "Japan's Schizophrenia," Asia Magazine, XLII, No. 9 (March, 1942), p. 527.

[47] Daniel C. Holtom, Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism (Rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 20-21.

> standpoint, lies in its conservatism. Various writers have alleged that the Japanese national religion proved itself weak by incapacity to resist the overwhelming influence of Buddhism. I cannot help thinking that the entire social history of Japan yields proof to the contrary. Though Buddhism did for a long period appear to have almost entirely absorbed Shintō, by the acknowledgment of the Shintō scholars themselves; though Buddhist emperors reigned who neglected or despised the cult of their ancestors; though Buddhism directed, during ten centuries, the education of the nation, Shintō remained all the while so very much alive that it was able not only to dispossess its rival at last, but to save the country from foreign domination. To assert that the Shintō revival signified no more than a stroke of policy imagined by a group of statesmen, is to ignore all the antecedents of the event. No such change could have been wrought by mere decree had not the national sentiment welcomed it.[48] (Emphasis added.)

Seen in this sense, Shintō is much more than an influence. It is the underlying, pervasive way in which the Japanese have taken hold of life at the subconsious level of their lives. Dr. Holtom in some sense equates Yamato Damashii with the essential quality of Shintō. He writes as follows:

> This Yamato Damashii, or national spirit of Japan, is no recent and transient achievement. It has marked Japanese psychology from most ancient times, and thus, deeply embedded in the spiritual depths of the race, its unchanging perpetuation throughout the future is guaranteed.[49]

Since the Meiji oligarchy was primarily concerned with building a strong, respectful Japan and making the Japanese

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[48] Lafcadio Hearn, Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1904), pp. 412-413.

[49] Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō," p. 80.

submissive subjects, the school system increasingly became a medium for teaching the people what to think rather than how to think.[50] In a sense, the government of Meiji Japan pioneered the idea of using the educational system for nationalistic political indoctrination.[51] In classrooms and in army barracks, Japanese young men were taught to worship the Emperor and to glorify Japan's military traditions.[52] Writing about Japan's remarkable military victories against China and Russia, Professor Tanaka Yoshitō attributed the victories to the unique quality of the Japanese spirit. He splurged upon the military successes as follows:

> If Japanese and foreigners are the same, how does it happen that in the two great wars of recent times, namely in Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese wars, countries great in population, wide in area, rich in wealth, superior in military equipment, and great in number of soldiers--how does it happen that such a China and such a Russia went down before a Japan, limited in population, small in area, deficient in soldiers (from a numerical standpoint) and lacking in wealth? . . . the result is due to the fact that over and above these matters of military equipment, numbers of soldiers, population, and area, there exists a unique and special something with which these things cannot be compared. That is to say, in as much as there prevails among the people of our nation our characteristic Great Way, in a word, because there exists a Great Way unmatched in all the world, this result has come forth. In the face of

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[50]Borton, op. cit., p. 217.

[51]Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō," p. 73.

[52]Delmer Brown, op. cit., pp. 97-98; also see "A Policy for the Unification of the National Faith," Yomiuri Shimbun, May 26, 1940.

> this, the strongest country in the world must shrink back.[53]

Dr. Holtom enlarged upon the unique nature of Japanese characteristics:

> Shintō is thus . . . simply the historical manifestation of the unique Japanese spirit. Shintō as the Great Way of Yamato Damashii underlies Japanese religion, ethics, politics, and education. . . . The success which has met the widespread propagation of this interpretation may be seen in the common experience of finding it repeated constantly as the typical school-boy interpretation of Shintō,--i.e. the essence of Shintō is in Yamato Damashii; its creed is in the Imperial Rescript on Education.[54]

What the above interpretation implies is that post-Restoration conservative leaders had single-mindedly pursued policies that would channel all the nationalistic values found in all aspects of national life into the stimulation and fortification of Shintō nationalism.[55]

Up until the end of the Second World War, the sovereign was described as the symbol of the infallibility of the Imperial authority. It is by no means stretching the historical evidence too far to state that Japan's national narcissism intoxicated with military prowess and the intensive political indoctrination gave rise to the popular belief that the Emperor was, by divine authority, the ruler of the universe. This idea was officially

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[53]Quoted in Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō," pp. 82-83.

[54]Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[55]For a fuller treatment of this point, see ibid., pp. 84-98.

supported by the government and ultimately led to the conviction that Japan was destined to rule over the entire world.[56]

The self-ordained national mission for expansion was one thing, and how Japan stood vis-a-vis the other powers of the West or how she was perceived by other countries, in particular by those in the West was quite another.[57] The newly heightened international status of Japan toward the end of World War I by dint of military victories had not produced the kind of respectable equality with the Western powers that Japan had assiduously tried to achieve.[58] Her ambition for aggrandizement was soon to be frustrated by the widespread and determined

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[56]The doctrine of Japan's benevolent destiny, that Japan was to expand, by a special divine commission, sovereignty and righteousness over ever-expanding territories, was propagated under the slogan of the so-called hakkō ichi-u (The Whole World Under One Roof). For a good elaboration of this doctrine, see, D. C. Holtom, Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), esp. pp. 18-25.

[57]No less a personage than President Theodore Roosevelt, a serious admirer of Japan's military feat, commented on the frustrated psychology of the Japanese following the Japanese victory against Russia:

> She (Japan) is a most formidable military power. Her people have peculiar fighting capacity. They are very proud, very warlike, very sensitive, and are influenced by two contradictory feelings, namely, a great self-confidence, both ferocious and conceited, due to their victory over the mighty empire of Russia; and a great touchiness because they would like to be considered as on a full equality with, as one of the brotherhood of Occidental nations, and have been bitterly humiliated to find that even their allies, the English, and their friends, the Americans, won't admit them to association and citizenship.

[58]The rejection of the Japanese proposal for "racial equality" at the Peace Conference in Paris was a telling example

opposition.[59] What is more, the favorable economic situation which Japan had enjoyed until immediately after the end of World War I was thrown into the doldrums.[60] The war-time economic boom of Japan collapsed in March, 1920, as demonstrated in Table 5.[61]

The sluggish economic condition hardly constituted a fertile ground for Japan to put into practice the principles of fair play, justice, peace, humanitarianism, and internationalism which Japan was obliged to accept only in theory, if not with tongue in cheek.[62] The debate among Japanese leaders

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that Japan's international status based on military prowess was incapable of tearing down Occidental racial prejudice. See, Imai Seiichi, Rekishi, Vol. XXIII: Taishō Demokurashii (A History of Japan, Vol. XXIII: Taishō Democracy)(Tokyo: Chūō Koron Sha, 1966), pp. 193-98; also see, Borton, op. cit., pp. 328-31.

[59]The end of the First World War compelled Japan to pursue her national interests through a moderate policy of cooperation with other powers, setting aside, at least for the time being due to the new international situation and the currency of Wilsonian ideals, the nationalistic policy of playing the lone wolf in the Far East, which was responsible for Occidental suspicion, Chinese hostility, and Korean resistence without appreciably enhancing Japanese interests in the region. For a fuller understanding of the political situation with which Japan was confronted at that time, see Imai, op. cit., pp. 198-203; Hara Kei Nikki, VIII, esp. pp. 285-332.

[60]Imai, op. cit., pp. 246-48; also see G. C. Allen, The Short Economic History of Modern Japan, 1867-1937 (London: Unwin Brothers, Ltd., 1946), pp. 93-94.

[61]Lockwood, op. cit., p. 355.

[62]The Osaka Mainichi carried an editorial to the effect that "the chiming of the clock announcing the arrival of the year 1919 is the sound of the trumpet initiating a new war, a peaceful struggle among the nations." Ōsaka Mainichi, August 2, 1918; also see, for the early evidence of Japanese attention to the Wilsonian principles, Hara Kei Nikki, Vol. VIII (November 13,

TABLE 5

Trade of Japan Proper with Foreign Countries
1903-1934 (indices; 1910-14 = 100)

| Annual Average | All Classes | Raw Products: Industrial Materials | Raw Products: Food-Stuffs | Manufactured: Food-Stuffs | Manufactured: Partly Manufactured | Manufactured: Wholly Manufactured |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | EXPORTS | | | |
| 1903-04 | 57 | 75 | 78 | 79 | 52 | 59 |
| 1905-09 | 67 | 84 | 75 | 96 | 54 | 67 |
| 1910-14 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 1915-19 | 173 | 103 | 171 | 174 | 136 | 215 |
| 1920-24 | 138 | 46 | 75 | 99 | 133 | 190 |
| 1925-29 | 211 | 55 | 99 | 232 | 197 | 316 |
| 1930-24 | 283 | 41 | 137 | 380 | 209 | 450 |
| 1934 | 368 | 40 | 158 | 496 | 229 | 620 |
| | | | IMPORTS | | | |
| 1903-04 | 73 | 45 | 175 | 131 | 65 | 82 |
| 1905-09 | 92 | 65 | 111 | 104 | 88 | 160 |
| 1910-14 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 1915-19 | 119 | 149 | 999 | 91 | 106 | 35 |
| 1920-24 | 178 | 190 | 208 | 168 | 188 | 102 |
| 1925-29 | 217 | 253 | 277 | 204 | 226 | 91 |
| 1930-34 | 229 | 282 | 231 | 90 | 241 | 59 |
| 1934 | 245 | 314 | 206 | 69 | 310 | 64 |

clearly indicated general reluctance to endorse President Wilson's Fourteen Points in toto. Evidence shows that the general response of Japanese leaders to Wilson's new approach was one of disbelief and skepticism, coupled with the cynical view that the United States was advocating this new approach to serve her national interest.[63]

The reality of international power politics in contradistinction to the Wilsonian idealism[64] and the manifestation of racial prejudice and discrimination in the West[65] were hardly an encouragement for the Japanese to stick to their reluctantly-accepted internationalist ideas and to give up their special sense of "national mission."[66] Forced by the

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17, 1918), pp. 80, 86.

[63] Hara Kei Nikki, Vol. VIII, p. 107; the theme advanced by Albert Breton seems to lend validity to Japan's skepticism of Wilson's new diplomacy. See his, "The Economics of Nationalism," Journal of Political Economy, LXXII, No. 4 (August, 1964), 376-86.

[64] For a sophisticated treatment of Wilsonian liberal-capitalist internationalism, see N. Gordon Levin, Woodrow Wilson and World Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[65] For a convenient glimpse of anti-Japanese feelings in America during this period, see Raymond Leslie Buell, "Development of the Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States," Political Science Quarterly, XXXVII, No. 4 (December, 1922), 605-38. It is not difficult to imagine how repugnant the anti-Japanese racial feelings or policies in the West might have been to the Japanese sense of "samurai honor." "The Japanese nation is by nature the most ambitious of honour of all oriental nations, and will sacrifice life itself to maintain a punctillo." Quoted in Maurice Callis, Land of the Great Stone Image (New York: Knopf, 1943), p. 126.

[66] For a good discussion of the Japanese reluctance in accepting the new morality of diplomacy based on peace and

trends of a new era after the war, Japan, on the whole, accepted the new emphasis on economism and internationalism lest she should antagonize the United States and incur the hostility of world public opinion. As Prime Minister Takahashi Korekiyo who succeeded Hara Kei after the latter's assassination on November 4, 1921, said in his New Year's message of 1922 that the First World War had issued in "fundamental changes in the foreign policies of the great powers." They had recognized the impossibility of plotting expansion by force and the need to cooperate with one another to promote justice in international relations. He went on to state, however, that the competition among nations could not be stopped. "Armed competition has become obsolete, but economic competition is on the increase in intensity." The Japanese people must redouble their endeavor so as to produce and sell superior merchandise at competitive prices. Directing our national endeavors along this line would be a contribution to the general welfare of mankind as well as to happiness and development at home.[67] This realization of new international imperatives led Japan to accept the invitation to the Washington Conference. The eulogy chanted at the end of the Washington Conference, however, was not to last very long.[68] Borton writes on the situation of

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cooperation, see Yoshino Sakuzō, "Kokka Seikatsu no Isslin" (A Renewal of National Life), Chūō Kōron, XXXV (January, 1920), 117-56.

[67] Tokyo Asahi, January 1, 1922.

[68] Many observers believed that the armament race had

this period so cogently that we may quote a passage:

> But the conditions on the continent continued to be less assuring. Propinquity, availability of venture capital, and readiness to make the most of China's endemic political instability were too great temptations for Japan's nationalists to withstand. Before they moved to secure extension of their rights in China, however, they received unexpected support for their policies because of America's new exclusion law. Whatever success the Washington Conference may have achieved in easing international tension in the Pacific was soon to the dissipated by the effects of this exclusion law.[69]

The contradiction surrounding the Wilsonian idealism vis-a-vis the on-going framework of international power politics, the anti-Japanese racial policies in occidental countries that were profoundly repugnant to "Japanese national honor," the deterioration of the trade situation, and Japan's preservation instinct that Japan's livelihood was contingent upon expansion[70] were, in a great measure, accountable for making the doctrine of Japan's national mission rear its head again.

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come to an end and a new era of economic competition had begun. As theold policies had been buried in Washington, the major powers were obliged to do away with their particularistic, imperialistic principles and instead to promote the internationalization of economic relations. For a fuller discussion of this point, see Horie Kiichi, "Buryokiteki Kyōsō kara Kokusai Keizaiteki Kyōsō e" (From the Military Competition to the Economic Competition), Chūō Kōron, XXXVII, No. 2 (February, 1922), 20-30.

[69]Borton, op. cit., p. 345.

[70]In a brief but meaningful study on the role of Shintōism in Japanese national life, K. Kanokoki argues that Shintōism inherently implies expansion. For his fuller argument, see his "Shintōism and Its Significance," The Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report of 1913, pp. 607-615.

Since Japan's "national mission" was inseparable from the idea of expansion, the argument advanced by K. Kanokoki in 1912 seems pertinent here:

> Shintoism is originally the religion of the "plus" (more). It was destined to comprise in itself the preservation and expansion of national life. As such it has its roots deep in the dark soil of the instinctive, constantly-expanding life. It grew up with the national life. It is a real, genuine child of the blood of the national life. Herein lies the difference between Shintoism and Judaism. The Jewish people were adopted by Jahveh (sic), while the Japanese religion grew up from the very beginning with the people. Shintoism is no accession . . . If Shinto has any concern at all, it is the well0being of the nation in general . . . Patriotism is Shintoism's own favorite child. To the Japanese patriotism means something more than it does to other peoples. Through its association with so many heroic and noble deeds and events which took place in the course of two millenniums patriotism gains a profound and exquisite, in short, a religious but not fanatical, significance.[71]

As if to substantiate the quotation just made, in November, 1914, Prime Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu publicly declared that the kernel of international politics laid in expansion and hegemony:

> Those who are superior will govern those who are inferior. I (Ōkuma) believe that within two or three centuries the world will have a few governing countries and others will be governed by them and will pay homage to their might. We should from now on prepare ourselves to become a governing nation.[72]

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[71] Ibid., p. 614.

[72] Harley MacNair, The Real Conflict Between China and Japan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 107.

What interests us here is not the correctness of Ōkuma's prediction, but the general nature of international politics and the imperialistic ambitions held by Japan at that time.

No sooner had the high hopes for peace and international cooperation in the post-Washington Conference world been dashed by the realities of the 1920s than Japan reasserted her determination for expansion in a less aggressive manner so as not to become isolated from the rest of the world politically and economically.[73] Mindful of the world-wide popularity of Wilsonian principles, albeit hypocritical and unrealistic,[74] Japan was obliged to accept the new international morality that the use of old methods of imperialistic expansion was out of the question.[75] Thus, she decided to substitute economic for military conquest, financial influence for military domination

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[73]Japan's outward conformity with the Wilsonian principles belied her consistent interest in expansion. Japan argued in 1922 that her "special interests in China are eternal realities, and do not require the recognition of other nations." See U. S., Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1922, Vol. II, pp. 597-98.

[74]When President Woodrow Wilson was reported to be reluctant to endorse the proposal of racial equality, he was denounced as selfish and hypocritical. This indignant reaction even led to a calling for a pan-Asianism. See Watanabe Minojirō, Koritsuteki Nihon no Kōei (The Honor of the Isolated Japan) (Osaka: Osaka Mainichi Shimbun Sha, 1921), p. 158.

[75]For Japan's efforts in peaceful diplomacy, see Amai Seiichi, "Shidehara Gaikō ni okeru Seisaku Kettei" (Policy-Making in the Shidehara Diplomacy), Nempō Seijigaku (1959), pp. 92-112; idem, Taishō Demokurashii, esp. pp. 193-211.

and to achieve her national goals under the slogan of friendship, cooperation and co-prosperity.[76]

Japan's reorientation of foreign policy in line with the spirit of international peace and cooperation was not borne out by her actual policies. Her determination for exploitation in Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and China had continued unabated.[77] As the history of modern Japan amply suggests, Japan's expansion on the continent on the grounds of economy, security, and "national mission" has been taken for granted by her people. The Japanese argued that their right for expansion was created by the fact of "territorial contiguity."

It seems quite pertinent at this point to recall Japan's self-serving justifications given in process of producing the notorious Lansing-Ishii Agreement. Ishii Kukujiro explained to Robert Lansing what Japan meant by her "special interests" in China:

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[76]It is worth noting that Japan was committed to aggressive policy even in the midst of the postwar Wilsonian "liberal-capitalist internationalism" is evidenced by many writings: Asada Sadao, "Japan's 'Special Interests' and the Washington Conference, 1921-1922," American Historical Review, LXVII, No. 1 (October, 1961), 62-70; Gaimushō, ed. Nihon Gaikō Nenpyō Narabi Shuyō Bunsho (Chronology and Major Documents of Japanese Foreign Policy)(Tokyo: 1955), II, 91-92; Baba Akira, "Dai-Ichihi Shantung Shuppei to Tanaka Gaikō," Aziya Kenkyū, X, No. 3 (October, 1963), 50-77; Chang Hon Kim, comp. Ilbon Ui Kuktong Chimnyak Pisa (Secret History of Japan's Aggression in the Far East )(Seoul: Seoul Shinmun Sa, 1949); Tae Yong Pak, Ilbon Kuktong Chumnyak Pongnogi (Divulgence of Japan's Aggression in the Far East)(Seoul: Tongbang Munkwasa 1960).

[77]Hugh Borton sees the period between 1919 and 1931 as "portents of an unquenchable aggressive nationalism." See his, op. cit., p. 339.

> The possession by Japan of special interests in China does not work the slightest disadvantage to China. The United States has a special interest in the territorial integrity of South and Central America, but South and Central America do not suffer in any way from it. On the contrary, they feel a sense of national security because of it. Central and South American states ought to feel thankful that the United States has this special interest in them. Should not China likewise feel happy that her territorial integrity is guaranteed by the existence of Japan's "special interests" in her? After all, the objective of our present discussions is the furtherance of China's security by means of a joint Japanese-American declaration.[78]

We should, of course, take into consideration that this first-class imperialistic, sophistry, unmistakably smacking of crocodile tears, was uttered during the consummative years of Japanese imperialism. What concerns us here is that there has been a consistent tendency of Japan's inclination for expansion, though the methods employed for expansion have varied depending on the prevailing conditions. Throughout the modern period has the problem of population density in Japan constituted a Japanese justification for overseas expansion and settlement.[79]

Writing on Japanese colonialism in 1906, Tōgō Minoru, who had studied under Dr. Nitobe Inazō, stated that it was absolutely necessary for Japan to engage in further colonization.

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[78] Ishii Kikujiro, Diplomatic Commentaries (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936), p. 123.

[79] The increasing population pressure in modern times, especially in the postwar years, was regarded by militant nationalists and writers as a rationale for Japan's overseas expansion. See, for example, Tōgō Minoru, Nihon Shokumin Ron (A Theory on Japanese Emigration)(Tokyo: Bunbudo, 1906); Ishii Ryoichi, Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan (London:

He argued that:

> Should Japan intend to aggrandize her power, expand her race, and become a leading country in the world, it is imperative that she seek territories overseas and colonize. The acquisition of territories might be achieved either through peaceful means or through war. We should regard war as unavoidable necessities for the sake of protecting our race.[80]

Due to the currency of Wilsonian idealism, utterance of imperialistic language was shunned in the postwar decade. But the prolonged postwar economic difficulty tended to deepen the conviction that the survival of the Japanese Empire depended upon her special interests in Manchuria, Mongolia, and China.[81] In spite of his alleged principle of nonintervention in the affairs of other nations, Prime Minister Hara Kei had the audacity to publicly declare, less than two months prior to the opening of the Washington Conference (November 21, 1921), that Japan, in order to fulfill her national destiny, was entitled to what was essential to her economic existence. He went on to state that no country had the right to compel another country to commit national suicide.[82] Japan's insistence on

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P. S. King and Sons, 1937); Yoshida Hideo, Kokubo-Kokudogaku (A Science of National Defense and Territories)(Tokyo: Daiuamondo Sha, 1942).

[80] Tōgō, op. cit., p. 237.

[81] Hara Kei Nikki, IX, 389.

[82] For a fuller exposition of Hara's political thnking in this connection, see his, "Kokyu Heiwa no Senkets-Koan," (Essential Prerequisites for Permanent Peace), Gaikō Jihō, XXXIV (September, 1921), pp. 32-44.

her rights and interests in China was further demonstrated when Japanese Ambassador to Washington, Hanihara Masanao, made clear to the United States Secretary of State on April 14, 1923 that Japan's "special interests" in China "exist and will continue to exist, with or without express recognition embodied in diplomatic instruments."[83]

The increasingly deteriorating trade situation, the social unrest at home,[84] the humiliation resulting from racial policies in the West which impeded Japan's peaceful expansion, and the outburst of Chinese nationalism attendant upon the reunification of China in 1928 frustrated Japan's peaceful diplomacy which had been forced on her. The failure of the new diplomacy dragooned Japan into re-adopting her old aggressive policy of continental expansion which had temporarily been overshadowed by the postwar rhetoric of internationalism.[85]

The developments of the late 1920s, which demonstrated the ever-widening hiatus between image and reality, between aspiration and achievement, were sufficient to convince the Japanese that international cooperation and peaceful expansion were merely possiblities which existed more as a figment of the imagination than in reality and that the Wilsonian frame

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[83] U. S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1922, II, 598.

[84] For a good brief summary of Japan's social unrest in the postwar decade, see Delmer Brown, op. cit., pp. 171-89.

[85] Matsuoka Yōsuke, Tōa Zenkyoku no Dōyō (The Trembling of the Entire East Asia)(Tokyo: Senshin Sha, 1931), pp. 2ff.

work of postwar diplomacy had been based upon a wishful thinking as detached from reality as Marie Antoinette reputedly was.[86]

Owing to the deepening of the Great Depression and because of the fact that internationalism inherently militated against Shintō-nationalism,[87] revelation of the emptiness of peaceful diplomacy resulted in providing grist to the Japanese militaristic-nationalistic mill. As the views advocated by militarists and nationalists came to be respected more and more in proportion to the devastating effects of the world-wide depression.

By 1931, all indications seemed to suggest that the Japanese were convinced that aggressive expansion was quite justified not only in terms of satisfying national economic needs but also in terms of fulfilling their national mission based on Shintōism-Emperorism, spreading the benefits of the "divine country" throughout the world.[88]

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[86]Seeing the futility involved in the slogan of international cooperation, Pitman B- Potter argued that men's thoughts and sentiments had not caught up with the changes in conditions which had made international cooperation so much more important following the end of World War I and that unless the general psychological and even sociological causes of nations are basically changed, international cooperation is to remain an impossible possibility. See his, "Progress in International Cooperation," Political Science Quarterly, L, No. 3 (September, 1935), 377-404; for a devastating attack on the illusion of international cooperation, see Francis Delaisi, Political Myths and Economic Realities (London: N. Douglas, 1925).

[87]Kanokoki, op. cit., p. 614; Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto," pp. 106-111.

[88]Royal Jules Wald, "The Young Officers Movement in

Thus, the militarists began to make maximum use of the Shintō ideology in their militarism. The militarists justified their aggressive policies with Emperorism and imperialism. They seemed to have adopted such a nationalistic view as declared by Viscount Oura who was the Minister of Commerce in 1908:

> The majesty of our imperial house towers above everything else in the world, and we take it for granted that it is as perdurable as heaven and earth. If it is contended that our country needs a religious faith then, in my opinion, we must adopt the religion of imperialism, in other words, the worship of the emperor.[89]

Due to the nature of the overtly aggressive policy even at the risk of antagonizing the other great powers, the government leaders in the militaristic era were more thoroughly apprized of the values of loyalty and patriotism than the Meiji leaders had been. It is important to note that the true value of Shintō lies more in the realm of the national mind than in that of ritualized ceremonies. As a writer puts it, "The legends, cosmology, and pseudo-history are not religion, and its power is not in dogmas nore in forms of worship; it is a spirit of ancient Japan, Yamato-damashi."[90] Thus it can be

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Japan, CA 1925-1937: Ideology and Actions," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1949), pp. 31-40.

[89]Emil Lederer and Emy Lederer-Seidler, Japan in Transition (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1938), p. 150.

[90]George William Knox, The Development of Religion in Japan (New York: Putnam, 1907), p. 77.

safely stated that the essential element in Shintōism was the religious patriotism it could instill in the Japanese people.[91] The seriousness of official interest in the fostering of Shintō as a means to stimulate loyalty and patriotism in the Japanese people in the post-Restoration Japan, in particular, during the early 1930s when militarism was on the rise is well depicted in Table 6.[92]

The political use of Shintō by the militarists from the beginning of the 1930s until the end of the Second World War had been spectacularly successful in bringing home the Shintō-inspired rationale of "national mission" to the Japanese and in deepening loyalty and patriotism. Indeed, "Shintō had been made into a handmaiden of the state."[93] In this sense, Shintō was in truth nothing other than a national religion which provided justifications for nationalistic and expansive policies in international politics and dictatorial and militaristic policies at home until 1945. As Laficadio Hearn aptly called it, Shinto was a "religion of loyalty."[94]

Regardless of the veracity of the Japanese imperial

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[91]Kato Genchi, Waga Kokutai to Shintō (Japanese Kokutai and Shintō)(Tokyo: Kodokan, 1919), p. 221.

[92]The Japan Year Book, 1933, p. 847, and Ibid., 1937, p. 748.

[93]Floyd Hiatt Ross, Shinto: The Way of Japan (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 146.

[94]Lafcadio Hearn, Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation (New York: Gorssett and Dunlap Publishers, 1904), Ch. XIV.

TABLE 6

The Growth of Major Shinto Shrines
1880-1934 (Meiji Era)

| Year | Grand Shrine of Ise | Government Shrines | National Shrines | Prefectural Shrines | Totals for Shrines Above District Grade |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1880 | 1 | 55 | 68 | 369 | 493 |
| 1890 | 1 | 87 | 75 | 457 | 620 |
| 1900 | 1 | 93 | 75 | 538 | 707 |
| 1910 | 1 | 95 | 75 | 583 | 754 |
| 1920 | 1 | 105 | 75 | 688 | 866 |
| 1932 | 1 | 198 | | | |
| 1934 | 1 | 197 | | | |

divinity,[95] Emperorism-Shintōism had produced a religious patriotism which was largely responsible for a smooth acculturation[96] without going down before superior alien cultures and

[95]Being practical people, political leaders of modern Japan were scarcely concerned with the truth or falsity of the divine origins of Japan. What mattered to them was not the historical fact, but the efficaciousness of the divine origins of the imperial lineage. As Nitobe Inazo has stated candidly, "even the head of a sardine is good and sufficiently efficacious as a deity, if it is only believed in with sufficient sincerity and reverence." Quoted in Willard Price, Japan and the Son of Heaven (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945), p. 102.

[96]Japan's highly developed ability to adopt foreign

the remarkable national achievements as well as the national disaster suffered in the Pacific War. Due to the intensity and extensiveness of political indoctrination during the militaristic era, at times, there is a tendency to put too much emphasis on the political indoctrination during the military totalitarianism in the discussion of Japanese loyalty and nationalism, discounting or ignoring the historically rooted nationalistic mentality.[97]

We should not let ourselves lose sight of the fact that Shintō has passed through a lengthy meandering course of development parallel with the national life of the Japanese race. Likewise, Yamato Damashii, symbiotic with Shintō, has been deeply embedded in the national life and political traditions of more than two milleniums. It needs little effort to marshall historical evidences to prove that the national spirit of Japan full of loyalty and patriotism has been

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cultural attributes has been a very significant national characteristic which has rivetted the attention of nearly every writer on Japan. See, for example, Paul S. Reinsh, "Japan and Asiatic Leadership," North American Review, CLXXX, No. 578 (January, 1905), 48-57, esp. 48-52; Arnold J. Toynbee, "The Far-East's Reaction to Western Civilization," Harper's Magazine, September, 1927, pp. 460-68; Edwin O. Reischauer, The United States and Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 99-115; Emil Lederer and Emy Lederer-Seidler, Japan in Transition (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1938), pp. 171-98; Jesse F. Steiner, "Social Change in Japan," Sociology and Social Research, XXXI, No. 1 (September-October, 1946), 3-11.

[97] H. Byron Earhart, Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity (Belmont, Calif.: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 76-81.

signally instrumental to what Japan has achieved. We also have reason to assume that the Shintō-motivated national faith is likely to have great bearing on the future of Japan as well.[98] What Lafcadio Hearn said about the national faith of Japan in 1904 seems still pertinent:

> . . . it (Shintō) is not even officially classified as a religion. . . . But as representing all those traditions which appeal to race-feeling, to the sentiment of duty, to the passion of loyalty, and the love of country, it yet remains an immense force, a power to which appeal will not be vainly made in another hour of national peril.[99]

In view of the religious and historical foundations of Japanese nationalistic psychology, it is rather absurd to see that the Shintō-motivated national spirit was wrought largely by the political indoctrination of the past century. What the political leaders of modern Japan did was the political exploitation of the already-existing Shintō spirit inseparably interwoven in the national life of the Japanese race. The longevity of the Japanese national spirit finds a representative expression in the following passage:

> Our Japanese race thus passed through a great testing in the time of Jimmu Tennō. Thereby were fostered a spiritual stability that never yields no matter what the hardships, a strong racial capacity for unification, and a reverential and worshipful faith in the Emperor,

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[98] Holtom, Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism, p. 3.

[99] Hearn, op. cit., p. 414.

> exalted to a religious character. These have come down through two thousand six hundred years as the very core of the Japanese national spirit.[100]

The political exploitation of the State Shintō accelerated drastically in the 1930s and the early 1940s in proportion as crisis accentuated in the consciousness of the military rulers the necessity of increasing totalitarian regimentation and widespread military control over the domestic life. The militarists resorted to Emperorism-Shintōism to whip up a greater patriotism and to vindicate and justify their military totalitarianism at home and aggressive imperialism abroad. To elucidate further the interconnection between the all-pervasive Japanese national spirit and the political indoctrination by the militarists, a passage of Holtom's again merits quotation:

> . . . in order to understand modern Japan and her significant trends, we must deal first and foremost with a highly successful, rigorously centralized, religiously founded educational program whereby <u>the national mentality is fixed in terms of forms that are governmentally expedient and necessary to military control. But these forms are not arbitrarily manufactured out of makeshift materials in the social and political life. They have come down out of an ancient past</u>, they are erected on literary foundations that have the sanctity of holy scripture, and they survive as almost instinctive elements in the folkways.[101] (Emphasis added.)

Hand in hand with the Shintō ideology in stimulating loyalty and patriotism, in fortifying nationalism, and in mobilizing the

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[100] Quoted in Holtom, <u>Modern Japan and Shintō Nationalism</u>, p. 13.

[101] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 25.

Japanese for their "holy war"[102] went the Japanese concept of Kokutai to which we now turn.

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[102] Ibid., p. 19.

## CHAPTER V

## FORTIFICATION OF NATIONALISM: Kokutai[1]

Japanese Kokutai is, indeed, a puzzling and contradictory concept. No sooner had Japan been defeated in 1945 than the Japanese Kokutai concept fell into disrepute. It appears that the postwar tendency of shunning or ignoring the Kokutai concept did not signal the death knell to the blatant, nationalistic concept based upon the mystical, poetic mythology of the Japanese Imperial Family.[2]

As many studies on the subject of national character

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[1]Kokutai, generally translated by the phrase "national probity" but sometimes translated by such phrases as "national entity" as in Robert King Hall, ed., Kokutai No Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), "national life," "national essence," "national substance," "state structure," " national body," " national constitution," was, if not still is, a concept immeasurably meaningful to the Japanese nationalistic thinking and totally enigmatic to Western national thinking.

[2]For an excellent, recent discussion of the Japanese mythological system, see Obayashi Taryo, "The Origins of Japanese Mythology," Acta Asiatic (Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture), Vol. 31 (1977), 1-23.

amply indicate,[3] the Japanese national characteristics or national character which the Japanese Kokutai concept embraced seems to deserve serious attention now as much as it did during the days of ultranationalism.[4] It is by no means the purpose of the present discussion to attempt a critical examinaion of the Japanese national characteristics. We are here interested mainly in the fact that the Kokutai concept is closely interconnected with Yamato Damishii (the Japanese spirit), which constitutes the most essential basis for Japanese national consciousness and nationalism.

Some political writers fail to make a clear

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[3]The subject of "national character" has interested, baffled, and irritated many writers, depending on their intellectual inclinations. All see to agree that it is an intractable subject, but too weighty a subject to ignore. As Gabriel A. Almond has stated, "Indeed, it is the failure to give proper weight to the cognitive and evaluative factors, and to the consequent autonomy of political culture, that has been responsible for the exaggerations and oversimplifications of the 'national character' literature of recent years." Almond, "Comparative Political Systems," Journal of Politics, XVIII, No. 3 (August, 1956), p. 396; Hamilton Fyfe, "The Illusion of National Character," British Journal of Psychology, XXXIII, Part 3 (January, 1942), 183-205; Otto Klineberg, "A Science of National Character," Journal of Social Psychology, XIX (February, 1944), pp. 147-62; Monroe Berger, "Understanding National Character--and War," Commentary, II, No. 4 (April, 1951), pp. 325-86; Geoffrey Gorer, "Themes on Japanese Culture," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, 5 (1943), pp. 106-24.

[4]Among others, see, in this connection, Isaiah Ben-Dasan, The Japanese and the Jews (New York: Weatherhill, 1972); Hasegawa Nyozekan, The Japanese Character (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1965).

distinction between the form of the state and the form of the government.[5] It is difficult to distinguish between the two in some countries. In Japan, however, it is not only possible to make the distinction, but also imperative to make the distinction between the two, for a confusion in the two may well result in failure to understand the true nature of the Japanese state.[6]

According to a Japanese writer, the form of the state represents the type of organization which is a complete manifestation of the purpose of the state, whereas the form of government is a partial manifestation of that purpose. In other words, the former is a fundamental principle which is determined at the time of the foundation of the state and remains unchangeable, whereas the latter is a flexible principle which is formulated and changes in

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[5]Professor Minobe Tatsukichi had argued that the state was a corporate entity which possessed a legal personality with the capacity for rights and duties. In a monarchy, the monarch, as well as the subjects, were contained within the state. Thus the Emperor was not synonymous with the state. The direct personal rule of the emperor was circumscribed by the constitution, making him one of the elements of the state. In short, he was an organ of the state. For a detailed discussion of Minobe's "organ theory," see Frank O. Miller, Minobe Tatsukichi, Interpreter of Constitutionalism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965).

[6]For a fuller understanding of this point, see Reed, op. cit., Ch. X; Watanabe Hachiro, Kokutai no taigi [Essence of the Japanese Kokutai] (Tokyo: Shunyodo, 1933); Ikeoka Naotaka, Kokutai Kannen no Shin Kenkya [A New Study of the Concept of Kokutai] (Tokyo: Dobunkan, 1933); Tanaka Chigaku, What is Nippon Kokutai? (Tokyo: Shishio Bunko, 1936).

accordance with the development of the state.[7]

Yamada Takao has stated that the form of government is limited in scope to juristic and political meaning, while the Kokutai is the form in which the sovereignty of the state functions or is exercised.[8] As Hegel tells us:

> The political constitution is (1) the organization of the state and the process of its organic life in reference to its own self. In these processes, the state distinguishes within itself its elements, and unfolds them into self-subsistence.
>
> (2) It is a single, exclusive individuality and, as such, is unrelated to another. It turns its distinctive features towards foreign states, and, in so doing, establishes its self-subsisting distinctions within itself in their ideality.[9]

The national polity, unlike the form of government, is definite and unchangeable. It is as permanent and enduring as the state itself. As an organic entity, the state possesses a life of its own and the spiritual force needed for the maintenance of the state.[10] The national polity of any state tends to possess a peculiarity or uniqueness of its own which distinguishes itself from all

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[7]Watanabe, op. cit., p. 35.

[8]Yamada Takao, Kokutai no Hongi [The Fundamentals of Kokutai] (Tokyo: Hobunkwan, 1933), p. 3.

[9]G. W. F. Hegel, Philosophy of Right, trans. by S. W. Dyde (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), pp. 273-74.

[10]Tanaka, op. cit., pp. 56-57; Hall, op. cit., p. 59.

other states. Seen in this sense, Kokutai is the product of the national spirit of the Japanese people,[11] just as Germany is the product of the German mind, spirit and temperment.

Since we generally believe that each people possesses a special sense of its national consciousness, we are here concerned not with the uniqueness of Japanese national identity but with the extraordinary nature of that uniqueness. As William Theodore de Bary has aptly observed, "If there is anything distinctive about the Japanese in this respect, it is not that they have some such identity but that they are so self-conscious about it."[12]

When the Japanese refer to their own Kokutai, they put particular emphasis on the monarchial tradition based on its hereditary continuity in one family, the Imperial House. Since this idea has been maintained on historical ground, no juristic justification is needed in support of the Kokutai.[13] In the words of Nitobe Inazo:

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[11]Kiyohara Sadao, Kokushi to Nippon Seishin no Kengen [The National History and the Manifestation of the Japanese Spirit] (Tokyo: Fuji Shoten, 1934), p. 38; Dr. D. C. Holtom sees the Japanese Kokutai as "the political and social organization expressive of the caracteristic traditions and psychology of the people." See his, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto," p. 40, note 3.

[12]Quoted in Joseph M. Kitagawa, "The Japanese Kokutai (National Community) History and Myth," History of Religions XI No. 3 (February, 1974), p. 210.

[13]Ibid., 212.

> Kokutai . . . means the retention of the highest social dignity and political powers by the family which subdued the country and has ruled it from the beginning of our history. This family is conceived as embracing the whole nation. . . . The Emperor is thus the representative of the nation and symbol of its unity. Thus the true nature of the bonds which unite men in government and subjection is, primarily, a mythical blood-relationship; secondarily, a moral tie; and thirdly, a legal obligation.[14]

Kokutai may be stated as an outward expression of the ideals and spirit of the Japanese people. Thus, the explanations usually given by those unfamiliar with the deep-lying Japanese psychology tend to deal with the form rather than the content of Kokutai, resulting in either a partial or a superficial treatment of Kokutai.[15] Because of the very nature of the Japanese Kokutai, it is impossible to deal with Kokutai apart from the spiritual background of the Japanese.

Ikeoka Naotaka explains Kokutai in terms of the characteristics of Japan.[16] On account of the fact that the center of national authority is the Imperial family in Japan, the Japaese nation has enjoyed an unbroken line of sovereigns ever since the beginning of the Japanese state. The Japanese do take pride in the fact that for almost three

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[14]Nitobe Inazo, Japan: Some Phases of Her Problems and Development (London: Ernest Benn, 1931), pp. 171-72.

[15]Kitagawa, op. cit., p. 209.

[16]Ikeoka, op. cit., pp. 232-57.

millenia, the soverien power has bee maintained by the single line of the Imperial Family without a change of dynasty. The continuity of the Japanese Imperial lineage finds no parallel in any other country in the whole world.[17]

The basis of Japanese Kokutai draws upon the legendary Edict of Amaterasu-Omikami.[18] Though the forms of government have undergone many changes since the founding of the Japanese state, there has been no change in Kokutai. The continuitu of Kokutai is attributable not only to the special nature of Japanese national history, but also to the remarkable unity that has been attained between the Imperial family and the people.[19]

Yamada Takao has argued that the Imperial house could not be considered apart from the state and vice versa.

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[17]Fujiwara Hirotatsu, Kindai Nihon Seiji Shiso Shi Josetsu [Introduction to the History of Modern Japanese Political Thought] (Kyoto: Sanwa Shobo, 1952), p. 32.

[18]Hall, op. cit., pp. 106-07; also see Takada Shinji, Nihon Jukyo Shi [History of Japanese Confucianism] (Tokyo: Chihin Shokan, 1941), pp. 262-64.

[19]One of Japan's most famous histories, the Dai Nihon Shi, concerned mainly with the legitimacy of the Imperial lineage, says the following in its introduction: "Since the beginning of emperors in the shape of men for more than two milleniums, the descendants of the gods in succession have continued the direct and sacred line; the traitor has never effected his usurpation attempt. The location of the Sacred Treasures is as radiant as the sun and the moon. How noble! How magnificent! Should we seek for the essential reason, in truth, it is due to the fact that the benevolent influence of the Ancestral Head has solidified the popular will and has become the mighty rock foundation of the state." Dai Nihon Shi (Tokyo: Dai Nippon Yubenkai, 1928), I, pp. 3-4.

According to his reasoning, the Imperial house, the state and the people constitute an inseparable national entity. In fine, it may be stated that the Imperial family forms the core of national or racial cohesion, standing out as the head of the Japanese nation.[20] Now that we are concerned here mainly with the nationalistic aspects of Kokutai in recent times, we now torn to an examination of the Kokutai concept in terms of national consciousness and political indoctrination.

## A Brief Overview of the Kokutai Concept

Although the history of Japan suggests that the Japanese Kokutai concept has existed simultaneously with national history, the concept had existed without a term to depict it before the writing of Jinno Shotoki[21] [Record of the Legitimate Line of Divine Emperors] completed in 1339 by Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354). In Jinno Shotoki, Kitabatake intended to emphasize not merely the rightful claims of the Southern Court to the throne, but also the uniqueness, greatness, and divinity of the Japanese Imperial lineage. He argued that the uniqueness of the Imperial institution made Japan superior not only to China, but also

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[20]Yamada, op. cit., pp. 95-6.

[21]For a detailed discussion, see Mozume Takami, ed., Kitabatake Chikafusa, Jinno Shotoki [Kitabataki Chikafusa, Record of the Legitimate Line of the Divine Emperors] (Tokyo: tokyo Kenbun Shoin, 1942).

to India.[22] Furthermore, it is of great import that he used the term Kokutai to describe the special relationship that existed between the Imperial family and the people. From that time on, the Kokutai concept became a favorite subject of discussion for nationalist writers.[23]

With the accumulation of writings on the subject of Kokutai, the Kokutai concept was greatly expanded to embrace all the unique qualities and ideals of Japan.[24] Kokutai finally took on an extremely mystic character.[25] The advent and use of the term Kokutai resulted in the stimulation and exaltation of Japanese national consciousness. Aizawa

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[22]Koyohara Sadao, Nihon Dotoky Shi [History of Japanese Morals] (Tokyo: Chibunken Shoten, 1937), p. 264.

[23]Ibid., pp. 358-59.

[24]The centralization of the political authority in the hands of theTokugawa Shogunate and the corresponding decline of the influence of the Imperial family, led Japanese classical scholars, Confucian scholars, and Shintoists to rise in support of the Kokutai concept. Among the Shintoists, Yamazaki Ansai (1618-1682) stood out among the classical scholars. Confucian scholars included, among others, Yamaga Soko (1622-1685) and Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691). Scholars belonging to the Mito school of this period included, among others, Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1622-1700), Miyake Kanran (1675-1712) in the earlier period, and Fujita Yukoku (1774-1826), and Fukita toko (1806-1855) in the later period.

[25]Daniel C. Holtom calls the ridiculous arguments advanced in support of Kokutai, "primitive cosmogamy." A typical divine-country argument finds a representative description in Hirata Atsutane: "He declared that the Japanese islands were produced first by the greatest of the ancestral kami and that the inferiority of the rest of the world was indicated by the fact that it was produced later out of sea foam and mud." Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalisms, p. 14.

Seishisai (1782-1863), one of the leading exponents of the later Mito school, crystalized the joi thought previously advocated by Fijita Yukoku and the Kokutai concept of Hirata Atsutane in his work Shinron[26] [New Proposals], which he wrote in 1925. The book was widely read by the politically conscious and thoughtful samurai in the last days of the Tokugawa rule, for it dwelt on the question of coping with foreign threats, which was then uppermost in the minds of the Japanese. The book turned out to be the "political manifesto" for the patriotic samurai, providing inspiration to a goodly number of samurai who were in serious quest of a proper answer to the challenge with which Japan was confronted.[27]

Aizawa's views on Kokutai were in the nature of an amplification of what Kirata Atsutane had advocated, namely that the Japanese nation was a vast family with the Emperor as its sovereign and national focus. Aizawa gained fame by linking the joi [Repel the Barbarians] thought with the sonno [Revere the Emperor] idea. What he argued in Shinron was, in effect, the preservation of Kokutai spiritually and

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[26]Aizawa Seishisai, Shinron [New Proposals] and Tekii-hen [Compilation of Advancing Along the Way]. Edited by Tsukamoto Katsuyoshi (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 19410.

[27]For a good summary of Aizawa's proposals in connecton with the ominous challenge facing Japan during the last decades of the Edo period, see Tsunoda Tyusaku, William Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 591-603.

physically by virtue of the sonno joi thought.

Aizawa's views on Kokutai are well expressed in the following quotation:

> I would respectfully state concerning the Land of the Gods, that being the source whence the sun rises, the place whence vital energy originates; and with the acceding of the Heavenly Sun, succession to its Throne generation after generation being changeless throughout eternity; it is by its very nature the chief country of the earth, providing law and order for all lands. . . . By the grace of the Imperial Sovereign all within the four seas are protected, and in eternal tranquility under an everlasting reign, the land is free from disturbance. These things are not due to his subjugating the people through terror and seizing control for his time. Indeed, they are rather necessarily due to the fact that the whole nation with one accord looks up to him affectionately, and could not bear separation.[28]

What we see in the above passage is that Aizawa made an adept synthesis of Confucian teachings with Shinto beliefs, deriving the ideological characteristics of Kokutai from examples fond in national history. He was intent on demonstrating that the Mito thought was closely interrelated with Confucianism, the national learning school and patriotic theory.[29]

In general, the Mito school was very influential in defining rightful succession of the Imperial family by instilling in the people such loyalty to the Emperor that

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[28]Aizawa, op. cit. I, pp. 12-13.

[29]Tsunoda, op. cit., p. 592.

they eventually caused the downfall of the Tokagawa Shogunate, resulting in the restoration of political power to the rightful rulers of Japan. It is interesting to note that the outcome of the works of the Mito school was neither intended nor foreseen by the founder of the school, Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700), who ironically happened to be a grandson of the first Tokugawa Shogun Ilyasu.[30]

A cursory examination of Japanese history indicates that the scholars of the Mito school, Shintoists, and classical scholars all believed such ancient records as Kojiki and Nihon Shoki. Thus, it appears that they had no difficulty in regarding Japan as the "Divine Land."[31] The Kokutai concept that prevailed among the classical scholars and Shintoists of the Edo period, was not significantly different from that which had been held by those in pre-Tokugawa times. It is worth quoting the following passage to emphasize the eternal quality of the Japanese Kokutai:

> The Japanese national structure (Kokutai) is not the result of the interplay of the ordinary factors that are found in the evolution of other countries. At heart it is the expression

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[30]The Emperor Meiji was quite right when he said in a rescript in commemoration of the contribution which Tokugawa Mitsukuni made toward the eventual restoration of the Imperial rule: "You proved to be the originator of the movement for reverence and loyalty to the throne, thus making of yourself a wise forerunner of the Imperial Restoration of 1868." See Kuno, op. cit. I, p. 139.

[31]W. G. Aston, A History of Japanese Literature (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1972), pp. 164-69.

> of the purposes of the ancestral Kami who founded the state in the far-distant past. It has as its inner, unique, and most characteristic feature, a divine, immutable, and eternal quality. In its essential nature, it has never changed in the past and it will not change in all the future. [Emphasis added.][32]

Toward the closing decades of the Tokugawa period, the movement of the Mito school resulted in intense loyalty to the Emperor and burning patriotism. As if to lend validity to Hegel's argument that the national constitution "turns its distinctive feature towards foreign states," the Kokutai concept was strengthened each time the Japanese people were conditioned to compare their country with other countries. The history of Japan amply testifies to the fact that the Kokutai concept was extraordinarily sharpened and reinforced during the times of national difficulty as in the cases of war with other countries or in the case of foreign pressure surrounding the advent of the "black ships," and the subsequent opening of Japan in the mid- nineteenth century. Internal conditions have also been conducive to the strengthening of the consciousness and awarenessof the Kokutai concept.[33]

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[32]Holtom, Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism, p. 17.

[33]For an interesting list of major political events in modern times that tended to strengthen Japanese national consciousness, the Kokutai concept, and Japanese nationalism, see Yanaga Chitoshi, "Japan: Nationalism Succeeds and Fails," Current History, XIX (August, 1950),

The concept of Kokutai after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 merits special attention in that the concept has been marked by vicissitudes.[34] The opening of Japan under foreign pressure almost naturally resulted in a period of looking down on things Japanese on the one hand, and worshiping European and American ideas on the other. This period of infatuation with things Western, of course, implied rationalism, utilitarianism, and liberalism, among others.[35] This stampede of Western ideas scarcely offered a suitable atmosphere for the discussion or stimulation of the Kokutai concept. Since this period of worshiping the West was characterized by the clamor of minken [the rights of the people] at the expense of the kokken [the rights of the state], the discussion of Kokutai seemed not only childish but also anachronistic.[36]

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pp. 67-72.

[34]In his sweeping explanation of Japan's modern history, Kato Shuichi has used the concept of the "alternating cycle of the periods of two different inclinations, toward the West and toward the Japanese traditions." The Kokutai concept was forced into the background whenever the intellectual trend was in favor of Westernism. See his "Japanese Writers and Modernization," ed. by marius B. Jansen (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 444.

[35]Cf. Herbert Passin, "Modernization and the Japanese Intellectual: Some Comparative Observations," Ibid., pp 447-87.

[36]For a fuller accont of this turbulent period, see Robert A. Scalapino, Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press,

Theories of natural rights of man, liberty, popular sovereignty, and the social contract fascinated the minds of a great majority of educated Japanese to such an extent as to regard the knowledge of these ideas as a necessary qualification for a civilized man. In the midst of this Westernizating frenzy, Shintoists and conservative scholars were so overwhelmed that they had to remain in the background until the turn of events smiled on their ideological position again.[37] Deeply concerned about the direction of Westernization, the Meiji leaders had to take drastic political measures to circumvent the political agitation by the West-admiring liberals and to re-awaken Japanese national consciousness. As a means to satisfy the demands of the progressives and opposition politicians, the government issued an Imperial Rescript in October, 1881,[38] announcing the government's plan to open a Diet in 1889. This announcement of introducing a parliamentary government should be understood with a grain of salt, for the Rescript was intended more for the continuation of the oligarchic

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1953), Ch. III.

[37]In contrast to the confusion, uncertainty and superficial Westernism in the first post-Meiji decade, Japan entered a period of reaction to the blind Westernization, revival of national consciousness, and return to stability by the beginning of the 1900s. Delmer Brown, op. cit., pp. 112-17.

[38]See Walter Wallace McLaren, "Japanese Government Documents," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1st Series, Vol. XLII, Part I (1914).

rule than for a representative government as advocated by the progressive liberals. In a practical sense, the Rescript actually solidified the Emperor-centered oligarchy (faithful with the Kokutai concept) on the one hand, and disarmed the political opponents of political reasons for further struggle on the other. The concluding words in the Rescript clearly testify to this reasoning:

> We perceive the tendency of Our people is to advance too rapidly and without that thought and consideration which alone can make progress enduring, and we can warn Our subjects, high and low, to be mindful of Our will, and those who may advocate sudden and violent changes, thus disturbing the peace of Our realm, will fall under Our displeasure.[39]

That the wording of the Rescript did not militate against those who advocated popular rights should not surprise us. Careful reading of Japan's modern history indicates that the popular rights movement of the first decade of the Meiji era tended to be a political weapon in the hands of dissident members for enervating the Satsuma-Choshu coalistion in the government. What the popular rights advocates were really after was not the defense of individual rights against the government's arbitrary measures, but the government's acceptance of the position that the national goal of Fukoku Kyohei [Right Country,

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[39]McLaren, "Japanese Government Documents," pp. 86-87.

Strong Army] could also be achieved through a representative form of government. It appeared that the question of political belief was a secondary matter in the popular rights movement.[40] The post-Meiji liberalism was but a means to carry on the struggle for power. There is no shortage of evidence that indicates that even the most ardent advocates of popular rights were, at heart, conservatives in their values and attitudes. Regardless of political conviction, everyone was a strong advocate for Fukoku Kyohei. No one questioned that the national independence and solidarity should have precedence over all other matters. This view was as true of the ruling oligarchs as of their opponents. They only disagreed on the methods to be used in achieving the common national goal. Even such a progressive, liberal writer as Fukuzawa Yukichi contended that the Westernization of Japan was but a means to preserve Japan's national polity. He further maintained that the ultimate goal of all thought and action should be the preservation of the Japanese national polity.[41]

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[40]Itagaki Taisuke (1837-1919), who enjoyed the reputation of being the most ardent advocate for popular rights of his time, had argued only a year before he embarked upon his crusade for popular rights that the centralization of political power and authority in the national government should have priority over the establishment of a parliamentary government. See Yoshino Sakuzo, ed., Meiji Bunka Zenshu [Complete Works on Meiji Culture](Tokyo: Nihon Hijoron Sha, 1927-1930), IX, 344.

[41]Keio Gijuku, ed., Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu

Now that the advocates of liberty and popular sovereignty, following the issuance of the Rescript, were emptied of political objectives to which they could devote their ideological zeal, they were led to re-evaluate their position. The tapering off of "blind Westernization"[42] and the achievement of political goals slowly gave rise to the re-awakening of national consciousness once again. Thus, the discussion of nationalism, together with the Kokutai concept, reared its head again. Many scholars, regardless of their idealogical orientation, began to write about the special qualities of the Japanese state. Even Fukuzawa Yukichi, in a treatise, "On the Imperial House," supported the emperor system from a utilitarian point of view. He contended that the Imperial House was useful in the maintenance of national unity and in the control of the state.[43]

It is also interesting to note the ideological conversion of Kato Kiroyuki (1836-1916) who had been one of the earliest advocates of natural rights, equality, and

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[Complete Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi](21 Vols., (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958-1964), IV, 209.

[42]During this period, Western ideas were simply harped upon either as political catch-phrases or as intellectual jargon with little influence on the Japanese value system. See Maruyama, Nationalism in Post-War Japan, p. 2; also see Jackson H. Bailen, "Prince Saionji and the Popular Rights Movement in the 1880's," Journal of Asian Studies, XXI, No. 1 (November, 1961), pp. 49-64.

[43]Keio, op. cit., V., pp. 259-92.

constitutional monarchy. Even in Kokutai Shinron [New Theory on the National Polity] which he wrote in 1874, he had even rejected the Kokugaku agreement that each Japanese was born only to serve the Imperial will. He had further maintained that the government existed for the people and not vice versa. Indeed until his ideological conversion he had truly been an opponent of authoritarianism and a supporter of popular rights.[44] In 1877, he had abandoned his faith in natural rights in favor of the theory of social evolution under the influence of German political doctrines. By the latter part of 1881, his ideological position had been so completely changed that he argued that natural rights were unproven, and such rights as existed were inseparable from the existence of the state.[45]

This period of reaction against Western ideas had paved the way for the flowering of various nationalistic organizations which advocated and propagated, though in varying degrees, the Japanese national characteristics and virtues. This period of "the preservation of Japanese national essence" (1885-1895) bristled with many important political events that gave birth to intense nationalism.[46]

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[44]Yoshino, op. cit., V., p. 373.

[45]Tabata Shinobu, Kato Hiroyuki (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1959), p. 42.

[46]For a good account of the "Japanese National Essence" movement of this period, see Delmer Brown, op.

With the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889, the opening of the Diet in 1890, and the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, Japan was ready to embark upon a venture of constitutional government and an education policy that was to forcefully train the people to be nationalistic.

As a corrolary of this national self-awakening, the Japanese people came to appreciate once again their own national virtues and heritage. Thus, there emerged many writers[47] who began to discuss the Kokutai concept, based on the Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education. No less an intellectual than Fukuzawa Yukichi stated that:

> At present, the only duty of the Japanese people is to preserve the Kokutai. To preserve the Kokutai means the maintenance of independent political power. To maintain the independent nation, it is necessary to foster the education and knowledge of the people.[48]

We can easily see from the quotation above that Fukuzawa's central theme was the preservation of the Kokutai, which he considered the ultimate goal of Japanese

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cit., Ch. VI.

[47]Fukuzawa Yukichi, Kato Hiroyuki, Ito Hirobumi, Kume Kunitake, and Inoue Tetsujiro, to name only a few. For a fuller understanding, see Kenneth B. Pyle, The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 118-43.

[48]Keio, op. cit., IV, 32.

political thought and action. To him, the introduction of the Western civilization was the sine quo non whereby to reach the end of the preservation of the Kokutai. Fukuzawa's main concern was clearly stated when he said that "The nation's independence is the aim, the nation's civilization is the means toward the aim."[49]

Furthermore, Fukuzawa's bitter reaction against the West and his concern with the maintenance of the nation's independence are well described in the following:

> Wherever the Europeans come, the land ceases to be productive, and trees and plants cease to grow. What is worse still is that the human race dies out. Should people clearly understand these facts of realities and realize that Japan is an Eastern country, they must be inevitably fearful for the future, albeit has Japan heretofore suffered no great harm from foreign intercourse.[50]

That he also was not oblivious to the racial question in international politics merits another quotation:

> Take, for instance, the cruel way in which the British ruled the Indians for some past years. Their relations with the Indians could hardly be described as human intercourse. Yet, should one say that the Indians are treated in this manner merely because they are weak, then many weak peoples in the West would also be treated in the same cruel manner. The fact that they are not treated likewise proves that it is not the difference in strength but race that is the cause

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

of difference in treatment.[51]

Though the nationalism of this period was reactionary, it did strengthen the Kokutai concept and stimulate patriotism in a great measure.

Following this reactionary period came a truly momentous decade in Japan's modern history. Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) greatly enhanced Japan's national prestige on the one hand, and inflated Japanese national pride on the other. This new consciousness of "greatness" on the part of the Japanese was destined to play a harmonizing role between the West and the East.[52] Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 further strengthened Japanese national consciousness to such an extent as to oblige many Japanese to expound the essence of the Kokutai. Among others, Kato Kiroyuki and Inoue Tetsujiro stood out as the most prominent advocates for the Kokutai.[53]

Now that Japan's military victories were as spectacular as they were unexpected, Bushido [the warrior code],

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[51]Ibid.

[52]Many Japanese sincerely believed that their country had been able to hammer out an ideal synthesis of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Western technology, and they believed that the spread of this synthesis was one of Japan's proper missions. See Kiyohara Sadao, Meiji Jidai Shiso Shi [History of Thought in the Meiji Era](Tokyo: Daitokaku, 1921), pp. 317-22; Reinsch, op. cit., p. 48.

[53]Delmer Brown, op. cit., pp. 152-56.

which had been forced into the background for a few decades after the Restoration, was given a new lease on life.[54] Many nations of the world were conditioned to be curious and inquisitive about the causes of Japan's military success. The spiritual factor of the victories was unreservedly attributed to the Bushido spirit. Thus, the study of Bushido became a very serious, popular subject both at home and abroad. Writing in 1904 on the Japanese mind, Henry Dyer has stated:

> . . . to sum up briefly the qualities of the Japanese which have enabled them to make such wonderful developments in such a short time, I would mention as the most important factor, the intense loyalty of the people which compels them to make any sacrifice--even life itself--when they consider it necessary for the honor of their country.[55]

While the Japanese were intoxicated with pride, making much of national virtues and characteristics such as the Japanese Kokutai and Bushido, two political incidents of great import shocked the whole nation. The arrest in 1910 of Kotoku Denjro on charges of plotting against the life of

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[54]For example, Nitobe Inazo, Bushido, the Soul of Japan (10th rev. and enl. ed.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905); Alfred Stead, "The Soul of a Nation," The Times (London), October 4, 1904, p. 6.

[55]Henry Dyer, Dai Nippon: A Study in National Evolution (London: Blackie and Son, 1904), pp. 49-50.

the Emperor (and Kotoku's execution in 1911),[56] and a heated nationwide controversy over the question of legitimacy of the Northern and Southern dynasties in the fourteenth century prompted thoughtful scholars and educators to deal with, and clarify, the Kokutai concept lest the nation be embroiled in an unending controversy inimical to the nation. Inoue Tetsujiro and other conservative scholars organized a society to facilitate the study of Kokutai. This society played a leading role in solidifying the Kokutai concept and guiding the direction of "national morals."[57]

Though the death of the Meiji Emperor in 1912 and subsequent political events of importance provided a suitable atmosphere to strengthen the Kokutai concept, the constantly changing situation at home and abroad,[58]

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[56]For a detailed discussion of Kotoku Denjiro, see Nishio Yotaro, Kotoku Shusui (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1961).

[57]Delmer Brown, op. cit., pp. 154-55.

[58]For a handy guide to the thoughts and activities of socialists and Christians that not only militated against the government leaders but also posed a disquieting influence in Japan in the early decades of this century, see Tabata Shinobu, Nihon no Heiwa Shiso [Pacifist Thought in Japan] (Kyoto: Minerva Press, 1972). Some of the major political events that had great impact on Japan in this period include: the first World War, the Russian Revolution, the Washington Conference, the intensification of Chinese nationalism, and the London Naval Conference. For an exhaustive discussion on the implications of the London Treaty for the later political development in favor of militarists, see Harada Kumao, Saionji Ko to Seikuoku [Prince Saionji and the Political Situation](9 Vols.: Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950-1952), Vol. I, esp. pp. 191-239.

prevented the Kokutai concept from making headway until the Manchurian Incident in 1931. A new national consciousness suddenly loomed large following the Manchurian Incident. No sooner had the Japanese been awakened to the new national consciousness than non-nationalistic ideas (liberal, socialist, and Christian) suffered a sudden decline.[59] A modified fascism of sorts emerged to rivet the attention of the nation.

Conservative organizations replete with perfervid patriotism gained power in no time. These organizations were convinced that party politics had to be done away with in order to cope with the national crisis. In pursuing their chauvinistic policy they launched into a campaign of violent revolutionary direct action against the established order, which resulted in the demise of party cabinets.[60] In effect, the consequence of this campaign was virtually a reign of terror, culminating in the founding of the notorious Ketsumeidan [League of Blood Brotherhood] whose

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[59]The evidence of the new national consciousness is well manifested by the activities of key nationalist and secret societies. See Yanaga Chitoshi, Japan Since Perry (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949) pp. 489-518.

[60]T. A. Bisson, "Rise of Fascism in Japan," Foreign Policy Reports, October 26, 1932; Harada Kumao, "Ni-Niroku Jiken- Josubu no Ugoki," [The February Twenty-Sixth Incident--Changes in the Elite], Sekai, No. 50 (February, 1950), pp. 59-69; idem, Saionji Ko to Seikyoku, Vol. II which is subtitled, "The Manchurian Incident and the End of Party Cabinets," for an exhaustive account of crisis-ridden politics that gradually eclipsed party politics, giving birth to a fullfledged militarism.

creed was the use of terrorism against the "corrupt political parties, slaves of the capitalists."[61] The Young Officers and cadets who joined the Ketsumeidan and other societies were responsible for the assassinations of Baron Dan Takuma of the Mitsui combines, and former Finance Minister Inoue Junnosuke in February, 1932, and Premier Inukai Tsuyoshi on May, 1932.[62]

Since the nation was so shocked by these assassinations, the government began to exercise strict control not only over the left-wing organizations but also over the right-wing organizations, for both sides were regarded as dangerous and harmful to the nation.[63]

Having been deeply concerned about the political implications of the Manchurian question, the Japanese government wished that the establishment of the new "state" of Manchukuo would put an end to Japan's international predicament. Japan's recognition of Manchukuo on September 18, 1932, pandered to the further worsening of the Manchurian issue, making a Sino-Japanese dispute into a question involving the League of Nations.[64] Confronted with international opposition to her advances on the continent

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[61]Quoted in Kenneth W. Colegrove, Militarism in Japan (New York: World Peace Foundation, 1936), p. 38.

[62]Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[63]Harada, Saionji Ko to Seikyoku, II, 245.

[64]Ibid., pp. 354-60.

and unable to work a way to compromise, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations on March 27, 1933.[65]

Japan's isolated position and her claim that the international opinion was impervious to, and inconsiderate of, her legitimate rights in the Far East, again aroused Japanese national consciousness.[66] The joint action by the West against Japan made Japanese nationalism a "fearful" type once again.

> The anti-Japanese sentiment in China, however, had relatively little effect upon the development of a more intense form of nationalism in Japan, for the Japanese did not fear Chinese opposition. There was merely a sense of national pride in the military victories against the "bandits" in Manchuria. But when the Western nations began to take a stiffer attitude toward Japan's advances, fears were aroused that the Western powers might join forces against Japan. This development presented an entirely different situation, and consequently, as Japan's relations with the West worsened, nationalism became more intense and began once more to take on a "fearful" character.[67]

This development of extreme nationalistic sentiment led to the wholesale abandonment of things Western. Thus dawned a period in which Yamato Damashii was to be daily conjured up and incessantly harped upon. The prevalence of Yamato Damashii then was testified to by the fact that a

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[65] Ibid., III, pp. 35-47.

[66] Ibid., p. 19.

[67] Delmer Brown, op. cit., p. 193.

great number of socialists and communists defected from their ranks to become advocates of the Japanese national consciousness. Those who defected argued that they "could not reconcile their patriotic sentiments with the Party's absolute loyalty to the Soviet Stalinist regimen."[68]

This quotation tells us a political truism--that nationality outweighs ideology. According to the reasons for defection from the Japanese Communist Party given by "two important communists"--Nabeyama Sadachika and Sano Manabu, the reawakening of their national consciousness following the Manchurian Incident was so important as to neutralize their ideological creed:

> Those events of national significance that have confronted our people since the Manchurian Incident . . . have awakened the Japanese consciousness inherent in all of us, communist or not. We are proud of the history of the Japanese people, who, as a great independent nation, have substantially contributed to the development of mankind, and we have come to believe in their superior quality. The critical world political situation facing Japan has aroused our national consciousness.[69]

By the same token, it is quite important to note the great significance which Nabeyama and Sano attached to the

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[68]Paul F. Langer, Communism in Japan: A Case of Political Naturalization (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1972), p. 14.

[69]Quoted in George M. Beckmann and Okubo Genji, The Japanese Communist Party, 1922-1945 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 264

Japanese Imperial family:

> The imperial system of Japan, unlike tsarism, has never been a system of exploitation and suppression. The Imperial household has been an expression of national unity; it has reduced class violence within the country, brought equilibrium to social life and ensured a smooth transition from one class to another at times of social change. . . . The overwhelming majority of the people respect and identify with the Imperial family. The Japanese people have the sense of being a great kinship group, of which the Imperial family is the head. . . . To that extent, the Japanese Imperial family has a popular foundation. . . . With the slogan, "Overthrow the Imperial System," the Communist Party flouts the feelings of the people and, for this reason, is alienated from them.[70]

Though the above quotations clearly demonstrate the undeniably strong sense of Japanese nationality, it would also serve us well to be attentive to the fact that the modest advance toward a system of parliamentary democracy and the advent of various brands of socialist and leftist politics were not the only characteristics of the twenties in Japan. The third decade was also marked by the beginnings of a conservative and nationalist reaction which was soon to overwhelm the liberal trends in Japan.[71] As

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Marayama Masao cogently calls the decade prior to the Manchurian Incident the preparatory period of fascism. "It was in 1919-20 and thereafter that we have the rapid development of near-fascist groups. The Genyosha and Kokurynkai may be regarded as exceptions." Marayama Masao, Nihon Fashizumu no Shiso no Undo [The Movement and Thought of Japanese Fascism] (Tokyo: Hakujitsu Shoin, 1948), p. 104.

Richard Storry puts it:

> The 15th May Incident had a significance for the modern Japanese nation second only to that of the Manchurian Incident eight months earlier. After 15th May, 1932, liberalism as a factor in official life, was a spent force.[72]

The strong sense of Japanese national consciousness, Japan's ambitious creation of Manchukuo as a major step to realize the ideas of Japanese expansion on the Asian mainland, and the claim of a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine" led Japan to a completely isolated position that militated against almost all the nations of the world: Japan came to be hated by the Chinese, feared by the Soviets, and censured by the Anglo-Americans.[73]

Confronted with the world's denunciation and indulged in the continental expansion, the commitment to Manchukuo and to the "Asian Monroe Doctrine" became Japan's immutable national policy. This policy ensued a fateful consequence. Japan was perforce thrown into an armaments race with two of the wealthiest nations in the world. The Japanese sense of urgency was quite acute, for Japan had to

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[72]Richard Storry, The Double Patriot: A Study of Japanese Nationalism (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1957), p. 124.

[73]For a fuller discussion, see Tokyo Asachi, September 14, 1933.

expand both her army and navy, whereas the United States could concentrate on the strengthening of naval power, and the Soviet Union could build up the ground forces.[74]

The intensification of power politics and the Japanese concern about national security instilled apprehension and determination; apprehension about Japan's future and determination to pursue the Japanese Monroe Doctrine. The progressively worsening world-wide depression and the hostile international environment, albeit generated largely by Japan, herself, pandered to a further fortification of Japan's sense of national mission.[75]

Japan once again, as in the days of her forced opening, came to ponder such slogans as Sakuma Shozan's "Eastern Morality and Western Technology." Since all the Japanese clearly understood that their country's sudden elevation to the ranks of the world's great powers was attributable to rapid industrialization and military sinews, the importance of military buildup to pursue the expansion on the continent was never questioned.[76] The Japanese

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[74]For a representative writing that depicts graphically the Japanese national mood against international interference in "Japan's pursuit of rightful interests" and Japan's determination to embark upon an armaments race with Western Powers in the early thirties, see Renmei no Kiki to Nichibeisen [The Crisis of the League of Nations and the Japanese-American War] (Tokyo: Chuseido, 1932).

[75]Ibid., p. 1-16.

[76]Ibid., pp. 445-50. For a good glimpse of the

leadership decided to take advantage of the "Eastern morality" or of the Japanese spirit.

Thus the Japanese political leaders, riding the crest of a heavily chauvinistic national mood, came to believe that a strong Japan had to possess not only armaments and military bases, but also an unswerving national unity, loyalty, and a strong sense of national mission.[77] The internal affairs of extreme nature perpetrated by the young officers and Japan's worsening relations with the outside world, however, made Japan's "two-fold problem"[78] rear its ugly head once again. The control of dangerous thoughts and the drive for spiritual mobilization became the most powerful means of controlling the Japanese people and pursuing the expansive policies.

The national education system was to be greatly manipulated and abused by the government leaders for political indoctrination. Toward this end, the political

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Japanese obsession with the continental expansion, see, among the many writings by Kita Ikki and Okawa Shumei, the latter's Nihon oyobi Nihonjin no Michi [The Ways of Japan and of the Japanese] (Rev. ed., Tokyo: Gyocki Sha, 1930).

[77]For a brief but important discussion of Japan's national mission, see Matsumoto Sannosuke, "National Mission," in The Emergence of Imperial Japan, ed. Marlene Mayo (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1970), pp. 59-67.

[78]Ibid., p. 61.

leaders decided to put the centuries-old Kokutai[79] concept to maximum use to elicit loyalty and patriotism from the people on the one hand, and to keep the people under the strict control of the government on the other. In the wake of a series of nationalist "incidents" ranging from the Manchurian Incident in 1931 to the February Mutiny in 1936, and the controversy over "the Question of Clarification of the National Polity [Kokutai Meicho Mondai] the government efforts for the regimentation of the people and for the realization of Japan's national mission culminated in the issuance in March, 1937, of a leading ideological test, Kokutai no Hongi [Principles of the National Polity], which was prepared by the bureau of "thought control" in the Ministry of Education.

Through a full-scale political indoctrination of the Japanese by virtue of the all-embracing Kokutai no Hongi, Japan regained a questionable internal peace again. As Storry cogently writes, "The price of peace at home was, of course, armed expansion abroad."[80]

Since no one can doubt the success of the Kokutai no Hongi in political indoctrination from the day of its

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[79]It is worth noting that, prior to the full-scale use of the Kokutai concept to drum up ultra-nationalism, the nationalists engaged themselves in the clarification of the Kokutai concept to exorcize the liberals and the "dangerous thinkers" of their aberration. Storry, op. cit., pp. 162-69.

[80]Ibid., p. 193.

issuance until Japan's defeat in 1945, it may not be amiss to see what the Kokutai Hongi intended to mean to the Japanese.

> The unbroken line of Emperors, receiving the Oracle of the Founder of the Nation, reign eternally over the Japanese Empire. This is our eternal and immutable national entity. Thus, founded on this great principle, all the people, united as one great family nation in the heart and obeying the Imperial Wil, enhance indeed the beautiful virtues of loyalty and filial piety. this is the glory of our national entity. This national entity is the eternal and unchanging basis of our nation and shines resplendent throughout our history. Moreover, its solidarity is proportionate to the growth of the nation and is, together with heaven and earth, without end. We must, to begin with, know with what active brilliance this fountainhead shines within the reality of the founding of our nation.[81]

Even though this quotation may seem totally chimeric and ridiculous to rational thinking and an educated mind, it did work and it worked marvelously, to boost ideological conformity and national chauvinism. The formal ethics (Shushin) course in school and the "thought education" for the Japanese people might have impoverished intellectual life on the one hand, but must have offered emotional comfort on the other.

Be that as it may, until 1945, all Japanese were harping upon the theme of loyalty and patriotism, duly satisfying the political aspirations of the militarists and

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[81] Ibid., p. 82.

nationalists--the "thought control" at home and the pursuit of expansionist policies abroad. Since the society was so thoroughly regimented by the Kokutai concept, no one dared to object to the chauvinistic trend. As Arthur M. Young writes:

> The mildest accusation of disloyalty to the Kokutai seems to have been enough to disturb the self-confidence of a Japanese official or politician at any date between, let us say, the close of 1931 and the beginning of the Pacific War. Moral courage was displayed, it is true, by a few men in public life . . . but dedication to principle, to a rationally thought-out and accepted personal point of view, was a very rare phenomenon.[82]

Many studies reveal that from the late 1920's, internal control was achieved in spite of radicalism and liberalism. The newly-gained awareness of the individual's place in society was an insignificant factor in stemming Japan's national chauvinism which was running berserk. Regardless of the merits and demerits of political indoctrination, Japanese national consciousness was inculcated to a degree unprecedented in the history of Japan.[83]

Once the militarists were firmly in the saddle, they

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[82]Arthur M. Young, Imperial Japan, 1926-1938 (New York: W. Morrow & Co., 1938), pp. 179-80.

[83]Charles N. Spinks, "Indoctrination and Re-Education of Japan's Youth," Pacific Affairs, XVII (March, 1944), pp. 63-64.

never had to grapple seriously with the political opposition that could claim to be more truly nationalist, thanks to the exploitation by the government leaders of the supreme symbol of the nation's identity, the Emperor himself.[84] Nevertheless, the political leaders in the 1930's, who could assert the state's power in the name of the Emperor at home, were in no position to cope with problems abroad by relying upon the same symbol in confronting foreign, especially Chinese, nationalists.

Their own extreme form of nationalism that, in some respects served so well at home, was not effective as a tool of foreign policy.[85] The government leaders, however, were comitted to the sumbol, for it alone vouchsafed the justification for reshaping the world order as well as explaining the Japanese national polity.

By the same token, the commitment of the Japanese leadership in the late 1930's to the idea that their country was truly the Emperor's State, and their success in suppressing contrary ideas did pander to the deepening of

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[84]Matsumoto Sannosuke, "The Significance of Nationalism in Modern Japanese Thought," The Journal of Asian Studies, XXXI (November, 1971), p. 52.

[85]For a detailed treatment in this connection, see James B. Crowley, "A New Asian Order: Some Notes on Prewar Japanese Nationalism," in Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taisho Democracy, eds. Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 270-98.

militaristic chauvinism.[86] The threats posed by the border incidents with the Soviet Union, the war with China, and the sense of national insecurity resulting from Japan's defiance to international pressure, gave birth to the need for national mobilization. The government was forced to resort to the policy of "thought control" to keep the people patriotic and supportive to the government policies.

Since the question of thought control had been such an important political factor until 1945, we will discuss the aspect of thought control in the following pages.

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[86]James B. Crowley, "Intellectuals as Visionaries of the New Asian Order," in Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan, ed. James W. Morley (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 373.

## CHAPTER VI

## FORTIFICATION OF NATIONALISM: "THOUGHT-CONTROL"

Twenty-four centuries ago, Thucydides declared: "It is a habit of mankind to entrust to careless hope what they long for, and to use sovereign reason to thrust aside what they do not fancy."[1] Man's habits do change slowly. When we take up the subject of Japanese militarism in the 1930's and early 1940's, the so-called "ultranationalism" is usually considered an abnormal product of militarists.[2]

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[1]Thucydides, The History of the Peloponesian War, trans. by Richard Crowley and R. C. Feetham (London: Dent, 1910), p. 241. In 1944, Frederick Hertz boldly stated: "Two incentives govern men: fear of punishment and hope of reward." See his Nationality in History and Politics: A Study of the Psychology and Sociology of National Sentiment and Character (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 225; in this connection, see also Norman Angell, "Human Nature and the Atomic Age," Free World, X, No. 6 (December, 1945), 74-76. For the Japanese "guilt feeling" in the immediate post-defeat years, see, for example, Yomiuri Shimbun, December 5, 1947.

[2]Writing in 1956, Maejima Shozo critized the widely-accepted view that Japanese fascism since World War I was caused by a military clique. See his Nihon Fashizumu to Gikai [Japanese Fascism and the Diet] (Kyoto: Horitsu Bunkasha, 1956). For a further discussion in this regard, see Kinoshita Hanji, Nihon Fashizumu no Shiso to Undo [The Thought and Movement of Japanese Fascism] in a collection

It is a rather shallow misreading of Japanese history to simply attribute the wartime ultranationalism to militarism, to write off the political significance of the pre-1945 ultranationalism as a frantic abnormalcy produced in an emergency period, and to naively discount the effectiveness of the "thought-control" system as entirely resultant from the ubiquitousness of raw policy power.[3]

As already discussed at length, it can be safely stated that Japan's state, social structure, and national psychology are unique and peculiar to that country. This unique character was more responsible for bringing about Japan's ultranationalism than the incessant indoctrination by the militarists.[4] By the same token, the thought-control system would have been far less effective had there not been a long tradition of loyalty, patriotism, and a

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called Sonjo Shiso to Zettai Shugi [Sonno joi Thought and Absolutism], Tokyo University, Tokyo Bunka Kenkyujo (Tokyo: Hakujitsu Shoin, 1948).

[3]Throughout the many centuries of their national history until 1945 the Japanese people had scarcely ever been free from some form of thought-control. Even in the "liberal" 1920's, political leaders and nationalistic societies were concerned about "dangerous thoughts." See, for example, Harry Emerson Wildes, "Japan Returns to Feudalism," The Nation, CXXIII, October 27, 1926, pp. 436-38; Walker G. Matheson, "Japan Damns 'Dangerous Thoughts'," The Nation, CXXVII, November 7, 1928, pp. 504-505.

[4]Umetani Noboru, Meiji Zenki Seijishi no Kenkyu [A Study of the Early Meiji Period] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1963), p. 129; a representative writing on the Japanese sense of national mission based on the imperial system can be found in Japan Advertizer, May 9, 1919.

hierarchical value system in Japan's national history. As Herbert Passin cogently writes:

> Since the individual's fundamental identity is with his vertically stratified functional group, which lives in a dangerous world surrounded by other similar groups--rivals or enemies, but at least strangers--loyalty is and has always been one of the principal values of Japanese society. The loyal individual, who willingly sacrifices personal interests, has alwyas been one of the admired heroes of Japanese history. Although personal loyalty has often been converted into institutional loyalty--that is, loyalty between statuses rather than between individuals--in the preferred form, there is a strong personal, emotional element. Leaders should act like leaders just as followers should act like followers.[5] (Emphasis added.)

Seen in this light, the aspects of ultranationalism and thought-control indeed deserve closer attention if we are to come to grips with the wartime Japanese national consciousness greatly sharpened by the "notorious" thought-control system and to duly fathom the postwar Japanese national consciousness innocent of political indoctrination.[6]

The thought-control system is dwelt upon here not in order to rake the "shameful" experience or conjure up

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[5]Herbert Passin, "Japanese Society," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, VIII (1968), p. 247.

[6]For a good discussion on the Japanese psychology of nationalism, see Maruyama Masao, Nihon no Nashionarizumu [Japanese Nationalism] (Tokyo: Kawade Shabo, 1953); Idem, Senchu to Sengo no Aida [During the War and Post-War] (Tokyo: Misuza Shobo, 1976).

distressful memories of wartime extremes, but in order that we should realize the underlying currency of Japanese national consciousness that did seem to have provided grist to the nationalistic mill that was in need of regimenting the people, controlling their thinking to ward off dangerous foreign thoughts, and mobilizing the entire population for Japan's national objectives at home and abroad.[7]

As usually seen by many observers, the Pacific War was, indeed, the most traumatic national experience of the Japanese in modern times, if not in their entire national history.[8] Looking back at the war with China, the alliance with the Axis, the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, the exploitation of other Asian peoples, the maltreatment of prisoners of war, the extreme chauvinism, the shrill

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[7]For a fuller understanding of these aspects, see, for example, Kisaka Junichiro, "Nihon Fuashizumu to Jinmin Shihai no Tokushitsu" [Japanese Fascism and Special Features of Leading the People], Rekishigaku Kenkyu, Special Number (October, 1970), 117-122; Maruyama Saneo, "Gunkoku Shihaisha no Seishin Keitai" [The Spiritual Make-up of the Leader of a Militaristic State], Choyru [Current], May 1949, pp. 15-37; Iizawa Shoji, Sodoin [General Mobilization] (Tokyo: Takayama Shoin, 1938); Joseph S. Roucek, "Japanese Totalitarianism," World Affairs Interpreter, XIV, No. 2 (Summer, July 1943), 133-153.

[8]For more information on this period, see Ouchi Tsutomi, Nihon no Rekishi, Vol. XXIV: Fuashizumu no Michi [A History of Japan, Vol. XXIV: The Road to Fascism] (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Sha, 1967); Thomas R. H. Havens, Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two (New York: W. W. Horton & Co., 1978); Ienaga Saburo, The Pacific War: World War II and the Japanese, 1931-1945 (Translation of Taiheiyo Senso, 1st American ed.; New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

patriotism, the thought-control, the suffering, the destruction, and the humiliating defeat, postwar Japanese writers tend to feel either guilty or ashamed of their pre-1945 excesses.[9] This "guilty mentality" led much of postwar writings about "the frenzy of an 'emergency period'"[10] to be emotive or polemic. In many cases, Japanese intellectuals seem to be overly "pathological"[11] or critical in dealing with the political history of the militaristic era.

By the same token, non-Japanese observers in the postwar decades, infatuated with the hatred of war and oppression, have tended to treat everything Japanese linked to Japanese nationalism as an exceptional phenomenon produced by the Tojo Hidekis.[12] Seen from the standpoint of the longevity of Japanese nationalistic feeling, neither the

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[9]Donald Keene, "Japanese Writers and the Greater East Asia War," Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture (Tokyo: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1971), pp. 300-321; Hani Goro, "Daitoa Senso Koteiron O Hihansuru" [Criticizing the Affirmation of the Greater East Asia War], Chuo Koron, July, 1965, pp. 165-187.

[10]Maruyama Masao, Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics (Expanded ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 23.

[11]Ibid., p. xii.

[12]On account of his hard-line attitude against the United States and his premiership during much of the Pacific War period, Tojo Hideki is mistakenly regarded by many observers in the West as Japan's Hitler. For fuller understanding, see Yanaga Chitoshi, "Recent Trends in Japanese Political Thought," Pacific Affairs, XIII, No. 2 (June 1940), p. 131; Omori Harris, "Will Japan Crack Up?" Harper's Magazine, May 1943, p. 643.

pathological national repentence on the part of the Japanese nor the unrealistic liberal optimism held by non-Japanese would help us understand the major forces that constitute the national vitality of Japan.

It would not be amiss to recapitulate that the Japanese are inclined to prefer continuity to radical change, treasuring their long-cherished tradition. As Robert M. MacIver has written, "Nations are enduring realities, and though its expression is always changing, the spirit of a nation is unquenchable."[13] Despite the fact that "the spirit of a nation" endures, in general, and that the Japanese are extremely nationalistic, in particular, many critics of the pre-1945 Japanese ultranationalism tend to write to the effect that the militarism did not have the support of the learned class. In railing against the pre-1945 ultranationalism, Maruyama Masao, for example, rather over-stated the feelings of the Japanese intellectuals in the following words:

> In Germany and Italy the learned class positively hoisted the banner of fascism, and the university students played a major role. Not so in Japan. . . . The intelligentsia student class as a whole never supported the fascist movement. . . . In Germany, leading scholars and professors laid the foundations for Nazism. But what happened in Japan? Of course there were scholars who shouldered the banner of militarism or fascism.

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[13]Robert M. MacIver, "The Fundamental Principles of International Order," International Postwar Problems, I, No. 1 (December, 1943), 17.

> But it seems that in most cases the feeling that fascism was stupid prevailed in their minds, if not on the surface.[14]

In contrast, Ike Nobutaka argues that "pseudo-intellectuals" rather than intellectuals influence opinion and politics in Japan.[15] By the same token, many observers of Japanese politics do not see as Maruyama Masao does. No less a Japanese libertarian scholar than Fukuzawa Yukichi proved to be very nationalistic, arguing that Japan's aggressive policies in East Asia were for the sake of enlightenment, Westernization, and "world culture."[16] Fukuzawa's case amply demonstrates that historically liberalism has not always been incompatible with either imperialism or authoritarianism. Basically, Fukuzawa was not different from other Japanese in that he was also interested in "authority at home and prestige abroad."[17]

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[14]Maruyama Masao, Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics, pp. 59, 63; idem, "Nihon ni Okeru Nashonarizumu Sono Shisoteki Haikei" [Intellectual Background of Nationalism in Japan], Chuo Koron, January, 1951, pp. 295-304.

[15]Ike Nobutaka, "The Political Role of Japanese Intellectuals," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 3rd series, vol. 5 (December 1957), 106-118.

[16]Fukuzawa Yukichi, Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu [Complete Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), XIV, 500.

[17]Mikisa Hane, "Nationalism and the Decline of Liberalism in Meiji Japan," in Robert Sakai, ed. Studies on Asia (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), pp. 69-80. William Alfred Baker's "Justice-Order Dichotomy" can be

Writing in 1952, Marius B. Jansen argues that Japan's modernization was not only motivated by a defense mentality, but also by a defense-in-depth concept whereby a renovated Japan should lead other Asian countries, concluding that Meiji liberalism at its best was inextricably linked with chauvinism.[18] Jansen goes on to write to disabuse use of the naivete involved in writing about the liberal aspects of the Meiji period: "Close study of this relationship between chauvinism and radicalism should serve to guard against facile acceptance of the Meiji democratic movement."[19]

By all accounts, Japanese ultranationalism is "deep-rooted."[20] As Arnold J. Toynbee reminds us, "Human ideas do not spring into the world fully-grown and shining, like Athena: they trail the infection of evil things from the past."[21] That the Japanese are like anybody else is well described by Louise M. Rosenblatt:

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instrumental to a better understanding of the shifting nature of Fukuzawa's thought. William A. Baker, "Ideology Reconsidered: On Behalf of Justice-Order Dichotomy," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1971).

[18]Marius B. Jansen, "Oi Kentaro: Radicalism and Chauvinism," Far Eastern Quarterly, XI, No. 3 (May, 1952), 305.

[19]Ibid., 316.

[20]Owen Lattimore, Solution in Asia (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1945), p. 49.

[21]Arnold J. Toynbee, Nationality and the War (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1915), p. 8.

> Despite the political innovations and economic achievements of this nation [America], he [Walt Whitman] felt that the ideas and attitudes governing men's and women's day-to-day lives were largely those inherited from the old world."[22]

It goes without saying that the Peace Preservation Law of 1925[23] did not give birth to the thought-control system for the first time in Japan. Of course, the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 and the elaborate thought-control system constructed on it represented a bench mark in the sophistication of the thought-control system in Japan.[24]

The spread of Communist and anarchist ideas, an attempt to assassinate the prince regent, and the advent of an illegal Communist party in the early 1920's not only shocked the Japanese, but also made it necessary for government leaders to engineer new techniques of controlling leftists and "dangerous thoughts." The state of ideological unrest posed by radical leftists seemed so ominous and startling to government leaders and the common people as to facilitate the passage of stricter laws. In 1925, the

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[22]Louise M. Rosenblatt, "Whitman's Democratic Vistas and the New 'Ethnicity'," Yale Review, LXVII, No. 2 (December, 1977), 190.

[23]For a detailed writing, see Richard H. Mitchell, "Japan's Peace Preservation Law of 1925: Its Origins and Significance," Monumenta Nipponica, XXVIII (Autumn, 1973), 317-345.

[24]Albert A. Altman, "A Recently Discovered Document on Early Meiji Press Censorship Legislation," Gazette, XVII, No. 4 (1971), 220.

government enacted the Peace Preservation Law which provided for ideological limits for individuals and organizations.[25]

It should be pointed out that the tight controls by government bureaucracies were not strongly resented by most of the Japanese people. The near absence of resentment can be explained by the fact that the led shared with the leaders the value system based on a basically hierarchically ordered society in which the individual could express himself by serving the collective body.[26] To all intents and purposes, Japan is a united nation. By the same token, "to the Japanese, national unity is an end in itself."[27] Indeed, Japanese history bristles with telling examples of national unity.

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[25]By the time of the advent of the Peace Preservation Law of 1925, there had been numerous government measures for the promotion of proper thinking and the suppression of ideas injurious to the Kokutai and the established order. Representative control measures include the following, to name just a few: the constant harping on the Kokutai and the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890; the Newspaper Ordinance of 1875; the Publications Law of 1887; the Newspaper Law of 1887; the Public Peace Police Law of 1900; the creation of the Higher Police in 1904 and of the Special Higher Police of 1911; and an Imperial Message issued in November 1923 to keep people from all dangerous ideas and to suppress their social criticism. See Okudaira Yasuhiro, Political Censorship in Japan From 1931 to 1945 (Institute of Legal Research (mimeographed)); Philadelphia, Pa." University of Pennsylvania, 1962), pp. 3- 12.

[26]For a sophisticated discussion of the vertical concept of Japanese society, see Nakane Chie, Japanese Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1970).

[27]Hugh Byas, "The Japanese Problem," Yale Review, XXXII, No. 3 (March 1943), 456.

A British war correspondent during the Russo-Japanese War attributed the remarkable fighting spirit of the Japanese soldiers to Bushido which he called the soul of Japan. His acute observation of Bushido runs as follows:

> As a system of national ethics, it is politically admirable, since it promotes discipline and union, sinks the individual in the States, and affords no room, or no apparent room, for sectarianism of dissent. It has no forms and no ritual, and is broad based on vital forces and eternal truths. . . . Better far would it be for Japan that she should lose her material attributes of power than this wonderful moral force [Bushido] that creates, sustains, and renews it.[28]

The "enviable" state of Japanese national unity vis-a-vis the thought-control should be seen in terms of Japanese national objectives. Many writings on Japan point out that

> Japan's foreign policy has been oriented primarily toward the achievement of three broad objectives: economic self-sufficiency, security from foreign attack, and the attainment of a greater measure of influence in world affairs.[29]

We should not be blind, however, to the reality that

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[28]Alfred Stead, "The Soul of a Nation," The Times (London), October 4, 1904, p. 6.

[29]U. S. Department of State, "Japan: Free World Ally," Department of State Publication 6516, Far Eastern Series 74 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 3. Also, see in this connection, Matsumoto Sannosuke, "The Significance of Nationalism in Modern Japanese Thought: Some Theoretical Problems," Journal of Asian Studies, XXXI, No. 1 (November, 1971), 51-52.

all nations more or less pursue such objectives, though in varying degrees, just as Japan does. Writing in 1949, Otto Klineberg declared that it is a "way of life" that men want security, national prestige and economic gain. As the UNESCO preamble says: "War begins in the minds of men."[30] It may not be amiss to enlarge upon essential aspects with which all nations are concerned before we dwell upon the aspects of the "thought-control."

Edward Krehbiel argued in 1915 that "the nation is something spiritual rather than external. . . .a matter of self-interest." He goes on to argue that the nation is interested in "extranational commercialism and national commercialism."[31] This argument implies that the nation is conditioned by national interest and national pride. A study by D. F. Aberle and others concludes that three conditions are inherent in any society: 1) scarcity of means; 2) frustrations of expectations; and 3) imperfections of socialization.[32] This conclusion is supported by many scholars. In his study on nationalism in 1921, Max Sylvius Handman claimed that "nationality is the attitude towards

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[30]Otto Klineberg, "The Unesco Project on International Tension," International Social Science Bulletin, I, No. 1 (Paris, 1949), 11-21.

[31]Edward Krehbiel, "Nationalism," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1915, pp. 219, 221.

[32]D. F. Aberle, et al, "The Functional Prerequisites of a Society," Ethics, LX, No. 2 (January, 1950), 100-111.

one's people engendered by having ideas concerning welfare, its honor, and its position among other people."[33]

Drawing upon the above arguments, we will examine the socio-political situation in Japan following the end of World War I which led Japan to embark upon the course of ultranationalism. Ultra-nationalism coupled with militarism in turn gave birth to the thought-control system on an unprecedented scale.[34]

The Japanese economy was undergoing a recession when the First World War broke out, and the situation deteriorated because the war initially reduced foreign trade. The progress of the war, however, contributed to the increase of Japanese exports due to the inability of the belligerent nations to supply goods to foreign markets.[35] This resulted in tremendous economic expansion, increased circulation of currency, greater demands for goods, and inflationary prices.[36] Should we take the year of 1914 as

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[33]Max Sylvius Handman, "The Sentiment of Nationalism," Political Science Quarterly, XXXVI, No. 1 (March, 1921), 104.

[34]Harada Kumao, Saionji Ko to Seikyoku [Prince Saionji and the Political Situation] (9 vols.; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950-1952), II: 429, III: 14.

[35]Ibid., II 413, IV 77, 79, 265, 275.

[36]William W. Lockwood, "Economic and Political Modernization: Japan," in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, eds., Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 133.

index 100, the price index rose to 144 in 1916, and by 1918 it went up to 230. The rapid increase in prices, however, was not followed by higher wages. Consequently, real wages declined from index 100 in 1914 to 68 by 1918, engendering tremendous economic pressure. The most pressing problem with which the Japanese government was confronted was the price of rice, which doubled between January, 1917, and July, 1918. This situation contributed to the outbreak of riots throughout Japan in the summer of 1918.[37]

Japan, beleaguered by economic difficulties, was to see the advent of the first real party government headed by Hara Kei. The long struggle for party government led by the advocates of popular rights had finally achieved its goal, which, ironically enough, was realized by cooperating closely with genro officialdom. Though Hara's accession to power was a landmark for parliamentary government, Hara had neither circumvented established practice nor neglected to pay proper deference to the elder statesmen.[38]

The ruthless suppression by the Hara government of the peaceful demonstration staged on March 1, 1919 by the Koreans calling for independence was a telling example of

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[37]For a fuller discussion of this, see Alan H. Gleason, "Economic Growth and Consumption in Japan," in William W. Lockwood, ed., The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press).

[38]A pictorial account of this period can be found in Harada, op cit., I 52-195.

how nationalistic the Japanese were regardless of the political persuasion of the government in power. "It was in 1919-1920 and thereafter," argues Maruyama Masao, "that we [Japanese] have the rapid development of near-fascist groups. The Genyosha and Kokuryukai may be regarded as exceptions."[39] The government leaders of Japan became increasingly concerned about the independence movements abroad largely encouraged by the Wilsonian concept of self-determination and the ominous social unrest at home resulting from the labor movement as well as the alien ideologies. By the 1920's, Japan was already experiencing the characteristic malaise of a modern industrial state. New values based on individualism and internationalism began to erode old loyalties and solidarities which had served Japan well in maintaining social order and keeping the Japanese under control.[40]

Besides the above problems both at home and abroad that were troubling Japan, the Japanese government was faced with the increasingly worsening political situation stemming from the Great Earthquake of 1923, the looming spectre of the Communist-led unions, the Saionji-led Japanese

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[39]Maruyama Masao, Nippon Fashizumu no Shiso to Undo [The Thought and Movement of Japanese Fascism] in a collection called Sonjo Shiso to Zettai Shugi [Sonno Joi Thought and Absolutism] Tokyo University, Tokyo Bunka Kenkyujo (Tokyo: Hakujitsu Shoin, 1948), p. 104.

[40]Mitani Taiichiso, Taisho Demokurashi Ron [Taisho Democracy] (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1974), pp. 10, 34.

delegation's failure in Versailles in 1919 to convince the major powers to include a clause on racial equality in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and Japan's failure in obtaining a ratio of 10-10-7 at the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference of 1921.[41]

As if to add an insult to injury, in 1924, the United States Congress passed an immigration act that annulled the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908, and prohibited persons who were not eligible for citizenship from entering the United States at all. The Exclusion Act of 1924 exasperated the long-simmering Japanese resentment against racial policies of Western nations.[42] These measures

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[41]A good discussion of how Japan earned the suspicion of Western powers after the Russo-Japanese War, in particular, and during and after World War I, and of Japan's "wounded pride" resulting from Western powers' opposition to Japan's "Monroe Doctrine" in Asia, is found in Ira Klein, "Whitehall, Washington, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1919-1921," Pacific Historical Review, XLI, No. 4 (November 1972), 460-83.

[42]The prejudice in the U. S. Senate was so strong in 1921 that the State Department had to withhold much of the information pertaining to a proposed treaty intended to end the "glaring" discrimination against the Japanese race and to stem the growing anti-Japanese prejudice in the United States. See New York Times, February 8, 1921. For a more detailed discussion of the American racial prejudice and discrimination, see, for example, Raymond Leslie Buell, "The Development of the Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States," Political Science Quarterly, XXXVII, No. 4 (December, 1922), 605-38; Fred H. Matthews, "White Community and 'Yellow Peril'," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, L (1964), 612-33; Roger Daniels, The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

aggravated Japanese-American relations, which were at this time already coming into conflict in the Far East because Japanese adventures in Manchuria and China were at loggerheads with the United States' concept of the open door in China.[43]

Doggedly determined for national aggrandizement, on the one hand, and extremely sensitive to slights and insults by the foreign powers, on the other, the Japanese leaders were conditioned to work out measures to cope wih social unrest, to control "Dangerous thoughts," and to expand the Japanese empire.[44]

In 1923, the government arrested the Communist leaders upon acquisition of the party membership list through an informer. As a means to curb socialist and Communist activities, the government established the High Police Bureau in many prefectures. The mission of this bureau was to combat advocates of dangerous thought. In 1925, the government drafted the "Peace Preservation Law," which made it illegal to advocate either change in Kokutai or the abolition of private property.[45] A movement was

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[43]New YorK Times, January 30, 1921.

[44]New York Times, April 29, 1934. For a Japanese version of national defense and territories, see Yoshida Hideo, Kokubo-Kokudogaku [Science of National Defense and Territories] (Tokyo: Daiyamondo Sha, 1942).

[45]For a convincing discussion of the Japanese Communist movement and the reaction by government

started to sharpen the vigilance against "dangerous thought" and guide people's thinking in the proper direction. For example, the Kokuhonsha [National Foundation Society] was organized to rectify the drifting thought trend and to uplift the national spirit.[46]

General Tanaka Giichi assumed the premiership in April, 1927, when a financial crisis and a serious economic depression struck Japan.[47] The gradually worsening economic situation engendered social ills that intensified leftist and rightist agitations.[48] As a book by the Royal Institute of International Affairs stated:

> When times become harder, and the satisfaction of his interests meets with more obstacles, or when his nation is obviously very far from the ideal, the nationalist tends to lose his interest for all nations except his own, to become more vigorous and to advocate ruthless measures.[49]

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authorities to it, resulting in the "famous" Peace Preservation Law of 1925 and other measures taken to ward off dangerous thought, see Hugh Byas, "The Communist Movement in Japan," The Contemporary Review, CXLI (February, 1932), 190-97.

[46]For vivid accounts of this aspect, see Harada, op. cit., I: 127; II: 7, 9, 51, 272, 369; III: 154, 235, 238, 291; VII: 277.

[47]For a good discussion of the impact of the economic depression on Japan, see C. K. Webster, "The Far Eastern Crisis," The Contemporary Review, CXLIII (April, 1933), 394-401.

[48]Harada, op. cit., I: 3-4.

[49]Royal Institute of International Affairs, Nationalism (London: F. Cass Co., 1963), p. 262.

The unhealthy economic situation, coupled with Chiang Kai-Shek's control of the Nationalist Party in China and his decisive steps to unify China under his leadership, prompted Prince Minister Tanaka to adopt a bellicose posture toward China and stimulated nationalistic sentiments among the military and right-wing nationalists. In an attempt to justify and pursue his aggressive and nationalistic policies, Tanaka sought to turn the Japanese people against the soft policies which former Foreign Minister Shidehara had pursued. The Tanaka Government and subsequent governments in Japan fostered sentiments hostile to the decadent liberals and traitorous Communists. Tanaka was very aggressive in fighting "dangerous thought," making maximum use of the Peace Preservation Law.[50]

For Japan, each passing day of this period meant a vicious cycle of a worsening economic situation, frustration in its aggrandizement on the Asian continent, and Western hostility toward Japan's aggressive policies. The acute economic consequences for Japan of the World Depression could never be over-emphasized, for the World Depression and Japan's difficult economic situation led the Japanese "to support the plans of the militarists who were concerned with

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[50]Harada, op. cit., I: 4-5, 7-8, 11; II: 64-65, 185; III: 55.

questions of security and prestige."[51] How seriously Japan was affected by the World Depression could be better fathomed in the light of the following statement:

> So much has been written on the present economic crisis that we must have got over it long ago, had wise counsels and good advice been any use. Yet the crisis continues its course and only one thing appeas to be certain: world politics in the widest sense of the word is bound to be governed by the depression we are passing through, for the next ten years or twenty years. No country will be free in its political discussions and actions as long as the menace of bankrupcy looms over the greater part of the world. It is an ill wind that blows no one any good.[52]

Convinced as ever of its national mission deeply rooted in the matchless Kokutai concept and of its need for a supply base on the Asian continent, Japan was dragooned into defying the world.[53] The defiant expansionists, contemptuous of the Western Powers' objections to Japan's expansionist policy, developed as the ideological foundation of Japanese expansion the mission of reawakening Asia, with Japan the deliverer, the guide, and the hero of the Eastern

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[51]C. K. Webster, "The Far Eastern Crisis," The Contemporary Review CXLIII (April, 1933), 397.

[52]Alexander Hoyos, "The World Crisis," The Contemporary Review CXLI (May, 1932), 575.

[53]Matsuoka Yosuke, "Japan's Interests, Rights, and Responsibilities in the Far East," New York Times, April 29, 1934; James A. B. Scherer, Japan Defies the World (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1938); Joyce C. Lebra, ed., Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II (Kuala Lumpur and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

world.[54] As a Japanese writer has written,

> We need not wait for neighboring countries to become enlightened. We must dissociate ourselves from the ranks of other East Asian countries and take part in civilized countries of the West. We should not give any special treatment to China and Korea, but deal with them in the same manner as do the Western powers.[55]

It is quite interesting to note that the Japanese wallowed in this type of self-justification for their expansion in the midst of their national humiliation heaped on them through the policies of racial discrimination in the West. Japan opined that there would be anarchy should China topple down the Manchu regime, that the Western powers would be tempted to step in so as to take advantage of the disorder, and divide China into pieces. Should such an eventuality take place, Japan was determined that it could not stand idly by, hands in sleeves, but would have to join the crowd for the prize.[56]

Government leaders in Japan, however, realized that they had to come up with an effective means to deal with the ideologically unhealthy situation for the sake of national solidarity needed for pursuing aggressive policies.

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[54]Kinoshita, op. cit., p. 18.

[55]Oka Yoshitake, "Kokumenteki Dokuritsu to Kokka Risei" [National Independence and the Reason of State] in Kindai Nihon Shiso Shi Koza [Studies in Modern Japanese Intellectual History] VIII (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1961), p. 25.

[56]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

Commenting on the tumultuous era of the Go-ichi-go Incident,[57] Kodama Yoshio noted:

> What existed under the name of democracy was a narrow and selfish individualism based on a distorted concept of liberalism that sought the best for the individual professing this belief at the sacrifice of others.[58]

Another Japanese writer explains why the political situation in Japan developed as it did in the early 1930s in the following words:

> Indeed, the accumulation [of harmful influences of liberalistic civilization] had become so intolerably large in both internal and foreign affairs that at last the nation revolted and its dissatisfaction found expression in the form of the Manchurian Incident of 1931. . . . It called for a re-examination and a return to what is really Japanese in politics, economics and indeed all activities of the people.[59]

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[57]The Go-ichi-go refers to the assassination incident that took place on May 15, 1932, in which Japanese naval officers and army cadets, chiefly led by Naval Lieutenant Koga Kiyoshi and Tachibana Kosaburo, a radical agrarian reformer, succeeded in assassinating Prime Minister Inukai. The assassination of Inukai by civilian and military extremists put an end to party government in Japan.

[58]Kodama Yoshio, I Was Defeated (Tokyo: Radio Press, 1959), p. 43.

[59]Toshio Shiratori, "The Three Power Pact and Tomorrow," Contemporary Japan (December, 1940), p. 1518.

The ascendancy of militarism in Japan following the Manchurian Incident in September, 1931 and the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai on May 15, 1932 not only put an end to party government in Japan, but also put Japan on the road to war by dint of the enthusiastic support which the militarists gathered to their causes from the general public and from the political circles.[60] As the military won one "glorious victory" after another on the Asian continent after the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese public, in response, rendered the military adventurers unrestrained support, condemning Shidehara's "cowardly" policies. The Japanese press went so far as to label Shidehara's endeavors to settle the Manchurian issue peacefully as acts of treason.[61] The fact that the public sanctioned "patriotic" young men who assassinated business and political leaders implies that the ultimate responsiblity for Japan's acts of aggression and its involvement in the China and Pacific wars can by no means be ascribed to a handful of military extremists. It should not go unnoticed that the aggressive policies abroad and the regimentation policies at home to rally the Japanese people around national goals enjoyed considerable support from political leaders and the general

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[60]Harada, op. cit., II 283-294.

[61]Ibid., II: 208.

public.[62]

As the miserable aspects of the depression deepened, the flames of nationalism, militarism, and imperialism were stoked by the economic and social frustrations felt by the masses. The Japanese blamed the selfish, decadent, and corrupt politicians and business leaders for their hardships. The militarists and ultranationalists embarked on rectifying the liberal trends through inculcating the Kokutai concept in the Japanese and advocating economic relief through expansion abroad.[63] Joining hands with the militarist, right-wing civilian nationalists like Okawa Shumei, Kita Ikki, and Inoue Nissho went so far as to argue for revolutionizing the existing political, social, and economic systems to transform Japan into a totalitarian state.[64]

There may have been, of course, some disagreements among radical nationalist thinkers as to the best means to bring about a new order[65] and as to how to analyze the ills that plague Japan. Nevertheless, they all shared mystical notions about the superiority of the Japanese national character, the Kokutai, and the sacredness of the imperial

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[62]Ibid., V: 109-110.

[63]Ibid., II: 43, 218, 358.

[64]Ibid., IV: 154, 162, 209.

[65]Ibid., VIII: 182-183.

institution, which was the source of all values.[66] It should be pointed out that all nationalists agreed on the necessity of stressing spiritual rather than material values. By and large, ultranationalists favored expansion into the Asian continent, development of a mighty military force, and creation of a totalitarian state. Thus, they were opposed to liberal, individualistic values as well as the democratic parliamentary concepts that had been introduced into Japan since the opening of Japan.[67] Suffice it to say that all ultranationalists basically rejected Western and urban culture in favor of traditional agrarian ways of life and values.[68]

The victory of the militarists and radical nationalists in the 1930s was the victory of traditionalism (or Japanism) over Western liberalism.[69] The militarists as well as the radical nationalists believed that the use of force was necessary to return Japan to its true character and values, which had been "corrupted" by the "false" ideas imported from the West and by the wicked-minded advisers to the Emperor and to extend the "benefits of the Imperial Way"

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[66] Ibid., II: 299-304, 306-307.

[67] Ibid., II: 22-23, 122-123, 310, 329, 333-335.

[68] Ibid., IV: 348, 355.

[69] Ibid., II: 82.

throughout the world.[70]

Aside from the mystical notion about Japan's special mission, the Japanese regarded their nation as the champion of Asia against the Western world. Okawa Shumei (1886-1957), for instance, claimed that one nation representing the East had to fight one nation representing the West in order to realize a new world order. Okawa argued that "Heaven has chosen Japan as the champion of the East."[71] General Araki Sadao, then Inspector General of military education, who was an ardent advocate of "Japanism" and the "Imperial Way" took frivolous alien ideology, egotistical foreign ideas, capitalism, Marxism, and materialism to task. General Araki argued that each Japanese should always be mindful that he is a Japanese.[72]

The appearance of numerous books[73] on the Kokutai concept in the thirties was a telling indication that the nationalists were intent on making use of the Kokutai

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[70]For a fuller understanding of Japan's national mission as expounded by the government in the thirties, see, for example, Mombusho, Shogaku Kokushi Kyoshi Yosho [Teacher's Manual of National History for Primary Schools], V (Tokyo: Mombusho, 1931), pp. 1-12.

[71]Harada, op. cit., II: 218.

[72]Ouchi Tsutomu, Fashizumu e no Michi [The Road to Fascism] (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1967), p. 400.

[73]For a convenient reference, see Harold J. Wray, "Changes and Continuity in Japanese Images of the Kokutai and Attitudes and Roles Toward the Outside World; A Content Analysis of Japanese Textbooks, 1903-1945," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1971).

concept in eliciting national pride, in imbuing the Japanese with patriotism, and in keeping the Japanese supportive of government policies.[74] The publication on March 30, 1937 of the Kokutai no Hongi was one of four significant milestones, along with the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education of Emperor Meiji and the Shinmin no Michi of 1941, in the history of the thought control and nationalistic indoctrination in Japan before 1945. The Shushin texts [books for ethics courses] constituted the fourth, and are in many ways the expression of the other three.[75]

Training in Kodo [Principles of Benevolent Imperial Rule] dominated all educational activities, fostering the national spirit and strengthening the faith in the national polity [Kokutai].[76] We should now address our main concern: Was Japan's success in thought control and nationalistic indoctrination largely attributable to the totalitarian system of regimentation or to the force of national consciousness? Many writers[77] ascribe Japan's policies and

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[74]For a fuller understanding, see Harada, op. cit., IV: 265, 300-301, 303, 305, 350-353; V: 302; also see C. Burnell Olds, "Japan Harnesses Religion in the National Service," Foreign Affairs, 21 (April 1943), 535-47.

[75]Robert King Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 20-21.

[76]Tokuji Yamashita, "Educational Reform in Japan," Contemporary Japan (May, 1940), pp. 609-614.

[77]Yanaga Chitoshi, "Japan: Nationalism Succeeds and

behavior up to 1945 mainly to international power politics, Japan's international humiliation, and economic difficulties. If we accept Reinhard Bendix' statement that "each country must cope socially and politically with the disruptive impact of ideas and practices . . . ,"[78] we could more objectively see why the militarists imposed the thought control system on the Japanese and why the Japanese complied with the harsh regimentation of unprecedented scale without much protestation. Party men were as subservient to the militarists as the masses. As Robert A. Scalapino puts it, "The greater proportion of party men had actively participated in the digging of their own graves."[79]

The blind obedience of the Japanese to the militarists perhaps can best be explained in terms of Japanese national consciousness and the value system that governs custom and social relations. As already discussed at length elsewhere, for the Japanese, patriotism is religion, whereas loyalty is the highest aspect of Japanese

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Fails," Current History, 19 (August, 1950), 67-72; Eugene Staley, "Economic Development in the Orient: Some Problems," Pacific Spectator, I, No. 2 (Spring, 1947), 144-61.

[78]Reinhard Bendix, "The Mandate to Rule: An Introduction," Social Forces, LV, No. 2 (December, 1976), 255.

[79]Robert A. Scalapino, Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan (Berkeley: University of California

moral thought.[80] The importance of "loyalty" is well described by John H. Schaar:

> Loyalty thus has both instrumental and affective components. . . . Over and above these matters stands the dominant fact that no political system can long endure or enjoy much stability unless its citizens, and especially the elites, place a high value on political loyalty . . . loyalty is both a product of the individuals direct identification with and involvement in the nation's history, symbols, institutions, and destiny, and, indirectly, a product of the individuals' private satisfactions.[81]

According to Satomi Kishido, "The Japanese idea of loyalty is not prompted by any anticipation or expectation of compensation or reward whatsoever. It is purely and solely the result of national consciousness."[82] Sidney Verba would like to call this type of loyalty "a rain-or-shine commitment."[83] Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba

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[80]For a detailed discussion of the Japanese national ideals, see Hibino Yutaka, Nippon Shinto Ron or the National Ideals of the Japanese People, translated with an introduction by A. P. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928).

[81]John H. Schaar, "Loyalty," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, IX (1968), 484-85.

[82]Satomi Kishido, Discovery of Japanese Idealism (New York: Dutton, 1914), p. 70.

[83]"It is only such a rain-or-shine commitment that will allow a system to survive the many kinds of crises that are likely to arise during processes of rapid social change." Sidney Verba, "Comparative Political Culture," in Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 259.

have called this kind of affective attachment to a political system "system affect."[84]

In her sophisticated writing in 1946 on Japanese society, Ruth Benedict went so far as to state that "a great part of Japanese indoctrination has been devoted to making Chu [loyalty] supreme."[85] This Japanese loyalty has been cultivated by the ancient customs of Bushido which stress the group rather than the individual and individual duties rather than individual rights.[86] As R. P. Dore neatly states,

> Thus all the private virtues were subsumed under the general virtue of patriotic loyalty, and the rescript [the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890] became until 1945 the basic text of the new religion of patriotism.[87]

More briefly, as Josiah Royce put it: "Japanese loyalty has led . . . to a wonderful and cordial solidarity

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[84]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965), p. 63.

[85]Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Pattern of Japanese Culture (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 209.

[86]Yanaga Chitoshi, "The Military and the Government in Japan," American Political Science Review, XXXV, No. 3 (June, 1941), 531-33.

[87]R. P. Dore, "Education," in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, eds., Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 191.

of national spirit."[88]

When the militarists and the radical nationalists were ensconced in power, they had to pursue policies of expansion to fulfill Japan's "national mission," defying Western Powers. Representative Japanese thinking in the thirties may be shown in the following example. In April, 1932, Hiranuma Kiichico, founder of the Kokuhonsha (National Foundation Society) explained the ideals of the Kokuhonsha to the foreign press. The ideals were alleged to contain four essential principles: 1) the unique, religious character of the Japanese nation; 2) any condition that militates against the moral principle on which the Japanese nation was founded would have to be rectified; 3) Japan's special mission in Asia--Japan must use militarism as a means of self- defense against any force obstructing the achievement of Japan's highest ideal; and 4) there are distinct differences between Japanese nationalism and European fascism.[89]

Japan's abrogation of the Washington and London Naval Agreements after the United States and Great Britain refused to agree to Japanese demands for parity[90] and the

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[88]Josiah Royce, The Philosophy of Loyalty (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930) p. 75.

[89]Japan Advertiser, April 21, 1932.

[90]For an inside view of the power struggle in Japan, see Harada, op. cit., III: 165-174; IV: 312-314; IV: 316-

departure at the end of 1935 of the Japanese delegation from the London Conference catapulted the three powers into a naval arms race.[91] Confronted with the worsening relations with Western powers and determined not to be found incompetent to meet any situation including war with Western powers, Japan embarked upon a massive national defense program in which all phases of military and economic planning were coordinated.[92]

In order to achieve what the "special mission" called for, the militarists were determined to rally the people around their aggressive policies. They relied on both positive and negative approaches. On the positive side, political indoctrination was thoroughly undertaken for the stimulation of national consciousness and for the enhancement of patriotic loyalty, making full use of the

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317; Kase Toshikazu, Journey to the Missouri (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 17-18; Yale Candee Maxon, Control of Japanese Foreign Policy: A Study of Civil-Military Rivalry, 1930-1945 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 96-97.

[91]U. S. Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1935, III, 828 (hereafter cited as Foreign Relations).

[92]Foreign Relations, 1935, III 836. Japan's reasons for continued aggressive policy were geographic location, security, and economic needs. For various statements in this regard, see Saito Hiroshi (then Japanese Ambassador to Washington), Japan's Policies and Purposes: Selections from Recent Addresses and Writings (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1935), esp. pp. 21-22, 120; Japan Advertiser (Tokyo), April 28, 1927; Japan Chronicle (Kobe), July 9, 1927.

august, all-embracing Kokutai concept.[93] On the negative side, the militarists constantly harped upon foreign aggression to elicit the fears of their people, on the one hand. On the positive side, the militarists enforced the thought control system to rid Japanese society of dangerous thoughts which the militarists believed to be inimical to the national solidarity.

Writing in 1948, Charles E. Merriam listed hatred, custom, terror, and propaganda as factors producing loyalty.[94] The militarists in Japan must have been attentive to these essential factors in their loyalty-stimulation campaign. The culturally determined blind obedience to the persons in positions of authority[95] and the psychologically structured fear of ridicule and ostracism[96]

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[93]See Robert King Hall, Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 8-9: "The Kokutai no Hongi is a literary expression of ideas equaly aberrant but sincerely held by a very great majority of the Japanese. It is futile to argue that 'intelligent' Japanese could not possibly believe such propaganda. . . . Loyalty to the Emperor and to the traditions of the Imperial Line becomes not a duty but the object of life itself."

[94]Charles E. Merriam, "Some Aspects of Loyalty," Public Administration Review, VIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1948), 81-84.

[95]Maruyama Saneo, "Gunkoku Shihaisha no Seishin Keitai" [The Spiritual Makeup of the Leaders of a Militaristic State] Choryu, May, 1949, pp. 15-37.

[96]Weston LaBarre, "Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient: The Japanese," Psychiatry, VIII, No. 3 (August, 1945), 334.

in a great measure subserved the success of the thought control system. William W. Lockwood seems quite right when he calls the public mood of the pre-World War II period "creative obedience."[97]

The militarists simply availed themselves of the national consciousness and what Almond and Verba would like to call "cooperative competence"[98] deeply rooted in the Bushido tradition which were readily malleable to regimentation and national service. "There can be little doubt that without the wide diffusion of nationalist feeling Japan's history in the prewar period would have been impossible."[99] We should not be blind to Thomas Jefferies Betts' warning, which merits quotation at length.

> . . . with our own philosphies reeling, for once we were disinclined to evaluate or to interpret an alien ideology. It has become enough to look and record. With regard to the Orient we are in an era of observation, of analysis; and in the spirit of the times we attach more weight to quantitative results than to qualitative interpretations. . . . One tragedy of present frictions is that they are seated in depths of the human soul beyond the reach of scientific research.[100]

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[97]William W. Lockwood, "Economic and Political Modernization: Japan," in Ward and Restow, op. cit., p. 124.

[98]Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 167.

[99]Fukiwara Hirotatsu, "Nationalism and Ultraright Wing," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 308 (November, 1956), 82.

[100]Thomas Jeffries Betts, "Changing Attitudes on the Orient," Virginia Quarterly Review, X, No. 3 (July, 1934), pp. 444, 447.

Claiming that for Japanese "continuity and wont are of greater importance than what is right and just," Kurt Singer has stated the following, which warrants a lengthy quotation, for his words cannot be bettered.

> Throughout their history the Japanese have shown a preference for what promised greater power and prestige for the nation . . . they have tended to eliminate everything, however great, if it was felt to threaten the continuity of Japanese life, to imperil the structure of their political structure, and to alienate the individual from his congenital group. There is a perfect logic in organic matter in these processes of assimilation and exclusion . . . they carry into the future the whole past of their race, in the minds incapable of forgetting. . . . To deny that they [the contents of the Samurai laws] had a decisive influence on the formation of the Japanese character and of Japanese thought and society is to allow oneself to be blinded by one's own skepticism. . . . If the past state and future possibilities of Japan are to be gauged correctly, it is of paramount importance to distinguish these processes from the political and propagandist fictions produced at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Emperor-myth and the samurai tradition are genuine; but in recent decades they have been explited as tools of nationalist and imperialist propaganda and thereby discredited. Yet it would be not only against historical truth, but also detrimental to sound political judgment, to mistake them for phenomena of the same order of flimsiness as such purposive paper-myths as 'the White Man's Burden' . . . 'the Nordic Race.'[101]

Singer concludes his argument by saying that

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[101]Kurt Singer, Mirror, Sword, and Jewel: A Study of Japanese Characteristics (New York: George Braziller, 1973), pp. 63, 99-100, 147, 157, 165.

> It would be a serious mistake to believe that it was governmental propaganda that made the modern Japanese ready to fling their lives away and suffer what appears intolerable.[102]

In a similar context, Herbert W. Richardson tells us that if a myth or symbol is to be powerful and influential, it must be a "vague symbol," which

> is open to continued conceptual specification; hence it is incapable of providing direction to a total cybernetic society. It is conceptually imprecise, but symbolically precise.[103]

Given the intensity of nationalism the world over, and the indispensability of national consciousness for national survival,[104] the extraordinary nature of Japanese national consciousness can be neither blamed nor explained away. Envying the Japanese patriotic loyalty in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War, Herbert Paul stated: "Patriotism and Religion have been so often at variance that a country whose religion is patriotism has an obvious advantage."[105]

Suffice it to say that what we see in Japan is a

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[102] Ibid., p. 166.

[103] Herbert W. Richardson, Toward an American Ideology (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 24.

[104] Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1947), p. 44; H. Powys Greenwood, "Nationalism and Peace," The Contemporary Review, CSLVIII (February, 1935), 149-56.

[105] Herbert Paul, "The New Alliance," The Nineteenth Century and After, LVIII, No. 344 (October, 1905), 523.

"power-oriented nationalism," not "people-oriented nationalism."[106] In the following pages we will examine the impact of Japan's defeat in the Pacific War and its subsequent political reorientation on Japanese national consciousness.

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[106]Christian Bay, "The Theoretical Preparation of a Research Project on Nationalist Attitudes," International Social Science Bulletin, II, No. 2 (Summer, 1951), 246.

PART TWO

FORCED POLITICAL REORIENTATION

# CHAPTER VII

## DEFEAT AND OCCUPATION

Even in the midst of the euphoria and exuberance of Allied victories over Germany and Japan, acute observers found a disturbing thought occasionally intruding. As a study immediately prior to Japan's surrender states,

> If a repetition of the present catastrophe is to be prevented, Japanese militarism must be destroyed, in spirit and in deed; and an essential preliminary to this destruction will be the relegation of the armed forces to their appropriate influence in the State through constitutional reform. But it is very doubtful if the militarist obsession of the Japanese imagination can be removed by external pressure, since this is a symptom of a national disease which demands pathological, rather than surgical treatment . . . the most effective antidote will be the liberation of thought and the re-education of the younger generation, in an atmosphere of social and economic security.[1]

Their concern about German and Japanese nationalism was quite justified. And it was obvious to almost everyone that the victory and the subsequent military occupation

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[1]Royal Institute of International Affairs, Japan in Defeat (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 223-24.

could not offer a satisfactory solution to the nationalistic feelings of defeated nations.[2]

Riding the crest of denouncing the extreme nationalisms during, and immediately after, the Second World War, however, many opined that the "trouble-making" nations could be re-educated by forced political reorientation.[3] The foremost concern set forth in the Potsdam Declaration[4] of July 26, 1945, and the United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan[5] of August 29, 1945, was the elimination of militarism and ultranationalism in Japan.

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[2]For some of the representative writings expressing negative views on the educability of a defeated nation, see Talcott Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change: An Essay in Applied Social Science," Psychiatry, VII, No. 1 (February, 1945), 79-101; Ernest Beaglehole, "Character Structure, Its Role in the Analysis of International Relations," Ibid., III, No. 2 (May, 1944), 453-62; Hugh Byas, "The Japanese Problem," Yale Review, XXXII, No. 3 (March, 1943), 453-73; Douglas G. Haring, "Aspects of Personal Character in Japan," Journal of Asian Studies VI, No. 1 (November, 1946), 12-22; C. I. Thompson, "Indoctrinating Democracy," Forum, CVI, No. 3 (November, 1945), 209-15; Addison Gulick, "The Problem of Right and Wrong in Japan and Some of Its Political Consequences," Journal of Social Psychology, XXVI (Spring, 1947), 3-20; Economist, July 30, 1949.

[3]For wide-ranging views on the military occupation and democratization following the Second World War, see Carl J. Friedrich and Associates, American Experiences in Military Governments in World War II (New York: Rinehart, 1948).

[4]For the complete text of the Potsdam Declaration, see Department of State Bulletin, Publication 2367, XII, No. 318, July 29, 1945, pp. 137-38.

[5]Ibid., No. 326, September 23, 1945, pp. 423-27.

A prevailing assumption of the Occupation planners was that the democratization of Japan would do away with the rabid Japanese national consciousness, and would, in turn, result in a safeguard against a re-emergence of ultranationalism in Japan.[6]

The unprecedented defeat and foreign occupation dealt a severe shock to the Japanese national pride.[7] Emperor Hirohito first visited General Douglas MacArthur on September 27, 1945, and he said to the general:

> I came to you General MacArthur to offer myself to the judgment of the Powers you represent as the one to bear the sole responsibility for every political and military decision made and action taken by my people in the conduct of the war.[8]

Given the Japanese national pride and their obsession with "face," it is not difficult to fathom how unbearably humiliating it must have been for the Japanese to know that their "inviolable" Emperor called on General MacArthur to utter the words quoted above and to place himself at the mercy of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. The shock and humiliation stemming from the defeat,

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[6]See Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Political Reorientation of Japan, September 1945 to September 1948 (2 vols.; Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1949).

[7]See Yomuiri Hochi, August 16, 1945; U. S. Department of State, Foreign Relations, 1945, VI, 631-32.

[8]Courtney Whitney, MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History (New York: Knopf, 1956), p. 286.

however, seemed to have solidified rather than demoralized the Japanese will to confront the formidable challenge.[9] Humiliated but undaunted by the defeat, the Japanese decided to cope with the situation willingly and cooperatively in order to improve their national image in the world and to make the Occupation as brief as possible.[10] The Japanese adroitly exercised their national trait of "situational ethics"[11] again as they had following the Perry mission in 1853.

The sudden about-face of the Japanese in welcoming the Occupation forces did not mean a change of any permanence.[12] The complete, outwardly willing submission of the Japanese people to the Occupation and the display of enthusiasm for democratic concepts belied the unchanged nature of the Japanese nationalistic feeling. The willing, cooperative attitudes of the Japanese toward the Occupation appeared to be a strategic withdrawal until the arrival of a

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[9]Anne Johnstone and William Johnstone, What Are We Doing in Japan, Institute of Pacific Relations Pamphlet No. 19 (New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946), p. 21.

[10]Various opinion surveys by Japanese news agencies substantiate this point. See Allan B. Cole and Naomichi Nakanishi, comp. and eds., Japanese Opinion Polls with Socio-Political Significance, 1947-1957 (Williams College: The Roper Public Opinion Research Center, 1959), pp. 86-89.

[11]Kawai Kazuo, Japan's American Interlude (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 4.

[12]W. Macmahon Ball, Japan: Enemy or Ally? (New York: The John Day Co., 1949), p. 181.

favorable moment.[13]

Given the general assumption that the Japanese nationalistic feeling remains basically the same, it is rather surprising that the serious nature of Japanese nationalism to which operation planners were once so attentive was relegated to an insignificant political factor. In other words, the Occupation's initial apprehension of Japanese nationalism simply lapsed upon "the loyal cooperation of the Japanese people,"[14] to use John Foster Dulles' phrase, the changes in the form of government, and the writing of the postwar constitution.

While the democratization by fiat had many positive results in the realms of rationality, it appears to have had little effect on national consciousness to which Japanese nationalism is inseparably linked. In short, there are strong indications that the democratization effort by the Occupation was capable of forwarding a host of democratic causes, but incapable of making the Japanese less nationalistic.[15] John Foster Dulles was quite right when he

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[13]T. V. Smith, "Consent and Coercion in Governing," Pacific Spectator, I, No. 3 (Summer, 1947), 315-25.

[14]Quoted in the U. S. Department of State, "Japan: Free World Ally," Department of State Publication 6516, Far Eastern Series 74 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 10.

[15]Ruth Benedict claims that "strong national habits do not pass away within one man's lifetime." The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Pattern of Japanese Culture

stated the following on June 22, 1953:

> Japan, in the century since Perry's landing, by adopting modern techniques, has become one of the world's great industrial and mercantile nations. At the same time it has preserved and enriched its cultural heritage.[16]

We will examine below the force of Japanese national consciousness vis-a-vis defeat and occupation.[17]

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(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 70.

[16]U. S. Department of State, Centennial Celebration of the Opening of Japan, 1853-1953, Publication 5093. Far Eastern Series 59 (July, 1953), foreword.

[17]Many studies point out the Japanese capacity to accept foreign culture without losing its own coherence and continuity. See, for example, Robert N. Bellah, "Intellectual and Society in Japan," Daedalus Cl, No. 2 (Spring, 1972), 89-115; Daniel C. Holtom, Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism (Rev. ed., New York: Paragon Books, 1963).

## CHAPTER VIII

## NATIONAL RESOLVE IN DEFEAT

At the time of the forced opening of Japan in the 1850's, it was as though the Japanese said to their unwelcome visitors (Americans): "We did not ask to become part of your system, but now we have emerged from our seclusion, we are determined to rival, if not to surpass, your civilization.[1]

Sensing Japan's determination not to be outdone, many serious observers foretold a possibility of World War II as early as 1904.

> The sudden rise of Japan to a foremost place among the military nations of the world is an event which cannot be matched save in the remote past. . . the achievement of Japan is the more remarkable, since she is popularly supposed to be inferior in blood and energy to her great opponent. But, whatever be the issue of the [Russo-Japanese] war, there is now a new factor in politics, and as the Pacific is probably the battlefield of the future in half a century, Japan may be a serious menace to Germany, to America or even to Great Britain herself.[2]

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[1]"Musings Without Method," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. CLXXVI, No. MLXVIII (October, 1904), p. 572.

[2]Ibid., p. 569

The price of Japan's aggressive ventures to establish hegemony over the whole of East Asia was paid in dire defeat,[3] but while losing its empire Japan saved the essentials of Kokutai.[4] Trained to fear nothing, not even death, and to esteem life as lightly as a straw, the Japanese demonstrated a unique national characteristic in surrender as well as in battle: "When ordered to fight they had fought. When ordered to welcome the Americans, they had welcomed them."[5]

The patriotic loyalty of the Japanese was abundantly manifested even in the period when Japan's defeat was imminent.

> We, subjects of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, shall offer everything we have for the sake of His Imperial Majesty; we shall extend the august

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[3]George B. Sansom, "Japan's Fatal Blunder," International Affairs, XXIV, No. 4 (October, 1948), 543-54.

[4]For accounts of Japan's desperate endeavors to make its surrender conditional so as not to prejudice the status of the Emperor, see U. S. Department of State, Foreign Relations, 1945, VI, 632-633, 647; U. S. Department of State, The Axis in Defeat: A Collection of Documents on American Policy Toward Germany and Japan, Department of State Publication 2423 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1945), pp. 27-33; Togo Shigenori, Jidai no Ichimen: Taisen Gaiko no Shugi. Togo shigenori Iko [One Aspect of the Times: Notes on the Second World War Diplomacy, Being the Posthumous Memoirs of Foreign Minister Togo] (Tokyo: Kaizosha, 1952), p. 345; New York Times, September 6, 1945.

[5]Herrymon Maurer, "The U. S. Does a Job," Fortune, March, 1947, pp. 134, 348-54.

> virtue of His Imperial Majesty to all corners of the world; we shall certainly win this war by embracing and protecting the Imperial Throne; we shall resolutely and absolutely worship His Imperial Majesty the Emperor; in reverent acceptance of His Imperial Edict we shall abide by it.[6]

Yet, when the Japanese heard the Imperial Rescript on unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, the entire nation was stunned and shocked more by the Rescript than by the appearance of the atomic bomb. As Kodama Yoshio describes the moment,

> At the news of unconditional surrender, some people were dumb-struck into senselessness, others were roused to overpowering indignation. But what man, born a Japanese, could oppose the words of the Emperor which had been spoken in tears? The entire nation in solemnity, tears brimming in their hearts, submitted obediently to the command to surrender.[7]

Perusal, and reading between the lines, of the the Imperial Rescript[8] on August 15, 1945, that announced Japan's acceptance of unconditional surrender seem to shed light on the real attitude of the Emperor and of the Japanese government after Japan's defeat became inelutable.

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[6]Quoted in Audrey G. Menefee, "Japan's Faltering Home Front," Far Eastern Quarterly, XIV, No. 3 (February 14, 1945), 37.

[7]Kodama Yoshio, I Was Defeated (Tokyo: Radio Press, 1959), p. 177.

[8]Robert O. Ballou, Shinto: The Unconquered Enemy (New York: The Viking Press, 1945), p. 193-95.

Indeed, the Rescript is intriguing and mystifying. It was a euphemism of first rate when the Emperor merely decided to "effect a settlement of the present situation by resorting to an extraordinary measure." The Emperor presented Japan's unconditional surrender as striving "for the common prosperity and happiness of all nations." It must be pointed out that the passages quoted above make no reference to a forced surrender. By the same token, the Emperor attempted in the Rescript to justify Japan's acts of aggression by stating that he "declared war on America and Britain out of our [Japan's] sincere desire to ensure Japan's self-preservation and the stabilization of East Asia." There is no hint whatsoever that Japan was dragooned into accepting unconditional surrender. Instead, the Rescript states that "the war situation has developed not necessarily to Japan's advantage, while the general trends of the world have all turned against her interest." A passage in the Rescript argues to the effect that the acceptance of the Postdam Declaration enables Japan "to safeguard and maintain the structure of the imperial state." The Rescript admonished the Japanese to strive for the enhancement of "the innate glory of the imperial state, . . . by enduring the unendurable and suffering what is insufferable."

What can be detected from the wording of the Rescript is that the defeat in war and the forced

unconditional surrender were too much for Japanese national pride to swallow, and that the Japanese attempted to make their surrender least humiliating in a face-saving manner.[9] The watchword of the Japanese people following the surrender was "Gambari masho" [Let's strive persistently]. In effect, Gambari masho was tantamount to "Gashin-Shotan" [literally "to sleep on kindling and lick gall," but actually meaning "struggle against difficulties for the sake of vengeance"]. True to their obsession with national honor, the Japanese were single-mindedly determined to overcome the humiliation suffered in the defeat and to win over once again the confidence of the world.

In welcoming Americans, the Japanese minister of education made a speech, using "words no more adroit than revealing, no more prudent than wise." His speech reads in part as follows:

> We Japanese may find it difficult to be a model conquered people, seeing that for more than two thousand years of our national life we have never been conquered before. Though utterly inexperienced at the business, our intentions are honorable. We shall do our best to be a model conquered people. Do you kindly coach us if you see us falling short. You Americans may be in a position little less embarassing than our own. You may find it difficult to be a model conquering power, seeing that in your one hundred fifty-odd

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[9]Japan's humiliation is well contrasted with America's rejoicing over the surrender of Japan. See New York Times, Editorial, August 19, 1945: "Not since the ending of the war of 1861-65 has this nation [America] been through such a moving experience."

> years of your national life, you have never formed the habit of conquering other peoples. I know that your intentions are honorable, and I do not feel that you will make the mistake we Japanese made in the heyday of our conquest--that trying to inflict bodily upon the conquered our own way of life. . . .[10]

To be sure, the Japanese are capable of being patient when the going is rough. Historically accustomed to "situational ethics," the Japanese are quite capable of a sudden change at a strategic point in history. The Japanese welcome rendered to the Occupation forces was not to mean a Japanese attitudinal change of permanent nature."[11] A few days after the surrender, an official Tokyo broadcast said the following words, which may be quoted here:

> We have bowed to the enemy's material and scientific power. However, in spiritual power we have not lost yet. We do not think the way we have thought is wrong. . . . Let us unite together and work once again to bring our nation up to the stand as a strong and admirable nation. We have lost, but this is temporary.[12]

By the same token, the newly-named Japanese prime minister in the wake of the surrender, Prince and General

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[10]Quoted in T. V. Smith, "Consent and Coercion in Governing," Pacific Spectator, I, No. 3 (Summer, 1947), 324-25.

[11]W. Macmahon Ball, Japan: Enemy of Ally? (New York: The John Day Co., 1949), p. 181.

[12]Quoted in Ann Johnstone and William Johnstone, What Are We Doing With Japan, Institute of Pacific Relations pamphlet No. 19 (New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946), p. 21.

Higashikuni Naruhiko, a member of the royal family, seemed determined not to be less nationalistic in his first speech to the Japanese people delivered on August 18, 1945. He stressed the necessity of achieving the surrender terms in order to regain the respect of the international community. He urged his people not to fall into the slough of despond and defeatism, but make a solemn resolve and make every effort to restore Japan to be once again in a position of respect and power. He believed that the Japanese people would "endure the innumerable difficulties in order that the tradition of the Yamato race, which will surely rise, can be preserved."[13]

Responding to their prime minister's plea, the Japanese people, equipped with a love for neatness in life and a sense of devotion to their country, began courageously and sacrificially the staggering job of cleaning up the debris of war devastation.[14] Indeed, the Japanese knew how to comply with the lesson that the highest test of character is to learn from the past, to admit one's mistake and to act on that admission.[15]

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[13]New York Times, August 18, 1945.

[14]For an interesting discussion of Japanese character in meeting national difficulties, see "Nippon Psychs Up to Fight Back," Forbes, CXIV, No. 12, December 15, 1974, pp. 17-20.

[15]The Japanese faced the reality, believing that "there is a reason for victory just as much as there are

Now that "in Japan the constant goal is honor" and "they [the Japanese] need terribly to be respected in the world,"[16] the national feelings following the defeat were channeled into a strong national determination to cope with the humiliation and economic difficulties.[17] Japan's history bristles with heightened nationalistic feelings in the time of national exigencies. As Okuma Shigenobu wrote during the Russo-Japanese War, "All these changes, great as they were and formidable, were due to the patriotism of the [Japanese] people and their determination to do the best for their country."[18]

Even during the immediate post-surrender period of "utter depression,"[19] there were strong indications that the Japanese "national repentance"[20] was situational, and that

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causes for defeat. We had neglected to guage our limitations and we did not know enough our adversary." Yomiuri Hochi, August 16, 1945.

[16]Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), pp. 171-173.

[17]Yanaga Chitoshi argues that Japan's nationalism has been spurred by international humiliation and economic difficulties. See his "Japan: Nationalism Succeeds and Fails," Current History, 19 (August, 1950), 67-72.

[18]Okuma Shigenobu, "Japanese Problems," North American Review, CLXXX, No. 579 (February, 1905), 163.

[19]Fujiwara Hirotatsu, "Nationalism and the Ultra-right Wing," The Annals, CCCVIII (November, 1956), 76-84.

[20]The Imperial Rescript of August 17, 1945 calling the Japanese armed forces to conform with the surrender conditions gave no inkling of a sense of error or of guilt.

their extraordinary national consciousness, as opposed to the pre-surrender militarist chauvinism, still obtained in Japan. Prime Minister Higashikuni Naruhiko's address to the Diet on September 5, 1945 might have been a representative expression of the general attitudes of highly-placed Japanese. He stated that "the termination of the war has been brought about solely through the benevolence of our sovereign," that the Emperor's termination of hostilities was a benevolent act, that the Emperor's mind was "as deep and broad as the ocean," and that the terms of the Potsdam Declaration had been accepted with the understanding that they would not prejudice "the prerogatives of His Majesty as the sovereign ruler."[21] Moreover, Japanese leaders had the effrontery to make numerous remarks which were indicative of their attitudes. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked Americans for "fair" treatment to facilitate the condition of future friendship; Prime Minister Higashikumi suggested that America forget in exchange for the Japanese forgetting of the atom bomb; and Tojo Hideki declared that

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Quite the contrary, the Emperor praised his soldiers, using the following words: ". . .although the fighting spirit of the imperial army and navy is as high as ever, and with a view to maintain and protecting our noble national polity, we are about to make peace with the United States. . . . At the same time the loyalty and achievement of your officers and men of the imperial forces will for all time be the quintessence of our nation." Ballou, op. cit., p. 197.

[21]New York Times, September 6, 1945; Yomiuri Hochi, September 6, 1945.

history would absolve him of the responsibility for the Pacific War.[22]

Indeed, the watchword of "gambari masho" was fully manifested. Following the broadcast of the Imperial Rescript of August 15, 1945, a Japanese Cabinet statement stressed the continuity of Japanese national ideals:

> The people must be concerned now with the defense of the national structure [Kokutai]. . . . The government . . . will fight all hardships and always conform with the Imperial Will, absolutely to recover the national prestige and answer the will of our ancestors. (Emphasis added.)[23]

In a similar vein, calling for peaceful cooperation with the Occupation, Prime Minister Higashikuni repeatedly made reference to the preservation of the Kokutai:

> When the whole Empire unites as one and advances overcoming the present difficulty in perfect order and unity, in full observance of the Imperial wishes, the whole world will be surprised at the greatness of Japan's polity, transcending victory and defeat. It is at this time of difficulty and adverse fortune that the true value of our polity will be revealed.[24]

It may be fairly safe to assume that the attitudes of

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[22]See, Ballou, op. cit., esp. pp. 193-200; Ivan I. Morris, Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), pp. 22-58; Tojo Hideki, Tenno ni Sekinin Nashi [The Emperor Is Not Responsible] (Tokyo: Yoyosha, 1948).

[23]Quoted in Delmer M. Brown, Nationalism in Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 240.

[24]Quoted in Ibid.

most Japanese toward the victor nations manifested during the period between August 15, 1945, when Japan accepted the Potsdam terms of surrender, and September 10, 1945, when the salient aspects of the Unites States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan[25] were revealed, were of greater bona fides than those observable during the Occupation.[26] On the very day when the Constitution of 1947 went into effect, Shimizu Cho, the Emperor's constitutional advisor and chairman of the Privy Council which approved the new constitution, drowned himself at Atami. His suicide note states: "I have decided to die so that I from the spiritual world may help to protect our national polity and wish the safe-being of His Majesty."[27] There were others who followed suit. This was, in a great measure, a manifestation of the Japanese cultural psychology

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[25]Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Political Reorientation of Japan, September 1945 to September 1948 (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949), II, 423-26. Cited hereafter as Political Reorientation.

[26]For a glimpse of the Japanese attitudes of this period, see Lawrence E. Salisbury, "Regeneration of Japan," Far Eastern Survey (September 12, 1945), pp. 249-51; "Japan's Submission," Spectator (September 7, 1945), p. 209; The Rt. Rev. Bishop S. Heaslett, "Japan In Defeat," Spectator (November 30, 1945), pp. 508-9; idem, "Japanese Patriotism," Spectator (September 21, 1945), p. 262; Andie L. Knutson, "Japanese Opinion Surveys: The Special Need and the Special Difficulties," Public Opinion Quarterly, IX, No. 3 (Fall, 1945), 313-19; Ernest R. Hilgard, "The Enigma of Japanese Friendliness," Public Opinion Quarterly, X, No. 5 (Fall, 1946), 343-48.

[27]Tokujiro Kanamori and Yamaura Kan-ichi, eds., Nihon Seihi Hyakunen Shi [History of One Hundred Years of Japanese Politics] (Tokyo: Jiji Shimpo Sha, 1953), p. 457.

fostered and nurtured through the knightly code which taught that "death was better than disgrace."[28]

W. Macmahon Ball does not seem to have erred by stating that

> There were to be two keynotes of this strategy [the Japanese scheme of coping with the Occupation]: complete outward compliance with the orders of the conquerors, combined with lasting spiritual resistance to the conqueror's will.[29]

It should not go unnoticed that

> Even the pro-American government of Prime Minister Yoshida came out shortly after the end of Occupation with the statement that one of the immediate tasks of the nation was to 'rectify the mistakes of the Occupation'.[30]

Against the backdrop of the defeated nation of Japan replete with submerged national feelings coupled with gashin shotan,[31] the Occupation embarked upon a political revolution on an unprecedented scale, believing that Japanese "nationalism, social institutions, economy, and politics were

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[28]Sir George S. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History (Rev. ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), p.287.

[29]Ball, op. cit., p. 47.

[30]Yanaga Chitoshi, Japanese People and Politics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 8.

[31]Ruth Benedict writes: ". . . revenge ranks high in Japanese tradition as a 'good thing' under circumstances of insult or defeat." See her op. cit., p. 161.

sorely shaken by defeat."[32]

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[32]U. S. Department of State, "Japan: Free World Ally," Department of State Publication 6516, Far Eastern Series 74 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 10.

## CHAPTER IX

## DEMOCRATIZATION BY FIAT

The mood of the victor surrounding the anticipated occupation of a defeated Japan was redolent of vengeance. Typical expressions representative of this mood are found in the following passages. President Franklin Roosevelt stated on December 24, 1943:

> . . . essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. . . . For too many years we have lived on pious hopes that aggressor and war-like nations would learn and understand and carry out the doctrine of purely voluntary peace. The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former years did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them again. . . . It is my intention to do all that I humanly can as President and commander-in-chief to see to it that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again. . . . I believe . . . that the other three great nations [Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union] who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. . . . I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain and the United States. . . . I may say that 'I got along fine' with Marshal Stalin. . . . I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people very well

--very well, indeed.[1]

Were President Roosevelt alive today, he would not be inclined to repeat the statement quoted above. By the same token, President Truman's Radio Address on September 1, 1945, begins with the following passages:

> My Fellow Americans: The thoughts and hopes of all America--indeed of all the civilized world--are centered tonight on the battleship Missouri. There on that small piece of American soil anchored in Tokyo Harbor the Japanese have just officially laid down their arms. They have signed terms of unconditional surrender. Four years ago the thoughts and fears of the whole civilized world were centered on another piece of American soil--Pearl Harbor. The mighty threat to civilization which began there is now laid at rest. It was a long road to Tokyo--and a bloody one. We shall not forget Pearl Harbor. The Japanese militarists will not forget the U. S. S. Missouri. The evil done by the Japanese warlords can never be repaired or forgotten. But their power to destroy and kill has been taken from them. Their Armies and what is left of their Navy are now impotent.[2]

Having shouldered the preponderant share of defeating Japan, the United States was catapulted into a position to dominate the Occupation of Japan, which Herrymon Mauer called "potentially the most successful cultural

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[1]"The Text of President Roosevelt's Address on Christmas Eve, December 24, 1943." New York Times, December 25, 1943, p. 8.

[2]U. S. Department of State, The Axis in Defeat: A Collection of Documents on American Policy Toward Germany and Japan, publication 2423 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 38. Cited hereafter as The Axis in Defeat.

diffusion in history."[3] Determined not to forget Pearl Harbor and mindful of the strong national consciousness of the Japanese,[4] planners of the Occupation were intent on reforming the Japanese society in such a way as to deprive Japan of its trouble-making proclivities.[5] The Occupationaires apparently assumed the Occupation through democratization efforts would be capable of transforming Japan into a democratic country denuded of the traditional sentiments of Japanese nationalism.[6]

Arguing that without a reliable democratic Japan peace is unthinkable in the Far East and the Pacific, David Dempsey produced an impressive list of basic political and economic evils of Japan.[7] As we read in the United States

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[3]Herrymon Mauer, "The U.S. Does a Job," Fortune, March 1947, p. 134.

[4]See, for example, Otto D. Tolischus, "The Savage Code That Rules Japan," New York Times Magazine, February 6, 1944, pp. 5, 36-37; Hans Simons, "The Conditions of Unconditional Surrender," Social Research, X, No. 4 (November, 1943), 399-416; Royal Institute of International Affairs, Japan in Defeat (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945).

[5]Political Reorientation, II, 423-426.

[6]Hugh Borton, "American Occupation Policies in Japan," Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, XXII (January, 1948), 37-45; idem, "Preparation for the Occupation of Japan," Journal of Asian Studies, XXV, No. 2 (February, 1966), 203-212.

[7]David Dempsey's list includes: 1) Japan should be stripped of her conquests; 2) State Shinto should be eliminated; 3) Organized Mikado-worship should be done away with; 4) Control of education should be in Allied hands; 5) The State Police should be abolished; 6) Democracy should be

Initial Post-Surrender Policy For Japan of 29 August 1945,[8] the ultimate objectives of the Occupation were to punish, demilitarize, and democratize Japan so that "Japan will not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world." Implied assumptions were: 1) The thoroughness of defeat convinced the Japanese people that a forced political reorientation in Japan would be inevitable; 2) The democratization of Japan would mean a collapse of ultranationalism; and 3) A democratized Japan would be a peace-loving, cooperative nation in the international community.[9] In effect, the Occupation "tried sys tematically to cleanse those nations [Germany and Japan, which were in the still glowing ashes of destruction] of the militaristic and nationalistic elements that had brought them to war."[10] In other words, the Occupation attempted to transform the Japanese ultranationalism of the recent past

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instituted, with real power coming from the people; 7) The power of the Zaibatsu should be broken; 8) Agrarian reform should be instituted; 9) Freedom of communication should be restored; and 10) Political leaders should be trained. See his "Occupation Policy: Germany and Japan," Antioch Review, VI, No. 1 (Spring, 1946), 153.

[8]The Axis in Defeat, pp. 107.

[9]Ibid., p. 108. For a critical view on the objectives of the Initial Policy planners, see Herbert Passin, The Legacy of the Occupation--Japan. Occasional papers of the East Asia Institute (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

[10]John D. Montgomery, "'Guided Missiles': Reflections on the Politics of Foreign Aid," Far Eastern Survey, XXVIII, No. 6 (June, 1959), 85.

into internationalism through what John D. Montgomery called "a programmed installation of democracy."[11] Imposing democracy on defeated nations was based on the belief that victory allows the victor the right to guide the course of world history, meaning imposing his standards on the vanquished.[12]

Democratization encapsulated the most important positive objective with which the Allied Occupation policy was concerned in dealing with a defeated Japan.

> The Japanese people shall be encouraged to develop a desire for individual liberties and respect for fundamental human rights, particularly the freedoms of religion, assembly, speech, and the press. They shall also be encouraged to form democratic and representative organizations.[13]

There were, however, negative aspects in the Occupation policy that had to precede democratization.[14] Demobilization, demilitarization, deindustrialization, and decentralization were regarded as constituting essential

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[11]John D. Montgomery, Forced to Be Free (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 4.

[12]Prime Minister Winston Churchill argued to this effect in his speech to the House of Commmons on August 20, 1940. See Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 364, No. 105 (August 20, 1940), p. 1170.

[13]The Axis in Defeat, p. 108.

[14]Ibid.

conditions for the democratization of Japan.[15]

The obvious purpose of these negative policies was to rid Japan of her "obnoxious features."[16] There were strong indications, as Robert King Hall observed, that "The military authorities . . . concentrate their attention more on the removal of obstacles than on positive democratic measures."[17] The attempt to eliminate the obnoxious features involved the physical as well as non-physical aspects. When the Japanese people[18] decided to be a "model conquered people,"[19] it was a foregone conclusion that the elimination of the physically obnoxious features would be relatively easy. As Merle Fainsod notes in this regard:

> Clarity there was on what was to be destroyed or eliminated. But much more difficult was the realization that political reconstruction carries

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[15]Political Reorientation, I, Introduction.

[16]Carl J. Friedrich, "Military Government and Democratization: A Central Issue of American Foreign Policy," in American Experiences in Military Government in World War II, ed. by Carl J. Friedrich et al. (New York: Rinehart, 1948), p. 3.

[17]Robert King Hall, "Japan: Are All Gods Equal?," Yearbook of Education, 1950, p. 568.

[18]Channing Liem characterizes the Japanese as a "sadistic people," fearing and worshipping power. Liem further argues that "the Japanese do not question the right or wrong of the mighty. They simply worship the powerful." See his "Re-education of Japan," Forum, CVI, No. 3 (November, 1945), pp. 194-195.

[19]Quoted in T. V. Smith, "Consent and Coercion in Germany," Pacific Spectator, I, No. 3 (Summer, 1947), 324-25.

> other imperatives--encouragement to groups that have repudiated Naziism and militarism, and the creation of conditions that make it possible for such groups to provide constructive leadership in new directions.[20]

Keenly mindful of the Japanese trait of "situational ethics," many observers looked askance at the willing compliance of the Japanese with the Occupation directives. Jesse F. Steiner's observation merits quotation:

> Throughout recent decades, in so far as the government could control institutional changes, the invasion of foreign ways and ideas have been guided in directions that would advance national interests. . . . The response of the Japanese to contacts with Western civilization tended to follow well-established patterns of social change. . . . Accustomed as the Japanese have been to governmental control so widely extended as to hamper freedom of thought as well as of action, it is not surprising that they have shown great docility in adjusting themselves to defeat. Their prompt acceptance of the Emperor's decision to surrender has been duplicated by their efforts to carry out the most drastic orders of their conquerors. . . . But the prompt obedience of the Japanese to Allied directives during the first year of defeat gives no assurance that the social and political reconstruction of Japan will take the precise form desired by the foreign powers. The experience of the Japanese in adopting and integrating foreign cultures in the past gives reason to believe that in this emergency they will endeavor to bring about the desired ends by putting new wine in old bottles.[21]

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[20]Merle Fainsod, "The Development of American Military Government Policy During World War II," in Carl J. Friedrich et al., op. cit., p. 51.

[21]Jesse F. Steiner, "Social Change in Japan," Sociology and Social Research, XXXI, No. 1 (September-October, 1946), pp. 5, 9, 10.

From the outset of the Occupation, there were conflicting views as to the feasibility and validity of imposing democracy by military fiat on a defeated Japan whose cherished cultural sentiments, values, and traditions militated against democratic ideals.[22] Optimistic Occupationaires[23] assumed that the elimination or suppression of Japanese ultranationalism by dint of official policies would bring about a disappearance of the unique nature of Japanese national consciousness.[24]

General MacArthur as Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers set the tone of the Occupation based on his firm conviction "that the entire human race, irrespective of

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[22]It is of interest to contrast General Douglas MacArthur's rosy picture of the accomplishments wrought by the Occupation revealed in his testimony in May, 1951, with the negative interpretation by Robert B. Textor. See General MacArthur's Testimony, U. S. Senate, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Foreign Relations, Military Situation in the Far East, May 3-5, 1951, Pt. I, pp. 309-318; Robert B. Textor, Failure in Japan (New York: The John Day Co., 1951).

[23]See, for example, General Douglas MacArthur, "Japan: An Economy of Survival," Fortune, June, 1949, 74ff; Claude E. Strait, "Japan Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," Religion in Life, XVIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1949), 274-284; Robert E. Ward, "The Potential for Democratization in Prewar Japan," in John D. Montgomery and Albert O. Hirschman, eds., Public Policy (Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), Vol. XVIII, pp.. 105-143.

[24]For a fuller understanding of this point, see Nakajima Fumio, Nihon Seishin to Seio Seishin [Japanese Spirit and Western Spirit] (Tokyo: Yoyo Shobo, 1947); Nishimura Shinji, Nihon Minzoku Riso [The Ideals of the

geographical limitations or cultural tradition, is capable of absorbing, cherishing and defending liberty, tolerance, and justice, and will find maximum strength and progress when so blessed."[25] General MacArthur's conviction needs to be seen with some qualifications. It is, indeed, a truism that liberty, tolerance, and justice are ideals worth fighting for and dying for. Yet the capacity to absorb, cherish, and defend them is not necessarily inherent in every national society.[26]

To impose alien ideas and institutions on a culturally dissimilar society constituted the main charge with which critics gainsaid the Occupation policy. As Daniel Lerner explains, "A code [or culture], since it requires the transformation of millions of individual life histories through generations, cannot simply be transferred from one society to another."[27] Many writers on acculturation and social change seem to agree that the field of material culture is the first and easiest transfer between societies, that the field of social organizations is a more difficult and slower transfer, and that the field of

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[25]Political Reorientation, II, 785.

[26]Ernest Eaglehole, "Character Structure, Its Role in the Analysis of International Relations," Psychiatry: Journal of the Biology and Pathology of International Relations, VII, No. 2 (May, 1944), 145-162.

[27]Daniel Lerner, "The Transformation of Institutions," in Transfer of Institutions, ed. by William B. Hamilton (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964), p.

beliefs, values and ideas is the slowest and most difficult transfer, facing the greatest obstacles.[28] In a similar vein, Robert A. Scalapino notes:

> . . . it was always easier to borrow foreign technology than to adopt successfully a foreign ethical-political system. The former contains a high quotient of universalism, while the latter is strongly particularistic because of the myriad of variables out of which it is constructed.[29]

What the implies is that Japan would only grow more efficient in her use of things Western, and that her ancient patterns of mind would remain basically unchanged. To state

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[28]William H. R. Rivers, The History of Melanesian Society (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1914); Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovits, "Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation," American Anthropologist, XXXVIII, No. 1 (January-March, 1936), 149-52; Melville J. Herskovits, "Some Comments on the Study of Cultural Contact," American Anthropologist, XLIII, No. 1 (January- March, 1941), 1-10; Talcott Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change: An Essay in Applied Social Science," Psychiatry, VIII, No. 1 (February, 1945), 79-101; Margaret M. Lam, "Acculturation and War," Sociology and Social Research, XXX, No. 4 (March-April, 1946), 255-263; Raymond W. Firth, Economics of the New Zealand Maori (2nd ed.; Wellington, N.Z.: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1959); idem, "Notes on the Social Structure of Some South-Eastern New Guinea Communities," Man, LII (June, 1952), 86-89; Bert Landheer, "The Concept of 'Social Change' in Sociological Theory," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, I, No. 1 (March, 1960), 76-88; Bert F. Hoselitz, "Advanced and Underdeveloped Countries: A Study in Development Contrast," in Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 27-58; Reinhart Bendix, "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered," Comparative Studies in Society and History, IX, No. 3 (April, 1967), 292-348.

[29]Robert A. Scalapino, "Ideology and Modernization--the Japanese Case," in Ideology and Discontent, ed. by David E. Apter (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 99.

this differently using the phrases suggested by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, whatever progress Japan may make would result in an increase in "output affect," without entailing a diminution of "system affect."[30] In other words, the Japanese are accustomed to advanced technical civilization to promote national interests and to satisfy individual "comfort instinct," retaining their long-cherished "cultural instinct." It may be pointed out that the "comfort instinct" belongs to the realm of universality, whereas the "cultural instinct" to that of particularity.[31]

In anticipation of Japan's defeat, Hugh Byas expressed his concern over the future of Japan. An undeniable physical destruction and a complete defeat would teach the Japanese the lesson that a war does not pay more than an outside interference in the postwar Japan's domestic affairs. Byas went on to state:

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[30]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965), Ch. III.

[31]Many dealt with this point using various phrases. For example, Almond and Verba's "output affect and system affect," Deutsch's "objectively 'rational' behavior and subjectively convenient behavior," Lifton's "flux and inertia," and Schweigler's "instrumental and sentimental." See respectively, Almond and Verba, op cit., pp. 63ff; Karl W. Deutsch, "The Growth Nations: Some Recurrent Patterns of Political and Social Integration," World Politics, V, No. 2 (January, 1953), 181; Robert J. Lifton, "Youth and History: Individual Change in Postwar Japan," Daedalus, XCI, No. 1 (Winter, 1962), 172; Gebhard L. Schweigler, National Consciousness in Divided Germany (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 144.

> To all intents and purposes, Japan is a united nation. . . . Japanese liberalism has obediently kept step with Japanese militarism since the first shot was fired in Manchuria in 1931. . . . To the Japanese, national unity is an end in itself. . . . The difficulties are not of legal creation only; they exist in the minds of the people; they are the product of conditions going far back in history. The problem of democracy in the East is not that of writing constitutions but of instructing vast masses of people in self-government . . . her predatory traditions will revive if they get a chance.[32]

A similar concern was expressed about the Japanese mind by Robert O. Ballou in 1945:

> The submergence of the individuals and the destruction of armies are simpler matters than the destruction of ideas. In the war against Japan the United Nations are fighting not only against an army, a navy, and an air force, but also against an ideological force which was more than a thousand years old when Pan-Germanism was born, and which is more powerful in conditioning a people than Nazism could ever be, because it has behind it the strength of an ancient and undying religious reverence.[33]

Many writers stressed similar viewpoints. Monica Hunter Wilson argued that it would be out of the question to understand existing institutions without a knowledge of the past, adding that any culture can only be fully understood

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[32]Hugh Byas, "The Japanese Problem," Yale Review, XXXII, No. 3 (March, 1943), 456, 462, 467.

[33]Robert O. Ballou, Shinto: The Unconquered Enemy (New York: The Viking Press, 1945), p. 4.

in its historical context.[34] In a similar vein, Robert N. Bellah argued that "the Japanese tradition must be studied in order to discover those elements that can provide fruitful soil for the development of democratic institutions in Japan."[35] Arguing that the division of history into epochs, like the distinction between tradition and modernity, is a construct of definite, but limited, utility, Reinhart Bendix tells us:

> Even if the "vicious cycle of poverty" is broken, subsequent changes of the social structure will vary with the preindustrial conditions of the country, the particular impetus of the development, the path which modernization takes, the significant differences that persist in developed economies, and finally with the impact and timing of dramatic events.[36]

Before, and after, Japan's surrender, not a few observers were of the opinion that a victory of one government's military forces over those of another government would not of itself wholly determine the character of the new equilibrium. "Victory merely renders the defeated government powerless for the time being to use force on the molar level as a government against the

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[34]Monica Hunter Wilson, "Methods in the Study of Culture Contact," Africa, VII (1934), 336.

[35]Robert N. Bellah, Beyond Belief (New York: Harper

victor."[37] Otto D. Tolischus was quite right when he stated that

> It is obvious, therefore, that neither vengeance nor punishment, however widely and dramatically inflicted, will end the scourge of Nazism and Nipponism unless there is a complete extermination of the doctrines which inspire them. And this ideological extermination is more important than any physical extermination of the guilty.[38]

Despite the arguments advanced by many acculturation writers to the effect that the aspects of tradition lying on the non-material level are very resistant to change and the fact that the imposition of democracy upon the Japanese by military fiat is "sheer nonsense,"[39] the Occupation, influenced by America's "sense of mission,"[40] embarked upon a

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[37]Lowell Juilliard Carr, "A Situational Approach to Conflict and War," Social Forces, XXIV, No. 3 (March, 1946), 302.

[38]Otto D. Tolischus, "The Savage Code That Rules Japan," New York Times Magazine, February 6, 1944, p. 37.

[39]Addison Gulick, "The Problem of Right and Wrong in Japan and Some of Its Political Consequences," Journal of Social Psychology, XXVI (Spring, 1947), 3-20: Gulick tells us that imposing democracy on a defeated Japan is "sheer non-sense, for the simple reason that democracy is par excellence the unimposable variety of government," arguing that "the political and social fabric of the [Japanese] nation, together with the structure of family life, all are built directly on unilateral loyalty of the inferior to the superior. Throughout recorded history, the Japanese ethical concepts have consistently disparaged the desire for individual welfare as inimical to the idea of loyalty."

[40]"America's 'sense of mission' has not always been a comfortable companion to her pragmatic philosophies and

Herculean task of eradicating the Japanese spirit to bring about democracy in Japan. Hugh Tinker argues that the Anglo-American thinking in foreign aid "is influenced by two strongly opposing traditions. There is a tradition of compassion, manifested in so much missionary and humanitarian enterprise. But there is also a firm tradition in self-help, to which the Darwinian doctrine of the survival of the fittest gave an added ruthlessness."[41] In a sense, the Occupation was the culmination of many decades of Japanese-American relations in which America played a tutorial role of sorts, with Japan as disciple. The Occupation reaffirmed that role. But because of the context of relations it created was, on the whole, unpleasant for Japan--dependence, helplessness, subordination--the ambivalent attitudes were intensified.[42] In view of the extreme obsession of the Japanese with their national honor[43] and the Japanese sensitivity to their international

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her materialistic achievements." John D. Montgomery, op. cit., p. 85.

[41]Hugh Tinker, "The Human Factor in Foreign Aid," Pacific Affairs, XXXII, No. 3 (September, 1959), 289.

[42]Herbert Passin and John W. Bennett, "The American Educated Japanese; 1. The Student in America: Theory; Background; Images," The Annals (September, 1954), 105.

[43]"The Japanese nation is by nature the most ambitious of honor of all Oriental nations, and will sacrifice life itself to maintain a punctilio." Quoted in Maurice Collis, Land of the Great Stone Image (New York: Knopf, 1943), p. 126.

ranking,[44] it is not too difficult to fathom how galling the Occupation must have been to the Japanese feeling.

It would serve us well to recall that, until the forced unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, Japanese ambition was fostered by the idea that no Oriental country came near her in power. The presence of white peoples in Asia was resented not because of an inherent xenophobia among the Japanese people but because it posed an obstacle to Japanese domination of Asia. When the Allied Occupation of Japan is seen in the light of Japan's national mission that she deserved to be a dominating power in Asia, the primary problem of a defeated Japan facing the Occupation was the Japanese mind, not shrinking her empire.[45]

Arguing that "The life of a people, its institutions, beliefs, and arts are but the visible expression of its individual soul," Gustave LeBon stated:

> To the Japanese mind, the national soul is indispensable as an integral part of the state which is no less a spiritual existence than a social, economic, and political existence.[46]

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[44]Herbert Passin argues that the Japanese harbor an extraordinary concern for international ranking, and tend to treat foreign nationals by the yardstick of the perceived rank of their country. See his, "Socio-cultural Factors in the Japanese Perception of International Order," Japan Institute of International Affairs Annual Review, V (1969-1970), 51-75.

[45]Willis Church Lamott, "What Not To Do With Japan," Harper's, June, 1945, p. 585.

[46]Gustave LeBon, Psychology of Peoples (New York:

Moreover, LeBon notes that there are three influences that govern the individual and direct his conduct: 1) ancestors; 2) the influence of immediate parents; and 3) the influence of the environment. LeBon goes on to state very bluntly that "Reason is incapable of transforming men's conviction."[47]

Writing on the problems involved in "controlled institutional change"[48] with a special reference to the German people, Talcott Parsons argues that a permanent change of character structure is dependent upon institutional change. But he hastens to add that the typical character structure of the German people, albeit an independent factor of great significance, is supported by, and closely interdependent with, an institutional structure of German society. Parsons further argues that the interdependence is so significant that any permanent and far-reaching change in the orientation of the German people cannot rest on a change of character structure alone, but must involve institutional change as well. Otherwise, the existing institutional conditions would keep on breeding the

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The Macmillan Co., 1898), Introduction.

[47]Ibid., p. xvii.

[48]Talcott Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change: An Essay in Applied Social Science," Psychiatry, VIII, No. 1 (February, 1945), 79-101.

same type of character structure in the new generations. He goes on to claim that "a direct attack on character structure as such is less promising than one through other forces which operate on the institutional system which, through changes in that, may serve to create conditions favorable to a change in character structure."[49]

Parsons enlarges on his point by arguing that it is necessary to analyze the uniformities of human behavior in terms of the structure of motivational forces, on the one hand, and that of the situation in which they have to operate, on the other. Parsons goes on to argue that the structure of the situation depends upon "the stability of motivational structure of the members of the society at large." Arguing further that in an integrated system "self-interested elements of motivation and disinterested moral sentiments of duty tend to motivate the <u>same</u> concrete goals."[50] Parsons continuing arguments are especially so germane to our concern that they merit quotation at some length:

> Human behavior may be influenced either through the situation in which people must act, or through "subjective" elements--their sentiments, goals, attitudes, definitions of situations. . . . <u>The changes of successful influence do not depend mainly on the apparent "reasonableness" of what is transmitted but on its relation to the functional</u>

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[49] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 79.

[50] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 80.

> equilibrium of the system on which it impinges. This in turn depends on at least three factors: the functional significance of the manifestations it attempts to displace; the potential functions of the new patterns which are put forward; and the appropriateness of the source and manner of influence, that is, the definition of the situation of "being influenced" from the point of view of the recipients. (Emphasis added.)[51]

There seems to be a grain of truth in the statement that "rational adaptation to realistic situation is a functional component of human social behavior."[52] This statement seems to fit well with Japanese "situational ethics" sufficiently demonstrated in Japan's modern history and the Japanese national trait of continuously advancing "output affect" without sacrificing "system affect."

In the light of the various arguments presented above, we will examine the pros and cons of the Occupation. In working for the objectives drawn upon the outlines stipulated in the Potsdam Declaration[53] of July 26, 1945, and the United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan of August 29, 1945, the Occupation carried out a complex of policies that directly or indirectly attacked the Japanese spirit and ideals that were believed to have been responsible for Japan's misdeeds perpetrated in the pre-

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[51]Ibid., pp. 84-85.

[52]Ibid., p. 52.

[53]The Axis in Defeat, pp. 27-28.

surrender decades.[54] Among the earliest and most important measures undertaken by the Occupation were those that were to undermine the Japanese spirit which had been blamed for Japanese ultranationalism. The education system was the first object of attack.[55]

Barely a month after the surrender, the Occupation issued an order banning the teaching of all militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology and requiring the Japanese authorities to remove all teachers and textbooks associated with such ideology "in order to eliminate from the educational system of Japan those militaristic and ultranationalistic influences which in the past have contributed to the defeat, war guilt, suffering, privation, and present deplorable state of the Japanese people."[56] A subsequent directive specifically prohibited all courses in morals [Shushin],[57] Japanese history and geography, for

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[54]U. S. Department of State, Occupation of Japan: Policy and Progress, Publication No. 2671, Far Eastern Series 17 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 33. [Hereafter cited as Occupation of Japan.]

[55]For an exhaustive treatment of the Occupation's education policy, see Robert King Hall, Education for a New Japan (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949).

[56]Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Documents Concerning the Allied Occupation and Control of Japan (Tokyo, 1950), II, 224.

[57]For a detailed discussion of this subject, see Robert King Hall, Shushin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949).

these textbooks had been published by the Ministry of Education.[58] The next major step taken by the Occupation attacking the ideological front took place on December 15, 1945. On this date, the Occupation issued a directive which was specifically aimed at abolishing government support of State Shinto, which in fact was a direct attack on ultranationalistic ideology in general.

Among the stated aims in disestablishing the state religion was the prevention of a recurrence of the perversion of Shinto theory and beliefs into militaristic and ultranationalistic propaganda designed to delude the Japanese people and lead them into wars of aggression.[59]

The directive in question was not limited to State Shinto, but extended to the "propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology in . . . the doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies, and observances of

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[58]It is interesting to note that the educational purge was announced on October 30, 1945, on the fifty-fifth anniversary of the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education. The Rescript, exploited by government leaders and nationalists to the fullest extent, had been until the surrender the single most important political document which Ruth Benedict aptly called "the true holy writ of Japan." Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 209. Also see Political Reorientation, II 585.

[59]SCAPIN 448 of December 15, 1945. ["SCAPIN" denotes directives of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.] Quoted in Political Reorientation, II, 467-69.

any religion, faith, sect, creed, or philosophy."[60] According to the very sweeping terms of this disestablishment directive, no government agency or official was to take part in the spread of Shinto teachings or in the support of the Shinto establishment, no public funds were to be allocated for Shinto institutions, no Shinto doctrines were to be taught at schools, and school trips to Shinto shrines were prohibited.[61]

By the same token, the government was prohibited from circulating such famous nationalist commentaries as Kokutai no Hongi [The Fundamental Principles of the National Constitution] and Shinmin no Michi [The Way of the Subjects].[62] The directive also made a frontal attack on certain nationalistic symbols. It prohibited the official use of terms whose connotation in Japanese is inextricably connected with State Shinto, militarism, and ultranationalism. Among these it specified Hakko Ichiu [The Eight Corners of the World Under One Roof] and Dai Toa Senso

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] For a detailed discussion of these famous nationalist commentaries, see chapters on "Kokutai" and "Thought Control" of this dissertation. The Way of the Subjects [Shinmin no Michi], was issued by the Ministry of Education to all schools and community organizations in August, 1941 as a handbook for young persons. This remarkable nationalist commentary attacked individualism, liberalism, utilitarianism, and materialism in one breath, and offered an elaborate rationale for Japan's overseas activities.

[Greater East Asia War]. Kamidana [The Traditional God-Shelves] were prohibited in all public buildings and ordered to be removed immediately.[63]

Finally, the directive carefully spelled out the meaning of the ubiquitous term "militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology":

> (i) The doctrine that the Emperor of Japan is superior to the heads of other states, because of ancestry, descent or special origin. (ii) The doctrine that the people of Japan are superior to the people of other lands, because of ancestry, descent, or special origin. (iii) The doctrine that the islands of Japan are superior to other lands because of divine or special origin. (iv) Any other doctrine which tends to delude the Japanese people into embarking upon wars of aggression or to glorify the use of force as an instrument for the settlement of disputes with other peoples.[64]

Thus, the term was defined to encompass virtually the entire set of notions upon which the supposed uniqueness of Japanese Kokutai had rested. This directive of disestablishing State Shinto was in line with the spirit of the Potsdam Conference:

> The Potsdam conference recognized the primary importance of education as a means of establishing and strengthening democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Only a democratically educated Japanese people would be able to stimulate and

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[63]Until the surrender, all Japanese subjects were encouraged to install Kamidana and Shinto talismans in their houses as a token of loyalty.

[64]Political Reorientation, II, 467-469.

> defend political progress and build a frame of mind conducive to peaceful cooperation with other nations. . . . On the basis of this recognition the Allied powers on September 14, 1945, set up a special policy for an educational program. This policy, based upon the broad outlines of the Potsdam Proclamation, established that the goal of educational programs would be the re-education of the whole Japanese population. (Emphasis added.)[65]

The Occupation's educational policy attempted to bring about a spiritual revolution of the entire Japanese people. But an observer tells us that "reform measures which are not executed with the initiative of the people concerned do not endure."[66] It appears that the Occupationaires failed to see that

> artifacts can be objectively proved better or worse, while constructs cannot be so demonstrated. This is why the conclusion that things are diffused more readily than ideas, encountered again and again in the [cultural contact] literature, has at times seemed obvious.[67]

Melville J. Herskovits cogently notes that

> whether contact is on the basis of equality, or force reflects the desire of a stronger people to impose their way of life on an unwilling, weaker folk, the fact that the receiving group can find in the traditions of the donors something

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[65]U. S. Department of State, Occupation of Japan, op. cit., p. 33.

[66]Tsuru Shigeto, "A New Japan?: Political, Economic, and Social Aspects of Postwar Japan," Atlantic Monthly, CXCV, No. 1 (January, 1955), p. 105.

[67]Herskovits, op. cit., p. 2.

> understandable in terms of their own patterns makes for a lack of resistance and accelerates acceptance.[68]

In a similar vein, Hans Simons argues that

> one cannot mobilize a nation to a mounting effort to preserve itself if one does not satisfy what it conceives as its own national interest. . . . Victory therefore has to bring moral satisfaction.[69]

There was no shortage of critics who took to task the Occupation's policy of imposing democracy on Japan. Both Occupation supporters and critics seem to have made a mistake by oversimplifying the unique nature of Japanese political culture. Both sides regarded the Japanese as a homogeneous people. While Occupation supporters took on the notion that the Japanese, like any other people, long for individual liberties, critics impugned the Occupation's democratizing policy on the grounds that the Japanese people, on account of their ultranationalism and hierarchical concept of social structure,[70] had an aversion to human rights as preached by the Occupationaires.

Put bluntly, the Occupationaires claimed that "sound ideas [well tested in the crucible of Western experience]

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[68] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[69] Hans Simons, op. cit., p. 401.

[70] For a good discussion of the hierarchical concept of social structure in Japan, see Nakane Chie, Japanese Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

cannot be stopped" in any cultural setting, whereas the critics argued that the Occupation efforts to democratize Japan by means of physical demobilization and re-writing of her constitution are all necessary, but these efforts would be rendered futile unless a moral demobilization of the Japanese people takes place.[71]

Many believed that the real problem confronting the Occupation was not the destruction of physical aspects such as reducing Japan's empire, destroying her military capability, preventing her rearmament, or introducing democratic institutions, but the elimination of "the Japanese spirit," which was believed to have been responsible for her ultranationalism in the pre-surrender decades.[72] There was an implied assumption on the part of the Occupation that the "moral demilitarization" of the Japanese people could be achieved through the "Purge Program,"[73] by disfranchising the undesirables "who had

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[71]For a typically critical viewpoint, see W. Macmahon Ball, "Reflections on Japan," Pacific Affairs, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1948), 3-13.

[72]Delmer M. Brown, Nationalism in Japan (Berkeley: University of Caifornia Press, 1955), pp. 243-248.

[73]See U. S. Department of State, The Axis in Defeat, p. 110; Hans H. Baerwald, The Purge of Japanese Leaders Under the Occupation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); Kinoshita Hanji, "Purge" Policy and After, Conference paper, 12th Institute of Pacific Relations Conference, Kyoto, 1954, p. 40: Kinoshita writes: "The purge system, an important means to democratize and demilitarize Japan, dealt a near fatal blow, for a time at least, to

played an active part in formulating Japan's policy of aggression" and by eliminating a host of patriotic organizations that had pandered to Japan's ultranationalism.[74]

Just as history is often cited to claim that the Japanese are a conservative people as well as to claim that they are a progressive people, the work of the Occupation is evaluated as a success by panegyrists[75] of the Occupation and a failure by critics.[76] From the outset, many a critic doubted the value of the Occupation, especially in the area of "spiritual revolution" on the part of the Japanese people. A noted authority of Japan, Sir George B. Sansom, said in 1948:

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leaders in various circles. But the effect of the blow was temporary, since the Emperor system, nucleus of old militaristic Japan, was allowed to remain in force."

[74]Political Reorientation, p. 413; Occupation of Japan, pp. 73-74; Kinoshita, op. cit., on pages 22-23 gives a monthly total for the number of groups dissovled during the period in 1946-1947. The first postwar rightist group to be dissoved was the New and Powerful Mass Party (Shinei Taishuto) in December 1947; 29 in 1950; and 9 in 1951.

[75]For General Douglas MacArthur's sanguine view on democratic reforms, see Nippon Times, September 3, 1946; also see Robert E. Ward, "The Potential for Democratization in Prewar Japan," in Pacific Policy, ed. by John D. Montgomery and Albert O. Hirschman (Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) vol. XVIII, pp. 105-43.

[76]Gulick, op. cit., 3-20.

> Perhaps they [the Japanese], of all Asiatic peoples, are the most likely material for the ambitious experiment in democratization which is now taking place; but these heady doctrines can stimulate without nourishing, so that in Japan, as elsewhere in Asia, it is likely that the form of government ultimately developed will be something which only superficially resembles its Western model.[77]

Despite the views expressed by many observers[78] to the contrary, General MacArthur was so confident in his performance that he could describe the first year of the Occupation as follows:

> A spiritual revolution ensued almost overnight, tore asunder a theory and practice of life built upon 2,000 years of history and tradition and legend. . . . This revolution of the spirit among the Japanese people represents no thin veneer to serve the purpose of the present. It represents an unparallelled convulsion in the social history of the World.[79]

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[77]Sir George B. Sansom, "Conflicting Purposes in Japan," Foreign Affairs, XXVI, No. 2 (February, 1948), 305.

[78]Beaglehole, op. cit., p. 155; Sidney Shallet, "The Occupation of Japan," Forum, October, 1945, pp. 162-164; C. I. Thompson, "Indoctrinating Democracy," Forum, November, 1945, pp. 209-215; idem, "Can Democracy Be Transplanted?," Forum, January, 1946, pp. 414-418; idem, "Will A Constitution Guarantee Democracy?," Forum, December, 1945, 318-322; Andrew Roth, "Japan Unchanged," New Statesman and Nation, April 6, 1946, pp. 240-241; Douglas G. Haring, "Aspects of Personal Character in Japan," Journal of Asian Studies, VI, No. 1 (November, 1946), 12-22; A Member of the RAF, "Military Occupation Can't Succeed," Harpers, November, 1946, 385-390; David Nelson Rowe, "The New Japanese Constitution--II," Far Eastern Survey, XVI, No. 2 (February 12, 1947), 30-34; Economist, July 30, 1949; Romney Wheeler, "We Are Kidding Ourselves in Japan," American Mercury, December, 1950, pp. 712-719.

[79]Nippon Times, September 3, 1946.

General MacArthur's ultra-sanguine statement does not seem to be capable of holding water.[80] What is missing in the optimism of Occupation supporters seems to be a clear understanding of the "underlying propensities"[81] of the Japanese people.[82] Nevertheless, attentive to the difficulties involved in suppressing, if not eliminating, Japanese ultranationalism, the Occupation was intent on "the re-education of the whole Japanese population" so as to inculcate in the Japanese people "a frame of mind conducive

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[80]"We can find, for example, in the words of Machiavelli that there are three ways of treating a conquered people if we do not wish to fight them again. We can obliterate that conquered people as Rome did Carthage. We can send wise governors who by becoming citizens of and part of that country govern it as natives and yet are friendly. Or we can punish the conquered country quickly and lightly, get out, and maintain friendly relations." It is quite self-evident that a year's time is not enough to overhaul the Japanese mind. See Boyd C. Shafer, "History, Not Art, Not Science, But History: Meanings and Uses of History," Pacific Historical Review, XXIX, No. 2 (May, 1960), 167.

[81]Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 23.

[82]For a fuller understanding of the Japanese mentality, see, Oshima Shotoku, Demokurashii to Kokuminsei [Democracy and Japanese National Character] (Tokyo: Shibindo, 1949); Geoffrey Gorer, "Themes in Japanese Culture," Transactions of the New York Academy of Science, V (1943), 106-24; Alvin Johnson, "The Japanese Mentality," American Journal of Economics and Sociology, V (October, 1945), 41-42; T. V. Smith, "The Re-Education of Conquered Peoples," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (1947), 25-28; John Bowley, "Psychology and Democracy," Political Quarterly, XVII, No. 1 (January-March, 1946), 61-76; Robert King Hall, "The Battle of the Mind: American Educational Policy in Germany and Japan," Columbia Journal of International Affairs, II (Winter, 1948), 59-70.

to peaceful cooperation with other nations."[83]

The Occupation seemed convinced that only when the Japanese have become a democratically educated people, "the nations of Asia and the world would be able to return singlemindedly to the habits of peace."[84] Overly concerned with the demilitarization of, and forcible imposition of democracy on, Japan, the Occupation seemed to have given less than due attention to the fact that the former involved only the physical aspect, whereas the latter involved both the institutional and human factors.[85] George B. Sansom rightly tells us that "the form of government is far less important than the spirit in which it is worked."[86]

Being ill-prepared for the Occupation[87] and being placed in the absurd position of having to impose democracy on Japan,[88] the Occupation policy between 1945 and 1947 was

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[83]Occupation of Japan, p. 33.

[84]Ibid., p. 85.

[85]As for the implication of human factors, Edwin M. Martin writes: ". . . the existence of institutions copied from democratic models neither provides democratic institutions nor makes Japan a democracy. The spirit and purposes of the people who operate them are the only true measure of final achievement." See his The Allied Occupation of Japan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948), p. 47.

[86]Sir George B. Sansom, Japan in World History (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1951), p. 90.

[87]Passin, The Legacy of the Occupation--Japan.

[88]J. Hampden Jackson, The World in the Postwar

intended to be punitive and curative: demilitarization and democratization were the order of the day. In effect, Occupationaires theorized that Japan, once denuded of ultranationalism, would become a democratic country.[89] In a sense, the democratization of Japan by the Occupation was believed to mean a "psychological disarmament"[90] of the Japanese people. This argument seems to raise two questions: First, can the forced political reorientation of Japan be so thorough as to create a new political culture in which the Japanese are devoid of their traditional national consciousness? Second, can the Japanese democracy induced by the Occupation be a stable one[91] even after the disappearance of Japanese "system affect" which has hitherto been the single most important political factor redounding to Japan's remarkable stability and swift modernization?

It is the generally accepted assumption that there must be a reasonable degree of "system affect" for a political system to be stable. Given the strong nationalistic sentiments obtaining in Japan, it seems out of

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[89] Ibid., p. 84.

[90] Alfred C. Oppler, "The Problem of Japan's Legal and Judicial System," Washington Law Review, XIV, No. 3 (August, 1949), 290.

[91] For a sophisticated discussion of stable democracy, see Harry Eckstein, A Theory of Stable Democracy (Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1961).

the question to try to supplant the centuries-old systems affect of the Japanese people with alien ideas which are basically repugnant to their long-cherished manners and customs.[92] As Sir Rabindranath Tagore states, "You can borrow knowledge from others, but you cannot borrow temperment."[93] Alien ideas forced on an unwilling people are neither likely to be accepted nor absorbed into the value-system.[94]

It may have been an inevitable political necessity[95]

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[92]Robert N. Bellah, "Intellectual and Society in Japan," Daedalus, CI, No. 2 (Spring, 1972), 101-102; Josepha M. Saniel, "The Mobilization of Traditional Values in the Modernization of Japan," in Religion and Progress in Modern Asia, ed. by Robert N. Bellah (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 145; K. G. Collier, "The Inheritance of Values," Sociological Review, XL (1948), 97-112.

[93]Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Nationalism (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 70.

[94]Landheer, op. cit., p. 76.

[95]Despite the pious pronouncements that America was intent on saving the world with democracy, the reality pointed to the plain fact that the Occupation was undertaken more for the promotion of American interests than for the spread of democratic ideals to other countries, especially nations of non-Caucasoid peoples. Joseph M. Jones argues that "the United States has no foreign policy except the rule of expediency." See his "A Modern Foreign Policy," Fortune, October, 1943, p. 117. For other writings seconding this argument, see Textor, op. cit., esp. pp. 197-226; M. N. Roy, "Democracy and Nationalism in Asia," Pacific Affairs, XXV, No. 2 (June, 1952), 140-146; Richard A. Falk, "Beyond Internationalism," Foreign Policy, XXIV (Fall, 1976), 65-113.

> for the Occupation to attempt to rid the Japanese of their perfervid nationalistic sentiments which had been the fulcrum for maintaining national unity and social stability in Japan. In effect, the Occupation was attempting to transform a militaristic, nationalistic Japan into a peace-loving, democratic country by taking away from her the strong nationalistic sentiments which would play a paramount role in developing and maintaining a stable democracy. Speaking of how to deal with the question of Japanese loyalty, General Ken R. Dyke, the former New York advertising man whose task it was to re-educate the Japanese, stated that "the 'punitive phase' of our Occupation is well along." But he added with emphasis that the "'constructive phase' is barely under way. . . . Don't let us pull out the basic threads which are good."[96]

Dyke seemed to have realized that Japanese loyalty would be of service in bringing about, and maintaining, a stable democracy in Japan. Writing on political development, Lucian Pye observes that:

> The real problem in political development is therefore the extent to which the socialization process of a people provides them with the necessary associational sentiments so that they can have considerable conflict without destroying the stability of the system. When these sentiments are lacking, a polity cannot even endure moderate levels of controversy. In short, it is associational sentiments which make it possible for organizations to endure, and even thrive upon, many forms of controversy.[97]

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[96]Quoted in Walter Sullivan, Jr., "Enlightening the Japanese Mind," Part II, Free World, XI, No. 5 (May, 1946), pp. 52, 54.

[97]Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality, and Nation Building (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962), p.52.

As already discussed in great detail, Japanese nationalistic sentiments are more than skin-deep.[98] Japanese nationalism seems to have laregely been influenced, as pointed out elsewhere, basically by three factors: national security, economy, national mission. The changes attendant upon Japan's modernization have had little effect on the three major factors that have been, in the main, responsible for the unique nature of Japanese nationalism.[99] Indeed, no other factor has played a more important role in the national life of Japan than her nationalism.[100]

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[98]For an excellent overview, see Brown, op. cit.,; Tsukui Tatsui, Nippon Kokka Shugi Undo Shiron (Historical Essay on the Japanese Nationalistic Movement) (Tokyo: Chuo Koron Sha, 1942).

[99]Yanaga Chitoshi, Japanese People and Politics, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956), pp. 93-96.

[100]See Kenneth B. Pyle, "Introduction: Some Recent Approaches to Japanese Nationalism," Journal of Asian Studies (November, 1971), 5-16.

demilitarized, Japan is incapable of becoming again a military threat "for at least 100 years;" 2) The defeat and the subsequent Occupation have completely overhauled the hearts and minds of the Japanese people; and 3) The only actual danger for Japanese democracy now comes from the "extreme Left" for the "extreme Right" has been destroyed or converted.[101]

It is of interest to contrast these affirmative views with the observation made in 1956 by Professors Harold S. Quigley and John E. Turner:

> . . . the reformist or tutorial phase of Occupation policy was at best a labor for Hercules, at most a utopian dream. Only Americans would have undertaken it. That we did so is at once a tribute to our physical vigor, to our zeal as missionairies of democracy, and a demonstration of our self-confidence, rooted in good intentions, inexperience, and inadequate study. . . . Having fought two wars to save the world for democracy, she now attempted to save it with democracy. . . . We refuse to acknowledge that power can corrupt our leaders, while highly sensitive to that danger

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[101]The Basic Initial Post-Surrender Directive to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Occupation of November 3, 1945, instructed him to arrest and hold as suspected war criminals among others: "(2) All commissioned officers of the Gendarmerie (Kempei) and all officers of the Army and Navy who have been important exponents of militant nationalism and aggression. (3) All key members of ultranationalistic, terroristic and secret patriotic societies. . . ." Political Reorientation, II, 432. For a glimpse of pious hopes entertained by many as to how baleful nationalisms could be rectified, see, for example, "The Text of President Franklin Roosevelt's Address on Christmas Eve," New York Times, December 25, 1943: ". . . we intend to rid them [the Axis] once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the 'Master Race.' . . ."

> in the leaders of even friendly nations. We are impatient for results and receptive to optimistic evaluation of accomplishment.[102]

We can hardly dispute Ralph J. D. Baraibanti's statement on the limits of the Occupation's capability: "Reform in the institutional aspects of Japanese society is our stated aim, and attitudinal change our highest hope."[103] However, in General MacArthur's opinion, to effect an attitudinal change was no problem at all. Boldly arguing that the increasing number of the Japanese people, under "the stimulus of religious tolerance and freedom, have moved to embrace the Christian faith as a means to fill the spiritual vacuum left in Japanese life by the collapse of their past faith. . . ." General MacArthur went so far as to state:

> To fill the vacuum left by the devastation of war and defeat and the discrediting of popular reliance upon myths, beliefs, and legends from Japan's past, the Occupation has brought to the understanding of the Japanese people new and totally different concepts of right and wrong in human behavior and a knowledge of the mode of life based on the transcendent and immutable Christian principles and ethics. . . . The institutions and laws and even many customs are being redesigned best to serve the requirements of popular sovereignty and individual dignity. Christian

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[102]Harold S. Quigley and John E. Turner, The New Japan: Government and Politics (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), pp. 93-94.

[103]Ralph J. D. Braibanti, "The Role of Administration in the Occupation of Japan," Annals, CCLXVII (January, 1950), 155.

> missionaries are ministering to the spiritual welfare of the people. . . . As a result of these moral influences the Japanese are coming to live by the tenets of the Christian faith and there is daily evidence of a profound and beneficial influence upon the moral viewpoint and ethical standards of the race. This is the greatest challenge and opportunity Christianity has had throughout the Christian era.[104]

Indeed, this is a sanguine statement of first rate by a matchless orator, but belies the reality.[105] As if not to be outdone by General MacArthur, writing in the spring of 1949, Claude E. Strait stated that

> If America will listen to this appeal [for the Christianization of the Japanese people], Japan will become a shining example for the entire Far East, perhaps for the whole world. . . . We have, however, already witnessed changes which seem nothing less than miraculous.

Occupation supporters were so unsparing in their praise of General MacArthur's performance as to state:

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[104]MacArthur, op. cit., p. 202; Mainichi, April 30, 1949.

[105]General MacArthur was not alone in making sanguine pronouncements of the Occupation. Robert E. Ward described the performance of the Occupation in words no less sanguine than those of MacArthur: "This particular solution [the Occupation's policy of taking advantage of democratic potential obtaining in Japanese society] undoubtedly had a good deal to do wih smoothness and efficiency of Japan's postwar transition to democracy." See his op. cit., p. 141. For a similarly affirmative view, see also Nippon Times, October 16, 1945. For opposing viewpoints, see, for example, John M. Maki, Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure (New York: Knopf, 1945); Toyama Shigeki, Imai Seiichi, and Fujiwara Akira, Showa Shi [A History of the Showa Era] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1955).

> . . . he [General MacArthur] sought to encourage in the Japanese the realization that Allied policy was not in conflict with their own interests. . . . He has so timed and tempered changes as to avoid violent conflict with their legitimate longings. . . . For it [General MacArthur's methodology] has brought into direct alignment both these objectives and the well-being and asperations of the Japanese people. History will thus record him as a supersalesman of the democratic concept.[106]

Quite contrary to General MacArthur's interpretation of the post-surrender developments in Japan, historical evidences seem to indicate that the Japanese may be expected to be impelled less by the democratic concept and doctrinaire gospels of political rights than a desire for social and economic improvement. It is true that not only the habit of political subservience, so long ingrained into the Japanese people, cannot be eradicated at one stroke by military fiat, but also democracy cannot be created among unwilling people whose deepest feelings run counter to democratic principles.[107]

It is the quantitative conception of democracy that prevented many observers from realizing that democracy is working in the United States and Great Britain not because of their forms of government but because of their long

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[106] Political Reorientation, pp. xix, xxix.

[107] Beaglehole, op. cit., p. 155.

democratic tradition.[108] Douglas G. Haring bluntly states that "Ideas cannot be exported in boxes and dumped on an unwilling people."[109] Writing on the basis of historical evidences, a Western observer comments on the fallacy of military occupation:

> The occupation of a country, though it may castigate the vanquished, degrades the victor. However righteous his crusade when he sets out, a soldier in a foreign country always ends up in the wrong. The defeat of an occupation begins when the war that brought it ends.[110]

Not only did the idea of imposing democracy on a defeated Japan run counter to the known theories of accultration and political development,[111] but also Americans did not live up

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[108]Thompson, "Will a Constitution Guarantee Democracy," p. 319.

[109]Douglas G. Haring, ed., Japan's Prospect (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946), p. 276.

[110]A Member of the RAF, "Military Occupation Can't Succeed," p. 386.

[111]The war and the Occupation no doubt accelerated the process of acculturation of the Japanese, but the cultural changes did not go beyond the mere adoption of physical traits or complexes. Societal pressure and personal fear were potent forces in effecting these cultural changes, which are only "forced accomodations to a temporary situation. . . . [T]he subjective aspect of culture is the lease disposed toward any metamorphic change." Lam, op. cit., p. 262; according to Lucian W. Pye, ". . . the problems of political deelopment revolve around the relationship between the political culture, the authoritative structure, and the general political process . . . the problems of equality are generally related to the political culture and sentiments about legitimacy and commitment to the system . . ." See his, "The Concept of

to their ideal aims. The Soviets had a clear idea as to what they wanted from Eastern Europe: They wanted machinery and security, and their means were communization. The Americans were uncertain as to what they wanted from Japan: They wanted security, and their means were democratization, but what first appeared as a need for security against a recurrence of Japanese aggression turned, after 1949, to a need to use Japan as a bulwark against Communist expansion in Asia. American policy in Japan was swayed by American national interests and outside circumstances.[112] The 1947 Constitution, regarded as the epitome of all the ideological, political, and economic reform, was a perfectly democratic constitution,[113] the authorship of which was doubtlessly American, albeit there had to be a pretense that it was Japanese.[114] The Jiji Shimpo editorialized that it

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Political Development," Annals, CCCLVIII (March, 1965), pp. 1, 12.

[112]For a detailed discussion of the Occupation's performance, see Baron E. J. Lewe VanAduard, Japan: From surrender to Peace (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954).

[113]Maruyama Masao, Nationalism in Post-War Japan (Eleventh Conference, Institute of Pacific Relations, Lucknow, India, October 3-15, 1950), p. 7; Political Reorientation, I 90-91.

[114]Political Reorientation, II: 619; In the course of persuading the Japanese with regard to the clauses on the renunciation of war and rearmament, the Supreme Commander reportedly said to Prime Minister Shidehara Kijuro: "Since I have hitherto helped you, I hope you will help me this time." See Mainichi, April 7, 1952; also see in this connection, Asahi Evening News, February 15, 1958; Kawai

was reminded by the new constitution of the guest who expected to be served Japanese food after he had smelled the aroma of bean sauce coming from the kitchen, but was forced to change his chopsticks for a knife and fork when he saw that Western dishes were served.[115]

As Delmer M. Brown keenly observed: "American policy [in Japan] was geared to American interests rather than American ideals."[116] It is a truism that "man can hardly be prejudice-free, because he cannot fully control himself and he cannot control his surroundings."[117] The "philosophy" of the Occupation policy was quite untenable. Americans advocated freedom of speech and of press while maintaining a rigorous censorship. They insisted that militarism be eliminated from politics while ruling every aspct of public life through their own military government. They advocated the American way of life as the model of pacific, civilian virtue while exemplifying it by warriors under dictatorial

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Kazuo claims that the MacArthur Constitution, dictated by the Occupation did not have a firm ground that was palatable to the Japanese background. See his, "Sovereignty and Democracy in the Japanese Constitution," American Political Science Review, XLIX, No. 3 (September, 1955), 663-672.

[115]SCAP, Allied Translator and Interpreter Section, Press Translations and Interpretations, March 13, 1946.

[116]Brown, op. cit., p. 273.

[117]Shafer, op. cit., p. 159.

rule of the Supreme Commander.[118]

Speaking of the contradiction involved in the "reverse course" of the Occupation policy, Passin states

> The ironic result of the tension between the early Occupation's democratization objectives and our strategic objectives is that American policy is opposed by the Japanese left in the name of our democratic reforms and ideas. Thus it is the left that defends the "American-imposed Constitution," and particularly its war-renouncing Article IX against our conservative friends.[119]

The affirmative interpretations of the Occupation policy seemed to be the result of what Chalmers Johnson called "ideological proclivities of American leaders at the time,"[120] insufficient attention paid to the strength of Japanese culture and tradition spanning over two thousand years, and ignoring of the rabidity of Japanese national consciousness. It is apparent that optimistic observers failed to distinguish what was destructible from what was indestructible.[121] As Margaret M. Lam cogently states:

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[118]Passin, The Legacy of the Occupation--Japan, pp. 5-6, 38.

[119]Ibid., p. 39. For arguments on the basis of American National interest, see David K. Eichler, "The Future of the New Japan," Yale Review, XLI, No. 2 (December, 1951),, 161-180; Richard L. Sneider, "Japan: An Experiment in the Development of a Democratic Society," Journal of International Affairs, II, No. 1 (Winter, 1948), 21-36.

[120]Chalmers Johnson, Conspiracy at Matsukwa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 13.

[121]See Passin, The Legacy of the Occupation--Japan.

> War itself cannot facilitate the process of acculturation where profound sentiments, sacred traditions, emotional values, and mental attitudes are deeply intrenched in the household organization and personality make-up of an individual. Acculturation is a time-consuming process; it proceeds at its own pace; it cannot readily be forced. Postwar plans for the rehabilitation of the Japanese may well take cognizance of these facts.[122]

The Occupation's attempt to rid the Japanese of their nationalistic sentiments by fiat was a clear case of the "oversimplification of national character."[123] Robert King Hall's words seem quite befitting for us to quote here: "All American efforts to change the nationalist prejudices and the religious mythology of Japan may founder on the inherent contradiction of imposing democracy by military intervention."[124]

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[122]Lam, op. cit., p. 263.

[123]Gabriel A. Almond, "Comparative Political Systems," Journal of Politics, XVIII, No. 3 (August, 1956), 391-409. for detailed discussion on National Character, see M. ginsberg, "National Character," British Journal of Psychology, XXXII, Part 3 (January, 1942), 183-205; Alex Inkeles, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," in Handbook of Social Psychology, Alex Inkeles and David J. Levinson, eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954).

[124]Hall, "Japan: Are All Gods Equal?," p. 568.

## CHAPTER X

## "HUMANIZATION" OF THE EMPEROR

Even in the last few days prior to Japan's surrender when the Japanese were desperately mapping out the best possible surrender terms,[1] the Japanese spirit surrounding the Kokutai and the Emperor system was well demonstrated. As the Japanese Offer of Surrender on August 10, 1945, reads in part:

> In obedience to the gracious command of His Majesty the Emperor who, ever anxious to enhance the cause of world peace, desires earnestly to bring about a speedy termination of hostilities with a view of saving mankind from the calamities to be imposed upon them by further continuation of the war. . . . The Japanese government are [sic] ready to accept the terms enumerated in the joint [Potsdam] declaration . . . with the understanding that the said declaration does not comprise any demand which prejudices the prerogatives of His Majesty as a Sovereign Ruler.[2]

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[1]For detailed accounts of Japanese maneuverings to end the war, see Japan, Gaimusho, Shusen Shiroku [A Documentary History of the Surrender] (Tokyo: Gekkansha, 1952); Togo Shigenori, Jidai no Ichimen: Taisen Gaiko Shuki, Togo Shigenori Iko [One Aspect of the Times: Notes on the Second World War Diplomacy, Being the Posthumous Memoirs of Foreign Minister Togo] (Tokyo: Kaizosha, 1952).

[2]The Axis in Defeat, p. 29.

The United States official message in response to Japan's desideratum of not prejudicing the status of the Emperor was precisely imprecise to avoid any prior commitment. The message was intentionally ambiguous on the critical question of guaranteeing Emperor Hirohito's position and on whether or not the United States would maintain in the long run even a modified imperial system. The message did not even make clear that there would be an Emperor for at least a brief period. The message stated that the Emperor's authority "shall be subject to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. . . . The ultimate form of government shall be established by the freely expressed will of the Japanese people."[3]

It is worth noting how the Emperor felt about the worsening war situation even before the advent of the atom bomb. The Emperor is said to have told one of his trusted advisers confidentially: "I wish the war would come to an end soon."[4] Furthermore, the Emperor steeled hkmself for swallowing the humiliations stemming from Japan's unconditional surrender. The Emperor concluded that even

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[3]U. S. Department of State, Foreign Relations, 1945, vol. IV, 631-632. (Cited hereafter as Foreign Relations).

[4]Suzuki Kantaro Denki Hensan Iinkai, Suzuki Kantaro Den [Biography of Suzuki Kantaro] (Tokyo: Suzuki Kantaro Denki Hensan Iinkai, 1965), p. 240.

though he could not bear the thought of seeing his trusted troops disarmed and of handing over his subjects as war criminals, nevertheless "in order to save the people from complete destruction and in order to work for the general welfare of mankind," he had to support Foreign Minister Togo Shigenori's argument at the Imperial Conference of August 9, 1945, that an opportune time had arrived for Japan to end the war by accepting "the unconditional terms of the Potsdam Declaration."[5]

Immediately after Japan's surrender, General MacArthur enunciated a very important policy in respect to establishing the principle of religious freedom and the elimination of militarism and ultranationalism from the field of religion.[6] As an initial step to humble the Emperor and to disabuse the Japanese of the falsity of the divine Emperor myth, it was purposefully arranged that the Emperor should call upon the Supreme Commander, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, at his Tokyo headquarters at the United States Embassy building on September 27, 1945. This fact alone was totally unprecedented. The Supreme Commander made it clear that he would neither go out to receive the Emperor on his arrival, nor see him off when he left. Maruyama Masao depicted the Emperor's humiliating initial

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[5]Gaimusho, Shusen Shiroku, pp. 588-599.

[6]New York Times, September 10, 1945.

encounter with the Supreme Comander in the following words:

> . . . the former [the Emperor] was dressed in his visiting suit, standing before the latter [the Supreme Commander], much taller and appearing in his Army uniform, with neck open. This photograph was published in all the newspapers of Japan the next morning. This interview, as shown in the press, was epoch-making in the psychology of the Japanese people, impressing upon their mind the decided defeat of the nation and a feeling of self-derision. Of course, it must be admitted that there exists a certain affection for the Emperor among the people, especially those above middle age. But it is unthinkable that the Emperor might be able to restore his former "charismatic" authority upon the nation.[7]

Less than three months after the Emperor's call on the Supreme Commander, the Occupation followed up its attempt at destroying the Emperor myth and the ideological foundations of ultranationalism by issuing a directive specifically designed to prevent the Japanese government from exploiting state Shinto for nationalistic indoctrination.[8] The usefulness of this directive of trying to disestablish the Japanese state religion is quite questionable if we are to understand "the image of Shinto as the living spiritual roots of the Japanese people." As a writer pithily explains: "Shinto is like the air the Japanese breathe: They are not always conscious of its presence, but their existence as Japanese depends on its

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[7]Maruyama, Nationalism in Post-War Japan, p. 11.

[8]Political Reorientation, II, 467-69.

always being there."[9] A noted authority on the subject of Shinto, Dr. Daniel C. Holtom, argues very forcefully:

> If it were true that the content of national culture could be determined chiefly by injunction, then December 15, 1945, the day on which the Allied Supreme Commander in Tokyo ordered the disestablishment of Shinto as the state religion of Japan might well mark the end of an age. We know, however, that genuine cultural change, involving as it does the modification of the persistent habits and thoughts of a whole people, is a slow evolutionary process, and that only the conditions within which it operates can be affected by shifts in external control. . . . Shinto is not "abolished."[10]

Of course, the Occupation's ambition to make Shinto incapable of further breeding nationalistic sentiments among the Japanese was one thing, and it was quite another that the Shinto-fostered Japanese psychology might be doggedly resistent to the Occupation's attack on the Japanese ideological fondations. The Occupation was further intent on shattering the Emperor myth by requiring the Emperor himself to issue a New Year's statement denying his divinity.[11] Toward the end of the statement, the Emperor

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[9]Stuart D. B. Picken, Shinto, Japan's Spiritual Roots (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980), p. 9.

[10]Daniel C. Holtom, "New Status of Shinto," Far Eastern Survey, XV, No. 2 (January 30, 1946), 17.

[11]Political Reorientation, II, 470. Holtom tells us: "We cannot overlook the fact, however, that there are deep roots of Shinto which reach down into the national soil. Such things can be treated as manufactured and extraneous only at the risk of fundamental misunderstanding.

declared that the ties between the throne and the people

> have always stood upon mutual trust and affection. They do not depend upon mere legends and myths. They are not predicated on the false conception that the Emperor is divine, and that the Japanese people are superior to other races and fated to rule the world.[12]

Reading between the lines of the New Year's

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. . . It has been the common presupposition of most Japanese writers on Shinto that saisei ichi [the oneness of church and State] was the chief characteristic of their national structure (Kokutai) and the traditional manifestation of the instinctive faith of the people . . . in our dealing with Japan it would be well to remember that Shinto, while having fundamental political affiliations, is not a political party but a religion. . . . Not all of State Shinto was 'manufactured.' At its center flowed the oldest and most cherished stream of Japanese culture--something that will not easily be altered or destroyed." See his op. cit., pp. 18, 20.

[12]Ibid. The Nippon Times of January 5, 1946 cogently explained the difference between the Japanese and the Western conception of the Emperor's nature: ". . . even in recent years, when the divinity of the Emperor was most strongly stressed, the Japanese never regarded the Emperor as a god in the sense that a Western thinks of God. God in the Oriental sense is not a supernatural being possessed of attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. To the Oriental the distinction between the secular and the divine is very slight. . . . Not only the Emperor but all human beings are therefore, in a sense, gods. The Emperor, as head of the Shinto religion, is by reason of his priestly office, endowed with greater sacrednes than other people, but his divinity is more a difference in degree than in kind." For a similar interpretation, see Yanaga, Japanese People and Politics, pp. 131-134. For a different interpretation of the Japanese divinity, see Daniel C. Holtom, "The Meaning of Kami: Ch. I, Japanese Derivation," Monumenta Nipponica, III, No. 1 (January, 1940), 1-27; idem, "The Meaning of Kami: Ch. II, Interpretations by Japanese Writers," Ibid., III, No. 2 (July, 1940), 32-53; idem, "Kami Considered as Mana," Ibid., IV, No. 2 (July, 1941), 25-68.

statement seems to suggest that the forced issuance of the Imperial Rescript renouncing the Emperor's divinity was not to mean an end to the national significance of the Emperor system.[13] As pointed out by Holtom, the claim that the bond between the throne and the people was based simply on mutual trust and affection involved a "tremendous idealization of history."[14] There are strong indications that it was the deliberate policy of the conservative leaders at the time to minimize the significance of the divinity-renouncing rescript and other fundamental changes in the Japanese Kokutai wrought by the Occupation.[15] Despite the Occupation's attack on the ideological props of Japanese ultranationalism, what substantive changes have really taken place seems to be a moot question.[16]

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[13]See Kobayashi Shiozo, "On the Emperor-as-Sumbol in the Constitution of Japan: Note on Its Difference from the Emperor-as-God and the Emperor-as-Human Being," Waseda Political Studies, No. 6 (1968), 25-40.

[14]Daniel C. Holtom, Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 177.

[15]Maruyama Masao, "Nihon no Shiso" [Japanese Thought] in Gendai Nihon no Shiso, Vol. XI [Contemporary Japanese Thought, Vol. XI], ed. by Iwanami Shoten, 1957), pp. 25-26ff.

[16]Writing in 1958, Robert Trumbull observed: ". . . the bulk of Japanese, outside the extreme Leftist fringe, seem to hope that New Concept will be as enduring as the imperial structure. . . . Educated Japanese never seriously hold that Hiroshito was divine--that the imperial line had descended unbroken since Jimmu, great-grandson of Amaterasu, the sun goddess, established the throne in 666 B.C." See

According to the Japanese psychoanalyst Miyagi Onaya, many decades of political indoctrination engendered in the Japanese psyche something that might be called an "Emperor Complex." Professor Miyagi argues that the Emperor Complex affects the way of thinking and feeling of the Japanese people, governing their behavior. Miyagi maintains that the Emperor Complex can neither be forgotten in the study of the Japanese psychology, nor can it be overlooked in any examination of the Japanese culture and of such questions as the democratization of Japan. Miyagi concludes that, in spite of the post-surrender ambitious policy of the Occupation in "humanizing" the Emperor and democratizing the thrown, many generations of Emperor worship have etched an indelibile mark in the Japanese psyche which will not be easily eradicated.[17]

This very "Emperor Complex" of the Japanese people taxed the intellectual scrutiny of many students of Japan as well as Occupation planners before and after Japan's surrender. The unrealistic understanding[18] obtaining in

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his "A New Role of the 'Son of Heaven'," New York Times, November 23, 1958.

[17]Miyagi Onaya, "Tenno o do Omouka?" [How Is the Emperor Thought Of?], Shukan Asahi, LXII, No. 1 (January 6, 1957), p. 26.

[18]The usual mistake in understanding the role of the Japanese Emperor has been analyzed in great detail by Allan Robert Brown, focusing on the perception held by Americans during the 1940's. Brown concludes that the American image

foreign lands of the role of the Japanese Emperor led to a plethora of conflicting heated arguments as to whether the Emperor should be punished and the Emperor system abolished lest Japan become once again a menace to world peace, or whether the Emperor should rather be exploited to facilitate the enormous job of occupying and democratizing Japan.

The haters of the Japanese Emperor system argued that the present political and legal system in Japan, of which the Mikado is the center, should be thoroughly destroyed.[19] Writing in the New York Times, Sun Fo argued:

> To fight this war to a decision means that the common victory must be decisive in such a way as to preclude any resurrection of a militarist and aggressive Japan. Japan must be so beaten and crushed and so pulverized that she will not dare to entertain an aggressive thought for a hundred years. . . . To ensure that such a catastrophe [as World War II] shall not happen again to our

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was not entirely consistent with political reality and that the Emperor's role was defined in greatly oversimplified terms and was too literally interpreted. See his "The Figurehead Role of the Japanese Emperor: Perception and Reality," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1971).

[19]See, for example, New York Times, December 10, 1942; Edward Hunter, "Can We Make Use of Hirohito?," Nation, March 4, 1944, pp. 278-280; Owen Lattimore, "The Sacred Cow of Japan," Atlantic Monthly, CLXXV, No. 1 (January, 1945), 45-51; Mary Katharine Strong, "Shall We Retain the Japanese Emperor? No!," Forum, October, 1945, pp. 145, 150-157; Lin Hu, "How to Deal With Japan," Foreign Affairs, XXIV, No. 2 (January, 1946), 253-61; "Red-Blood War for Blue- Blooded Peace," Editorial, Philadelphia Record, December 6, 1944; U. S. Congress 78th Cong., 2nd sess., September 8, 1944, Congressional Record, Appendix, XC, Part II, A4753-54; Willard Price, "No More Mikados," Free World, X, No. 3 (September, 1945), 40-42.

> country [China] and that the blood that has been spilt shall not have been let in vain, the Mikadoship must be abolished when the military cancer is cut from the body of Japan.[20]

On September 18, 1945, Senators Richard Russell, J. William Fulbright, John McClellan, and Glen Taylor argued that Hirohito be tried as a war criminal.[21] A survey on American opinions on how to handle Hirohito showed that most Americans wanted Hirohito executed, imprisoned, or tried as a war criminal: 33% advocated execution; 17% a trial; 11% imprisonment; 9% exile; and 4% no action.[22]

On the other hand, rather objectively-minded realists,[23] sensing the value of using the Emperor in maintaining order following Japan's surrender, argued that relying on the power of the Imperial Rescript is a better approach in cleansing Japan than an outright attempt at

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[20]Sun Fo, "For Ousting of Emperor," New York Times, October 10, 1943.

[21]U. S. Congress, 79th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record (1945), 8680.

[22]Foreign Relations, VI (1945), 588-89.

[23]U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, 78th Cong., 2nd sess., December 12-13, 1944, Nominations--Department of State, Hearings (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 12-20; Alice R. Craemer, "Shall We Retain the Japanese Emperor? Yes!," Forum, October, 1945, pp. 144, 146-50; Willard Fleisher, What to Do with Japan (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1945); John Gaette, "Can We Use Hirohito!," Free World, X, No. 3 (September, 1945), 42-44.

vengeance.[24] Helen Mears argued that a forcible removal of the Emperor would deprive the Japanese of the basis of stability, making Japan incapable of weathering the trials of the post-surrender period.[25] Writing in 1943, Geoffrey Gorer observed that, after Japan's defeat, it would be desirable to retain the Emperor system to facilitate the work of the Allied Occupation. As Gorer further observes,

> The Emperor has remained a permanent figure, if with widely varying powers, during all the different phases of Japanese history; the different realities have all taken place under the symbolic leadership of the Emperor. For most Japanese, a constitution without an Emperor would be inconceivable' and his forcible removal by foreigners would produce a state of psychological confusion and disorientation which would be completely antagonistic to the goal envisaged. Because an Imperial Rescript can do more than many regiments, the power of Imperial Rescript is a political device with which it would be short-sighted to do away.[26]

Gorer goes on to argue that the two major problems facing the Occupation were: to understand elements in Japanese culture that are conducive to democratization; and to eliminate factors and elements that are responsible for

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[24]In her study of Japanese culture, Ruth Benedict argues that "revenge ranks high in Japanese tradition as a 'good thing' under circumstances of insult or defeat." See her Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 161.

[25]Helen Mears, "The Emperor System," Yale Review, XXXIII, No. 2 (December, 1943), 575.

[26]Geoffrey Gorer, "The Special Case of Japan," Public Opinion Quarterly, VIII, (Winter, 1943), 575.

aggressive imperialism and militant nationalism. General MacArthur seemed to have fully recognized this aspect of Japanese culture. In effect, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers ended up killing two birds with one stone when he availed himself of the immeasurable influence of the Emperor in effectuating the surrendering and implementing Occupation policies. The Supreme Commander needed the authority of the Emperor to bring about a trouble-free surrender, on the one hand. Nevertheless, the Supreme Commander was intent on destroying the Emperor myth so as to rid the Japanese of the "Emperor Complex," on the other.[27]

The silent partnership between General MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito made the Occupation the most unusual, the most peaceful, and perhaps the most successful military occupation in history. One was a "prophet"[28] of American democracy, whereas the other was the "highest priest" of the

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[27]Many believe that the trouble-free surrender was attributable to the immense prestige and authority of the throne and the issuance of the Imperial Rescript of August 15, 1945, announcing the unconditional surrender. See Abe Yoshishige _et al._, _Tenno no Insho_ [Impressions of the Emperor] (Tokyo: Sogensha, 1949), p. 7; Okubo Genji, _The Problems of the Emperor System in Postwar Japan_ (Tokyo: The International Publishing Co., 1948), p. 7; U. S. Strategic Bombing Survey, Naval Analysis Division, _Japan's Struggle to End the War_ (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 5.

[28]In a statement to the press on March 17, 1947, General MacArthur said: "I believe it [democracy] is man's greatest idea, except Christianity, and believe it will control the world and lead us toward a Utopia." Quoted in William P. Woodard, _The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945-1952 and Japanese Religion_ (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. 356.

Japanese nation. Yoshida Shigeru believed that General MacArthur thought that the Throne was still important to the Japanese people, and reconstruction of Japan was dependent on the Japanese people rallying to the Imperial symbol, albeit Japan had lost the war. As Yoshida writes, "I have no hesitation in saying that it was the attitude adopted by General MacArthur towards the Throne, more than any other single factor, that made the Occupation a historic success."[29] Yoshida's statement implies that the apparent "smoothness" of the Occupation was solely due to the prestige enjoyed by the Emperor among the Japanese people. Yoshida made no secret of being an ardent supporter of the Imperial regime.

Although not a few writers are inclined to believe that the directive for the "Disestablishment of State Religion" of December 15, 1945, the Imperial Rescript of January 1, 1945, denying the imperial divinity, and the new Constitution effectively put an end to the traditional Emperor worship, there seem to be sufficient indication that in reality it was not quite so.[30] It should be understood

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[29]Yoshida Shigeru, The Yoshida Memoirs: The Story of Japan in Crisis, trans. by Yoshida Genichi (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 51, 135.

[30]See, for example, Nippon Times, November 17, 1946; Japan, Naikaku Kambo, Naikaku Seido 70-nen Shi [A Seventy-Year History of the Cabinet System] (Tokyo: Okurasho Insatsukyoku, 1955), I, 622; General MacArthur's comment on the Imperial Rescript of January 1, 1946, denying the

that the authority of the Imperial House is neither enforced nor superimposed but traditionally acknowledged as the natural basis of the people's solidarity. The loyalty to the Emperor does not depend on a personal conviction or a fantastic belief in his supernatural power. It is the extension of the concept of filial piety to the Imperial family, supported by tradition and emotional appeal.[31] All that the Imperial Rescript accomplished in denying the imperial divinity was "a repudiation of the basic racial theories of the modern Japanese state."[32]

As early as April, 1944, Nathaniel Peffer made an acute observation:

> There has in truth been an unwarranted exaggeration in this country [America] of the power of the Emperor. He does not rule; he reigns. There is no evidence that acts of Japan in recent years have been on his decision; there is some basis even for inferring that they have not. In any case, it can be said that the final disposition of the Emperor will not determine what

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imperial divinity reads: "The Emperor's New Year's Statement pleases me very much. By it he undertakes a leading part in the democratization of his people. He squarely takes his stand for the future along liberal lines. His action reflects the irresistible influence of a sound idea. A sound idea cannot be stopped." Political Reorientation, II, 471. For a contrasting view, see Yanaga, Japanese People and Politics, p. 129.

[31]Tsuda Sokichi, Nihon no Koshitsu [The Imperial Household of Japan] (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuupanbu, 1952), p. 7.

[32]King, "Japan: Are All Gods Equal?," p. 571.

sort of country Japan will be in the future.[33]

Quite contrary to the ambitious goals which the Occupation intended to achieve through democratizing the State Shinto and humanizing the Emperor, these two "important" measures proved to be only

> a great score for The Boss [General MacArthur], which made quite a stir in the Tokyo press but has had small diminishing effect on the numbers of faithful who pause daily before Nijubashi Gate of the Imperial Palace to bow in deepest reverence. . . . There is a basic fallacy in the reasoning behind a national policy which would give an Army the job of democratizing an essentially militarist civilization.[34]

According to W. Macmahon Ball, despite all the efforts to democratize him,

> the Emperor is still the political sovereign and still the Son of Heaven in the hearts and minds of the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people. I [Ball] think it is probable that his real political power is even stronger than before the war. He is all that the Japanese people have to hold onto.[35]

Since the Emperor has never claimed himself as a god, he simply made public, albeit under duress, the self-evident fact about his person, but there is no denying that his

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[33]Nathaniel Peffer, "Occupy Japan," Harper's Magazine, April, 1944, pp. 385-90.

[34]Robert B. Cochrane, "MacArthur Era: Year Two," Harper's Magazine, September 1947, pp. 279-80.

[35]Ball, "Reflections on Japan," p. 7. For a similar argument, see Russell Brines, MacArthur's Japan (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1948), p. 84.

repudiation of divinity had a profoundly negative effect on the thought deifying the Emperor. Consequently, the people felt free and enlightened.[36] Of course, the Japanese people's reverence toward the Emperor was changed somewhat, but remained as deep as before.[37]

It may be stated that the lack of publicity and fanfare for the imperial institution is deceptive. Although the Emperor might often appear to be not much in the minds of his subjects, he is nevertheless there in the subconscious--as the father symbol that he has largely become. The postwar acceptance of the Emperor without the outward show of former days is part of the emerging psyche of the postwar Japan. As a symbol--from the head of State to the symbol of state--the Emperor, who never had powers in a real sense, performs much the same duties as in pre-surrender days.[38] As an American journalist noted in a Tokyo dispatch nearly two years after the Emperor had denied his divinity,

> Japanese Emperor worship is like a stout tree that bends before a Western breeze but does not break. The carefully planned 'democratization' of the Emperor bids fair to make him an even greater

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[36]Nihon Dokusho Shimbun, August 13, 1956.

[37]See Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru's letter to General MacArthur, Political Reorientation, II, 679; Kobayashi, op. cit., pp. 25-40.

[38]New York Herald Tribune, December 17, 1947.

symbol of Japanese nationalism than ever before.[39]

The post-surrender experience in Japan seems to bolster the usual argument that the content of a national culture cannot be determined by injunction.

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[39]See Tsurumi Shunsuke, "Nihon Shiso no Tokushoku to Tenno-sei," [Characteristics of Japanese Thought and the Emperor System], Shiso, No. 336 (1952), 44-53; Tansho Yamazaki, Tennosei no Kenkyu [A Study of the Emperor System] (Tokyo: Teikoku Chiho Gyosei Gakkai, 1959), pp. 389-90; Douglas Gilbert Haring, "Japanese National Character," Yale Review, XLII (Spring, 1953), 375-92; Kishimito Hideo, "Modernization Versus Westernization in the East," Journal of World History, VII, No. 4 (1963), 871-74.

## CHAPTER XI

## DEMOCRATIZED TRADITIONAL MENTALITY

There is no question that the attempt in Japan by the American Occupation was one of the most ambitious political experiments of all time. This attempt in pursuance of the spirit and provisions of the Potsdam Proclamation of July 26, 1945 was to "remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people," and to establish "freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights."[1] It is needless to state that the Occupation was successful in a number of respects. It would be naive, however, to assume that in the brief time span of a little over six and one-half years from September, 1945, through April, 1952, the basic character, ideas, and attitudes of the Japanese people, or their institutions and way of life, could be reformed so radically as to bring

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[1]U. S. Department of State, The Axis in Defeat, p. 28.

about a democratic society overnight.[2]

A host of the militaristic and undemocratic features of Japanese national life were, indeed, suppressed if not liquidated, but traditional concepts and modes of thought and action which had been nourished and nurtured through centuries could not be eradicated by the forcible policies of the American Occupation.[3] Of course, democratic ideas and processes were encouraged but always within the restrictive and sometimes stultifying framework of military fiat. During the second half of the occupation period the exigencies of the international situation forced a "reverse course" in Occupation policy. Security was given precedence over democratization, which was now very much in the background.[4]

Though the new Constitution of Japan guaranteed the

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[2]For sophisticated arguments on the dualistic nature of social change, see Bert Landheer, "The Concept of 'Social Change' in Sociological Theory," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, I, No. 1 (March, 1960), 76-88; M. Ginsberg, "National Character," British Journal of Psychology, XXXII, Part 3 (January, 1942), 183-205.

[3]Economist, July 30, 1949.

[4]Many writers argue that American policy in Japan was geared to American interests rather than American ideals. See, for example, "Ersatz Democracy for Japan: U. S. Policy Shifts from Passive Tolerance to Active Support of the Old Guard," Amerasia, X (October, 1946), 111-24; Wang Yun-shen, "Japan--Storm Center of Asia," Pacific Affairs, XXI, No. 2 (June, 1948), 195-99; Ohe Seizo, "The Socio-Political Experiment in Postwar Japan," Ethics, LXVI (July, 1950), 250-61; Howard B. Schonberger, "The General and the Presidency: Douglas MacArthur and the Election of 1948," Wisconsin Magazine of History, LVII (Spring, 1974), 201-19.

fundamental rights of the individual, the people did not really feel or appreciate the meaning of such rights. What is more, the Japanese were not yet in a position to assert the newly-given rights effectively.[5]

Despite the arguments by many to the contrary, not a few people, including General MacArthur, claimed that the American Occupation did democratically overhaul the Japanese people. As General MacArthur stated in his address to the United States Congress on April 19, 1951,

> The Japanese people since the war have undergone the greatest reformation in modern history. With a commendable will, eagerness to learn and marked capacity to understand, they have, from the ashes left in war's wake, erected in Japan an edifice dedicated to the primacy of individual liberty and personal dignity, and in the ensuing process there has been created a truly representative government committed to the advance of political morality . . . Japan is now abreast of many free nations of the earth and will not again fail the universal trust. That it may be counted upon to wield a profoundly beneficial influence over the course of events in Asia is attested by the magnificent manner in which the Japanese people have met the recent challenge of war, unrest, and confusion. . . . I know of no nation more serene, orderly, and industrious--nor in which higher hopes can be entertained for future constructive service in the advance of the human race.[6]

General MacArthur's panegyric eloquence with regard

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[5]Takahashi Akira, "Development of Democratic Consciousness Among the Japanese People," International Social Science Journal, XIII, No. 1 (1961), 78-91.

[6]U. S. Congress, 82nd Cong., 1st sess., April 19, 1951, Congressional Record, XCVII, Part 3, 4124.

to the Occupation's performance in democratizing Japan seems largely unmatched by realities. Writing in 1945, John M. Maki stated that "the war against Japan is a war against people and a war against ideas. . . . Defeat of the people will mean victory in the war; but only the defeat of the ideas will make possible a peaceful Japan."[7]

We will examine in the following pages to what extent and in what respects the Japanese attitudes have been altered by the Occupation, drawing greatly on various postwar opinion surveys. We will be mindful of the general understanding that the dominant values of Japanese society at large include hierarchy, harmony, and groupism, which can, on the whole, be considered repugnant to individualism.[8] As for the "Emperor Complex" of the Japanese, though both qualitative and quantitative changes in the Japanese attitude toward their Emperor have occurred as Table 7 shows,[9] we should be circumspect lest we misread the Japanese people's affective sentiments toward the Emperor.

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[7]John M. Maki, Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 1.

[8]Quigley and Turner, The New Japan, p. 13,

[9]Nihon Dokusho Shimbun, August 13, 1956, p. 3.

TABLE 7
Attitudes Toward the Emperor

| | Prewar | Postwar |
|---|---|---|
| Absolute Emperor | 92 (54%) | 1 |
| Human Emperor | 16 ( 9%) | 63 (37%) |
| Indifferent | 35 (20%) | 16 ( 9%) |
| Critical | 28 (16%) | 92 (54%) |

Regardless of age, the Japanese seem very attached to their own history and they retain the utmost respect for the forms of civil authority and for the person of the Emperor. The Emperor seems to remain, at the very least, the symbol of the nation, not merely on paper, in Article I of the new Constitution, but in the hearts and minds of the people.[10] The mystical emperor-based state has been replaced by a constitutional monarchy existing by the grace of the popular will. As a survey of the attitudes of postwar Japanese youth has shown, that the Emperor still enjoys the widespread support is based not so much on

[10]A national random sampling of 3,080 Japanese conducted by Yomiuri Shimbun reveals that the Emperor system: "Should be retained (90%); Should be abolished (4%); Don't know (6%)." See Allan B. Cole and Naomichi Nakanishi, eds., Japanese Opinion Polls with Socio-Political Significance, 1947-1957 (The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University and the Roper Public Opinion Poll Research Center, Williams College, 1958), p. 439-40.

personal popularity as on acceptance of the Emperor system.[11] As Table 8 shows,[12] the studies conducted by Nihon Yoron Chosa Kenkyujo [the Japanese Institute of Public Opinion] amply reflected the basically unchanged conservative attitudes that obtained in Japan even in the wake of her surrender.

TABLE 8
Support for, and Opposition to, the Emperor System

| | December 1945 | February 1946 |
|---|---|---|
| Support for the Emperor System | 91.3% | 95.4% |
| Support for the Prewar Emperor System | 15.9% | 12.6% |
| Support for the Emperor as a Symbol of Japan | 45.3% | 60.2% |
| Support for an Emperor System with the People Possessing Sovereignty | 28.4% | 22.6% |
| Opposition for the Emperor System | 8.7% | 4.6% |
| Support for a Republic with a President as Chief of State | 3.7% | -- |
| Support for a System Resembling that of the Soviet Union | 2.9% | -- |

As depicted in Table 8, a higher percentage (95.4% as opposed to 91.3%) favored some form of Emperor system

[11] Ibid., p. 453.

[12] Nihon Yoron Chosa Kenkyujo, Tenno [the Emperor] (Tokyo: Tenno Arubamu Kankokai, 1952), p. 300.

after the issuance of the Imperial Rescript of January 1, 1946, in which the Emperor denied his divinity. Other opinion surveys from the immediate post-surrender days to the present continue to demonstrate that an overwhelming percentage of the Japanese are in support of the Emperor system.[13] For example, of 2,000 Japanese polled in May, 1946, by Mainichi Shimbun[14], 85% were opposed to the abolition of the Emperor system, whereas only 11% were in favor of abolition; 4% expressed no opinion. Since this poll seems to be suggestive of the sentiments toward the Emperor, detailed breakdown of the returns seems warranted. To Question #1: "Do you recognize and approve of the Emperor system? (Chapter 1, Articles 1 and 2 of the draft Constitution)," responses were 85% favorable, as shown in Table 9.

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[13]See, for example, Hugh H. Smythe, "The Japanese Emperor System," Social Research, XIX, No. 4 (December, 1952), 485-93; Idem and M. Watanabe, "Japanese Popular Attitudes Toward the Emperor," Pacific Affairs, XXVI, No. 4 (December, 1953), 335-44; Ishida Takeshi, "Popular Attitudes Toward the Japanese Emperor," Asian Survey (April, 1962), 29-39; Shimizu Shin, "Tenno ni taisuru Yoron no Shindoko," [New Tendencies in Public Opinion Concerning the Emperor], Yoron Chosa Ropoto (February 21, 1952), pp. 4-16; Osaka Yoron Chosa Kenkyujo, "Tenno-sei to Seikyoku" [The Emperor System and the Political Situation], Osaka Yoron Jiho (July 20, 1949), p. 1; Hayashi Shigeru and Imai Seiichi, "Tenno no Seijiteki Chii" [The Political Position of the Emperor], Shiso (June, 1952), 12-31.

[14]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 431.

Table 9
Opinion on the Emperor System

(Total--1,702; 85%)

| By Occupation-- | |
|---|---|
| Private entrepreneurs | 91% |
| Businessmen (financiers) | 90% |
| Medical doctors | 90% |
| Public officials | 89% |
| Miscellaneous | 89% |
| Agriculturalists | 88% |
| Religious workers | 86% |
| Company employees | 82% |
| Judicial and legal personnel | 82% |
| Scholars and educators | 81% |
| Writers | 70% |
| Students | 68% |
| Farmers and labor movement workers | 55% |

To Question 2: "Should we adopt a republican form of government by abolishing the Emperor system?", responses were more mixed, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10
Emperor System or Republican Government

| | |
|---|---|
| Favoring abolishing Emperor system for a republic government (Total--215; 11%) | |
| By Occupation | |
| Farmers and labor movement workers | 48% |
| Students | 20% |
| Company employees, private entrepreneurs, writers | 16% |
| Medical doctors, agriculturalists | 10% each |
| Scholars and educators | 9% |
| Judicial and legal personnel | 7% |
| Public officials, miscellaneous | 6% each |
| Financiers, religious workers | 5% each |
| Undecided (Total--74; 3.4%) | |
| Favor Emperor system in some form (Total 1,738; 87%) | |
| Favor Emperor system as per Government draft | 1,702 |
| Favor Emperor system as per own individual plan | 22 |
| Favor republican government with the Emperor as a symbol | 14 |

Moreover, the results of other polls seem to indicate that there has hardly been any lessening in the popularity of the Emperor system. For instance, of 966 Japanese randomly selected for a survey by Tokyo Shimbun, only 5.2% wanted to abolish the Emperor system entirely.[15] All the postwar opinion surveys do see to show that there is

[15]See "Tokyo Poll Shows Liking for Emperor." New York Times, February 3, 1959.

little desire for change on the part of the Japanese, either for a return to the prewar Emperor system or for a complete abolition of the throne.[16] Commenting on the result of the election in April, 1946, Kodama Yoshio states:

> This victory of the conservative parties was not because they had succeeded in regaining of the confidence of the people; the people had simply supported their platform of the defense of the Emperor system.[17]

The following remark by Miss Yamagishi Teruko, a middle school girl, may very well be representative of the postwar Japanese attitudes toward the Emperor:

> We agreed that since Japan was very different from other nations, and the Emperor is the father of the Japanese people, we owed him reverence. We no longer bow to him, but we worship him in our hearts."[18]

Let us now examine some of the salient traits of Japanese national character. Speaking of the unique nature of Japanese civilization, a Western observer succinctly claims that "Japanese adopted foreign patterns to fit their

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[16]Ishida Takeshi, Kindai Nihon Seiji Kozo no Kenkyu [A Study in the Political Structure of Modern Japan] (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1956), p. 303. Also see Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 453.

[17]Kodama Yoshio, I Was Defeated (Tokyo: Radiopress, 1959), p. 197. For the election result, see Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. xiv.

[18]Quoted in Weldon James, "Democracy, So Sorry," Colliers, January 25, 1947, p. 63.

needs while retaining their own identity. . . . Japan managed to retain unchanged its most fundamental institutions and beliefs."[19] Many observers of Japan consider that Japan is socio-economically modern, but politically feudalistic. Nearly four years after Japan's surrender, the Economist claimed that

> fundamentally, the great mass of the Japanese people, despite General MacArthur's confident and ringing tributes to their new-found perspicacity, appear to remain as backward and sluggish politically as they were before the war.[20]

Argues Douglas Gilbert Haring,

> In contrast with Japan's technological florescence, revision of patterns of human relations [in Japanese society] proceeds slowly. . . . The key to attainment of new patterns of human relations is production of new types of persons who will neither submit nor repudiate happiness.[21]

In a similar vein, Robert A. Scalapino and Masumi Junnosuke argue as follows.

> in comparison with the startling rapidity that has characterized socio-economic change in postwar Japan, political change has been extremely slow and uneven. Traditional patterns of organization

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[19]Ray Downs, Japan Yesterday and Today (New York: Bantam, 1970), p. 42.

[20]Economist, July 30, 1949.

[21]Douglas Gilbert Haring, "Japanese Character in the Twentieth Century," Annals, vol. 370 (March, 1967), pp. 133, 142.

> process are omnipresent. Any society undergoing a very rapid transformation faces serious problems in keeping its various elements in balance. . . . The paradox of Japan's being an open society made up of closed components must be ended.[22]

It is interesting to contrast the passage just cited above with Robert N. Bellah's argument that progress requires some balance between continuity and change. Bellah's argument seems to warrant quotation.

> A society that gives itself up to continuous rearrangements without regard to its own inner continuity of structure may be in as serious trouble as a society incapable of any rearrangement at all. . . progress requires some balance between structural continuity and structural change, between memory and receptivity, so that the society will become neither rigid nor disorganized. Naturally, the success or failure of a given society will depend very much on the nature of its inner structure, its deepest values and commitments. The degree to which the inner structures and values can provide identity, continuity, and coherence while actually encouraging profound changes is the degree to which they are conducive to progress.[23]

On the evidence of history, Japan is quite capable of assimilating alien culture without losing its own coherence and continuity. Furthermore, we could argue, in the case of Japan, that industrialization does not seem to

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[22]Robert A. Scalapino and Masumi Junnosuke, Parties and Politics in Contemporary Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), p. 153.

[23]Robert N. Bellah, "Epilogue: Religion and Progress in Modern Asia," in Robert N. Bellah, ed., Religion and Progress in Modern Asia (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 170-71.

dissipate particularism.[24] Cullen T. Hayashita disputes the general assumption that the traditional Japanese patterns of life "such as the paternal relations, the permanent employment practices, and the emphasis on ascriptive status" are bound to wither away with the increased industrialization and modernization.[25]

On the surface, Japan is democratic. It retains, however, many deeply-ingrained personal values that seem to contribute to the traditional, non-democratic prewar social patterns.[26] Though Japan is the most Occidental of the Oriental countries, it is quite evident that the external signs of Western influence and the political democratic structure established by the postwar Occupation are not matched by internalized values, which many believe are the foundation upon which a democratic society rests. In 1970, Donald Keene claimed that "there is no such thing as an individual in Japan."[27]

The forcible democratization of Japan has resulted

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[24]New York Times, November 6, 1970.

[25]Cullen T. Hayashita, "The Koshinjo and Tanteisha: Institutionalized Ascription as a Response to Modernization and Stress in Japan," in Toyomasa Fuse, ed., Modernization and Stress in Japan (Leiden, the Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 84, 93.

[26]For a detailed discussion in this connection, see Hayashi Chikio, "Nihonjin no Kokuminsei" [The Japanese National Character], Jiyu (January, 1960), 58-72.

[27]New York Times, November 6, 1970.

in a democracy devoid of individualism which constitutes the basis of Western society. A Japanese writer goes so far as to argue that "Japan's postwar democracy has form and fabric but no heart."[28] The Japanese have thus far failed to enliven their social solidarity with the individualism needed to give it moral fiber.[29] It is commonly pointed out that the Japanese overstress duty, Western people rights. A report based on the nation-wide surveys conducted in 1953 and 1958 reveals that 50% responded that life should be family- and state-centered, and 37% individual-centered. Also revealed in the report is that 38% favored the promotion of the public interest, whereas 29% favored the achievement of self-gratification.[30] Table 11 seems to substantiate further that in Japan the public interest outweighs individual rights.[31]

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[28]Takabatake Michitoshi, "Citizens' Movements: Organizing the Spontaneous," The Japan Interpreter, IX, No. 3 (Winter, 1975), 317.

[29]Arguing that the democratization of Japan remains doubtful unless Japanese become capable of truly appreciating the concept of individualism, Takagi Yasaka opines that "Japan's spiritual revolution will remain incomplete until Christianity is integrated in the Japanese code of morality." See his "Defeat and Democracy in Japan," Foreign Affairs, XXIV, No. 4 (July, 1948), 645-52.

[30]Hayashi, Jiyu, p. 66.

[31]Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Tokyo, Kokuminsei Chosa Iinkai, "Kokuminsei no Kenkyu--1978 nen Zenkokku Chosa" [A Study of the Japanese National Character--the Sixth Nation-Wide Survey], Research Report General Series 46 (March, 1979), p. 70. Tokei Suri Kenkyujo [The Institute of

Table 11
Individual Rights vs Public Interest

| | | Individual Rights | Public Interest | Other | Don't Know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | (1953) | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| II | (1958) | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| III | (1963) | 29% | 57% | 1% | 13% |
| IV | (1968) | 33% | 57% | 1% | 9% |
| V | (1973) | 37% | 51% | 1% | 11% |
| VI | (1978) | 32% | 55% | 2% | 11% |

One of the questions in the national character surveys was concerned with goals in life. As Table 12 seems to indicate,[32] the Japanese people's goals in life appear to remain basically the same except for some of the symptoms often mentioned in theories of "Mass society."[33]

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Statistical Mathematics] is a government-supported but autonomous agency located in Tokyo which has conducted a series of nation-wide surveys on "Japanese National Character" at five-year intervals beginning in 1953, and repeated in 1958, 1963, 1968, 1973 and 1978.

[32] Ibid., p. 25.

[33] For a good overview of the various contending theories of "mass society," see Leon Bramson, The Political Context of Sociology (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), esp. pp. 27-72. Also see Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1942); Gustave LeBon, The Crowd (London: Ernest Benn, 1947); Karl Mannhein, Diagnosis of Our Time (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul: 1943); idem, Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction (New York:

TABLE 12
Goals in Life

| | I 1953 | II 1958 | III 1963 | IV 1968 | V 1973 | VI 1978 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) Get rich | 15% | 17% | 17% | 17% | 14% | 14% |
| 2) Fame | 6% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 3% | 2% |
| 3) Live on taste | 21% | 27% | 30% | 32% | 39% | 39% |
| 4) Enjoy daily life | 11% | 18% | 19% | 20% | 23% | 22% |
| 5) Honest life | 29% | 23% | 18% | 17% | 11% | 11% |
| 6) Service to public interest | 10% | 6% | 6% | 6% | 5% | 7% |
| 7) Other | 4% | 4% | 4% | 4% | 4% | 4% |
| 8) Don't know | 4% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 3% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | (2,254) | (920) | (2,698) | (3,303) | (3,055) | (2,032) |

Judging from Table 12, the Japanese interest in "getting rich" has remained relatively the same for a quarter of a century, in which period the Japanese people first tasted the miserable state of a war-ruined economy, and later enjoyed the affluent living standards resulting from Japan's position as the second strongest capitalist economy in the world. That the categories of "Live on taste" and "Enjoy daily life" have steadily been on the increase seems to imply that in Japan there is less a change from acquisitive to post-industrial values than a gradual change from a collectivity orientation to individuation. This obvious trend toward individuation in Japan needs to be

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Harcourt Brace, 1950); Jose Ortega y Gasset, Revolt of the Masses (New York: Pelican, 1950); David Riesman, Individualism Reconsidered (Glencoe: Free Press, 1954); idem, The Lonely Crowd (New York: Doubleday, 1953).

carefully interpreted in that the individuation in Japan takes on a notion which is quite different from that usually found in other advanced, industrial societies which were, once "made up of small 'organic,' close-knit communities that were shattered by industrialism and modern life, and replaced by a large impersonal 'atomistic' society which is unable to provide the basic gratifications and call forth the loyalties that the older communities knew."[34] Instead of experiencing the disorganization of society created by industrialization and by the demand of the individuals for equality, the individuation in Japan seems to make headway without abandoning indiscriminately all the traditional values.[35] Despite the imposed reforms to bring about equality and individual rights, Japan is still characterized as a hierarchical society.[36] In 1971, Ishida Takeshi singled out as the characteristics of the Japanese the group conformity and lack of individualism.[37] Unlike

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[34]Daniel Bell, "The Theory of Mass Society," Commentary (July 1956), p. 77.

[35]That the growth of individualism in Japan does not eclipse the traditional sense of collaterality is fully discussed in William Caudill and Harry A. Scarr, "Japanese Value Orientations and Culture Change," Ethnology, I, No. 1 (January, 1962), 53-91.

[36]For a detailed exposition of this hierarchical concept of Japanese society, see Nakane Chie, Japanese Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1970).

[37]Ishida Takeshi, Japanese Society (New York: Random

the general assumption that Japanese society will or should become the same as that of the West when Japan is completely modernized,

> the persistence of social structure can be seen clearly in the modes of personal social relations which determine the probable variability of group organization in changing circumstances. . . . Social tenacity is dependent largely on the degree of integration and the timmee span of the history of a society.[38]

The most salient aspect of Japanese personal social relations is manifested in a massive semiunderground network of organizations, called the Oyabun-Kobun systems,[39] which extend from the smallest rural villages to the highest echelons of the national government. Taking the Oyabun-Kobun [Parent-Child] system to task as the biggest threat to American democratic aims in Japan, one of the Occupation's experts sums up the Oyabun-Kobun system in the following words:

> The Oyabun-Kobun system is not just a system of corrupt or illegal activities. It is profound. Its profundity lies in its widespread extent throughout Japan and its tremendous historical depth. . . . Its essential characteristics lies in the hierarchical relationship between a set of individuals. The point is that the Japanese people expect that this is the natural form of

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House, 1971), p. 127.

[38]Nakane, op. cit., p. ix.

[39]Yanaga, Japanese People and Politics, pp. 68, 110-112.

> social relations. . . . The entire programs of the SCAP [Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers] to instill democracy in Japan will be a farce unless this system is first abolished.[40]

The Oyabun-Kobun system, however anachronistically feudalistic it may appear, is so important in Japanese social life that it merits further discussion. Though the Oyabun-Kobun system may be repugnant to Western thinking, the system seems to have been very conducive to the maintenance of social harmony, and forms of civil authority, preventing such undesirable societal symptoms[41] as alienation, atomization of the individual, anomie, and the absence of authority attendant upon industrialization and liberalization of a society. It is interesting to see the Japanese Oyabun-Kobun system in the light of the master-slave relationship in the traditional feudal society. Professor Yanaga tells us:

> The boss system as a method of control based on the Oyabun-Kobun relationship is in operation in some form in practically all major segments of Japanese society. It is a system based upon simulated patrimonial principles in which persons in authority assume obligations of protecting and looking after the welfare of their subordinates much as foster parents do, and subordinates reciprocate with personal loyalty based on their feeling of duty and obligation. In the feudal period, this relationship was highly developed in

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[40]Quoted in Christian Science Monitor, November 1, 1947.

[41]For a cogent treatment of social ills plaguing modern society, see Fromm, op. cit.

the craft guilds and all sorts of apprenticeship systems.[42]

It is appropriate to examine the Oyabun-Kobun system, which is as strongly in operation in the post-1945 Japan as ever before, vis-a-vis the moral "degradation" attendant upon industrialization. Writing in 1857, Orester A. Brownson commented on the changed personal relations wrought by industrialization in the following words:

> Between the master and the slave, between the lord and the serf, there often grow up pleasant personal relations and attachments; there is personal intercourse, kindness, affability, protection on the one side, respect and gratitude on the other, which partially compensates for the superiority of the one and the inferiority of the other; but the modern system of wages allows very little of all this: the capitalist and the workman belong to different species, and have little personal intercourse. The agent of the man of business pays the workman his wages, and there ends the responsibility of the employer. The laborer has no further claim on him and he may want and starve, or sicken and die, it is his own affair, with which the employer has nothing to do. Hence the relation between the two classes becomes mercenary, hard and a matter of arithmetic.[43]

The Japanese version of social change has always occurred in subtle ways, grafting Western institutions onto Japan's essentially feudal social structure should doing so have definite utility values without disrupting its social

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[42]Yanaga, op. cit., p. 111.

[43]Orester A. Brownson, Works (Detroit: T. Nourse, 1884), pp. 116-17.

and cultural values. When the "Civil Liberties Directive" was issued by the Occupation, the general public seemed surprised and pleased. The Japanese press spoke of it in tones of restrained approval. This welcome of the Civil Liberties Directive was interpreted in the foreign press as a dramatic change in Japanese thinking and in their notion of individual rights.[44]

As many of the postwar opinion surveys clearly demonstrate, a goodly number of the Occupation-imposed reforms were gladly accepted by the Japanese if they were believed to possess instrumental utility in the enhancement of national status and of the people's well-being, whereas not a few of the imposed reforms were rendered futile if they were repugnant to Japan's cultural instinct. As shown in Table 13, the Oyabun-Kobun mentality still obtains in Japan.[45]

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[44]Yomiuri editorial, November 18, 1945.

[45]Hayashi Chikio, "Kokuminsei no Kenkyu" [A Study of Japanese National Character], Kyoiku Tokei, No. 30 (1954), 31.

TABLE 13
Attitudes Toward Superiors

| | |
|---|---|
| Act ethically | 13.4% |
| Careful about behavior toward superiors | 26.5% |
| Obedient | 22.9% |
| No answer | 12.1% |
| Others | 25.1% |
| TOTAL | 100.0% |

It may be pointed out that the Japanese adoration that verged on idolatry for General MacArthur in the immediate post-surrender days was a single indication of the Japanese mentality that is ready to respect the superior and the powerful. Denouncing the subservient feudal mentality of the Japanese toward the Supreme Commander, Jiji Shimpo counselled the Japanese people as follows.

> The way to express the gratitude of the Japanese people toward General MacArthur for the wisdom with which he is managing postwar Japan and for his efforts to democratize the nation is not to worship him as a god but to cast away the servile spirit and gain the self-respect that would not bow its head to anybody. Only thus would General MacArthur rest content that the Occupation aims had been achieved.[46]

The passage cited above seems to imply two things: one confirms the Japanese mentality which is heavily nurtured and influenced by the Oyabun-Kobun relationship;

[46] Jiji Shimpo, October 11, 1946.

the other is that the Jiji Shimpo was interested in disabusing the Japanese of the national pride rather than in expressing gratitude of the Japanese for the forced democratization of Japan. The survey conducted in 1968 by Tokei Suri Kenkyujo [the Institute of Statistical Mathematics] on "Japanese National Character" reveals that the Japanese thinking is still influenced largely by Bushido.[47] The following question was asked in the 1968 survey to find out the preference for leadership type: "Supposing you are working in a firm. There are two types of departmental chiefs. Which of the following types would you prefer to work under?"[48]

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[47]Bushido [the Way of the Warrior] accepted by all classes of the Japanese people has had a profound influence on Japanese thinking and behavior not only during feudalism but even subsequent to the demise of the feudal system. "The duties dictated by bushido were by no means one-sided. We find these duties in a typical oath and pledge exchanged by lord and retainer in Southern Kyushu late in the fifteenth century: the retainer swears that he will serve the lord, 'with single devotion and without a second thought,' whereas the lord, acknowledging the promise of loyalty, replies that 'I will regard your important affairs as my own and we will mutually rely and be relied upon; if despite this understanding a calumny or an evil report should arise, we should mutually explain ourselves, with complete frankness." See Asakawa Kanichi, Documents of Iriki (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1927), pp. 295-96.

[48]Hayashi Chikio et al, "A Study of Japanese National Character," Annals of the Institute of Statistical

Type A: A man who always sticks to the work rules and never demands any unreasonable work, but on the other hand, never does anything for you personally in matters not connected with the work.

Type B: A man who sometimes demands extra work in contravention of the work rules, but on the other hand, looks after you well personally in matters not connected with the work.

Table 14
Preference for Leadership Type

| | |
|---|---|
| A | 11.9% |
| B | 85.5% |
| No answer | 2.3% |
| Other | 0.7% |
| Total | 100.0% |

Table 14 demonstrates that an overwhelming number of Japanese still prefer particularism to universalism and giri-ninjo[49] to rationality. It may be pointed out that the Japanese obsession with "face" or honor is inextricably tied in with the demands of Giri. In a negative sense, giri is practised to prevent disgrace or shame to one's name,

Mathematics, Supplement I (1959), p. 25.

[49]The concept of giri-ninjo defies clear definition but may be understood as the gamut of human obligational relationships, having a universal need for respecting and expressing human feelings. Giri (a debt of gratitude), a pervasive force in the behavior of all classes of Japanese people, finds its sanctions in the mores, customs and folkways, but not in laws. For a fuller exposition of this concept, see Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), pp. 114-76.

whereas in a positive sense it becomes a desire for fame and prestige. We should be reminded that in feudal society loss of honor, either by insult, dereliction of duty, failure, or cowardice, called for vendetta or suicide, which are regarded as means of redressing a wrong or a disgrace.[50]

In order to measure how strongly giri-ninjo was still practised, the following question was asked in 1958: "Imagine this situation. Mr. M was orphaned at an early age and was brought up by Mr. A, a neighbor. The A's gave him a good education, sent him to university and now Mr. M has become the president of a company. One day he gets a telegram asking him to come at once to Mr. A because Mr. A is seriously ill. This comes just at the moment when he is going to an important meeting which will decide whether his firm is to go bankrupt or to survive." Results seem to indicate that in Japan giri is considered more important than personal career. About 53% of the respondents answered that Mr. M should go to the ailing benefactor, while 40% responded that Mr. M should attend to his official business.[51]

The concept of giri-ninjo influences not only the

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[50]Nakane Chie tells us that the concept of Giri-ninjo occupies a very "important position in the social life of the Japanese." For a detailed discussion of giri- ninjo, see Nakane Chie, Tekio no Joken [Conditions of Adaptation] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972), pp. 148-58

[51]Hayashi et al, Annals (1959), pp. 6-7, 27.

interpersonal relations, but also the relationship between the individual and the technical civilization in a very positive way, preempting ill symptoms of modern society. The six consecutive surveys on the Japanese National Character reveal that a greater number of respondents are convinced that the development of science and technology does not necessarily mean the loss of the richness of human feeling. Queried if the richness of the human feeling is bound to be adversely affected by the "mechanization" of society, an overwhelming number of respondents answered that the richness of human feeling is not necessarily to be lost as Table 15 shows.[52]

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[52]Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Tokyo, Kokuminsei Chosa Iinkai, op. cit. (March, 1979), p. 66.

Table 15
Human Feeling vs. Mechanization

| Year | Lost | Not Lost | Undecided | Other | Don't Know | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 17% | 58% | 8% | 1% | 16% | 100% (2254) |
| 1958 | 21% | 52% | 10% | 1% | 16% | 100% ( 920) |
| 1963 | 18% | 49% | 19% | 1% | 13% | 100% (2698) |
| 1968 | 22% | 56% | 13% | 1% | 8% | 100% (3033) |
| 1973 | 31% | 42% | 20% | 1% | 6% | 100% (3055) |
| 1978 | 25% | 53% | 15% | 1% | 6% | 100% (2032) |

We now turn to the question of ancestor worship, which has been a major fulcrum in maintaining the strong family system and the essential basis for loyalty and patriotism to the Japanese nation. Since "the family is the unit and basis of all social relations," democratization, be it educational, social, labor-related, or political, is, claims Wagatsuma Sakae, out of the question, unless the family itself is democratized. Wagatsuma goes on to argue that "the law concerning family life is one in which the element of spontaneous growth in the social life of a race is the strongest. It must, therefore, be regarded rather as a natural phenomenon that the family life of Japan hasn't

been reformed immediately in response to the revision of the civil code."[53]

As Table 16 clearly reveals,[54] the democratization of Japan for more than three decades since Japan's surrender has had little effect on the well-known Japanese ancestor worship. Table 16 is based on the question: "Would you say you were on the whole more inclined to honor your ancestors than the average, or less?"

Table 16
Ancestor Worship

| Year | More | Medial | Less | No Answer | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 77% | 15% | 5% | 2% | 1% | 100% (2254) |
| 1973 | 67% | 21% | 10% | 1% | 1% | 100% (3055) |
| 1978 | 72% | 16% | 10% | 1% | 1% | 100% (2032) |

Also revealed in this connection is that most Japanese are still inclined to forego anything that might hurt the honor of their families.[55] All things considered,

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[53]*Ibid.*, p. 425.

[54]Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, *op. cit.* (March, 1979), p. 42.

[55]Hayashi *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Professor Edwin O. Reischauer describes the concept of Japanese "face" in the following words: "The shame-conscious Japanese may place

"programmed installation of democracy" seems to have become more a matter of form and procedure than of principle or ideology. Democracy in Japan has, in a sense, been adopted less as a principle than an overt pattern of behavior. Put differently, democratization in Japan does not seem to have penetrated the mode of traditional thinking.[56]

In 1956, Fujiwara Hirotatsu claimed that "Pride of racial purity surrendered itself to the dollar and the boastful use of species of Japanese-American speech."[57] Fujiwara's argument apparently based on a superficial observation seems unsound. Japan was already in the 1951-

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a heavy emphasis on 'face' and on success, but their highest respect goes not to the man who displays wealth and authority or even the man who has been successful in amassing riches and power, but to the man who has rendered great services to the state and taken little in return for himself, thereby demonstrating his superior self- discipline and willpower." See his The United States and Japan (rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 177.

[56]Though written in 1918, Ozaki Yukio's scathing attack on the Japanese traditional mentality might be as valid now as then. At one point, Ozaki writes: ". . . the customs and usages of feudal times are so deeply impressed upon the minds of men here [in Japan] that even the idea of political parties, as soon as it enters the brains of our countrymen, germinates and grows according to feudal notions . . . political parties . . . are really affairs of personal connection and sentiments, the relation between the leader and the members of a party being similar to those which subsisted between a feudal lord and his liegemen, or to those between a 'boss' of gamblers and his followers in their country." Ozaki Yukio, The Voice of Japanese Democracy, trans. by J. E. DeBecker (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1918), pp. 93-94.

[57]Fujiwara Hirotatsu, "Nationalism and the Ultraright Wing," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 308 (November, 1956), p. 82.

1960 conservative period following the 1949-1950 cold war period, as some scholars are inclined to characterize the post-1945 years.[58] Paying undue attention to the excesses of liberalism, confusion of hedonism with democracy, and confusion of liberty with license is bound to court misunderstanding.[59]

Leaving aside any question of political ideology, the Japanese attachment to the imperial and national traditions remain very strong. Even the young Japanese preserved intact the sense of continuity with the country's most distant past and retain a most lively awareness of Japanese history even in its mythological aspects. For contemporary Japanese youth, Japan is still a nation with a past. It would, indeed be a serious mistake to assume that the Japanese youth feel their own culture alien to them, or that they have lost their attachment to, and confidence in, the national traditions.[60] That the Japanese remain very much the same now as in the pre-surrender years can be best explained by the continuing trend that has been keeping the conservatives of the Liberal Democratic Party in power as

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[58]Iriye Akira, Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

[59]Takahashi Akira, "Development of Democratic Consciousness Among the Japanese People," International Social Science Journal, XIII, No. 1 (1961), 81.

[60]Mainichi Shimbun, April 7, 1952.

Table 17 shows.[61]

Table 17
Political Party Support

| | 1953 | 1958 | 1963 | 1968 | 1973 | 1978 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Liberal Democratic | 41% | 38% | 43% | 41% | 33% | 34% |
| Democratic Socialist | -- | -- | 3% | 4% | 3% | 3% |
| Japan Socialist | 23% | 31% | 22% | 22% | 17% | 14% |
| Japan Communist | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2% | 3% | 3% |
| Clean Government (Komeito) | -- | -- | 2% | 4% | 4% | 4% |
| New Liberal Club | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1% |
| Supports None | 19% | 20% | 22% | 21% | 33% | 34% |
| Others | 5% | 1% | (a) | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| Don't Know | 12% | 10% | (a) | 4% | 5% | 5% |
| TOTAL | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | (2254) | (2369) | (2698) | (3033) | (4594) | (3945) |

(a)These two categories together comprised 8%.

In the midst of hectic democratization, the discerning reporter of the New York Times Lindesay Parrott remarked on the outcome of the crucial election of January 23, 1949: "What the election means is that power in Japan, in so far as power exists apart from General MacArthur, now has passed to the group that represents business, the conservative countryside, and that section of the prewar Japanese civil service that has not been eliminated for militarist leanings."[62]

Whether or not the defeat and the Occupation

[61]Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, April 7, 1952.

[62]New York Times, January 25, 1949.

deprived the Japanese of their traditional racial feeling, it should not go unmentioned in that the deep-lying racial consciousness of the Japanese has a bearing on the Japanese mentality. Results of various surveys[63] on nationalities most "liked" and "disliked" by the Japanese reveal that on the whole the Americans are most liked, whereas the Russians are most disliked.

National security concerns more than any other factor may be responsible for these findings. It is interesting to note that these findings do seem to substantiate the general assumptions that the Japanese suffer feelings of both inferiority and superiority. As Table 18 clearly shows,[64] the consistent Japanese preference for such Western peoples as Americans, English, Germans, French and Italians seems to reflect the lingering inferiority complex of the Japanese toward Western, white peoples. The Japanese disliking of the Russians, however, is attributable not only to the Soviet threat to Japan's national security, but also to the Japanese prideful feeling stemming from Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

Table 18 clearly shows that the Japanese have preference for Western peoples, apparently despising their

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[63]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., pp. 648-49; Hayashi, Kyoiku Tokei No. 30, p. 52.

[64]Hayashi, Kyoiku Tokei No. 30, p. 52.

racially congenial Asiatics.

Table 18
Japanese Preference for Nationalities

314 Citizens of Tokyo Surveyed in 1953

| Order | Peoples | Percentage of "Like" |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Americans | 59.2 |
| 2.5 | English | 43.4 |
| 2.5 | Germans | 43.4 |
| 4 | French | 41.8 |
| 5 | Indians | 30.4 |
| 6 | Italians | 26.9 |
| 7 | Chinese | 25.9 |
| 8 | Micronesians | 15.8 |
| 9 | Russians | 8.5 |
| 10 | Koreans | 6.3 |

The Japanese preference for Western peoples is rather ironical in that Japan's "pride" has been humiliated and her ambition frustrated not by Asiatic peoples, but by Western powers in modern history. The surrender in 1945 was Japan's greatest national humiliation. That the Japanese dislike Chinese, Koreans, and Micronesians as much as they do Russians, whose country has long been believed by the Japanese to be a serious threat to Japan's security, seems to imply that the Japanese are inclined to respect the powerful and to despise the weak and humiliated peoples. Koreans, Chinese, and Russians had their share of national humiliation wrought by the expansionist Japan. This is the very mentality that Professor Maruyama Masao calls the

mentality of "transfer of oppression."[65]

Table 19, based on three surveys,[66] seems to show that the Americans are the most liked people and the Koreans the most disliked people according to the Japanese preference. Except for the survey conducted in 1938, the Koreans have remained Japan's most disliked people. It hardly needs any intelligence to see why the Koreans ranked third in 1938, outranked only by Germans and Italians, who together with the Japanese constituted the Axis, on the Japanese scale of preference for nationalities.

Table 19
Ranking of Nationalities

| Ranking | 1285 Citizens of Tokyo Surveyed in 1938 | 344 Public Officials & Housewives Surveyed in 1951 | 122 Rightists Surveyed in 1951 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | members | leaders |
| 1 | Germans | Americans | Americans | Indians |
| 2 | Italians | French | English | Chinese |
| 3 | Koreans | English | French | Germans |
| 4 | Indians | Germans | Indians | French |
| 5 | Americans | Italians | Germans | Americans |
| 6 | French | Indians | Italians | English |
| 7 | Negroes | Chinese | Chinese | Italians |
| 8 | English | Russians | Koreans | Russians |
| 9 | Chinese | Koreans | Russians | Koreans |
| 10 | Russians | | | |

[65]Maruyama Masao, Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 18.

[66]Hayashi, Kyoiku Tokei No. 30, p. 52.

The juxtaposition of the most liked Americans and the most disliked Koreans seems to confirm two of the salient characteristics of the Japanese. While the Japanese continue to harbor an inferiority complex toward Westerners,[67] not in terms of national capability, but in terms of racial consciousness, they continue to retain their national "arrogance" toward peoples in the Third World in general or the peoples in Asia, in particular.[68]

In view of the fact that the Japanese persecuted and exploited the Koreans more than any other people during their heyday of aggression, it is truly strange that the Koreans are still Japan's most disliked people. This may be a clear manifestation of "the inner arrogance of Japanism,"[69] resulting from the Japanese culture which is said to be conditioned not by the sense of guilt, but by that of shame. Knowing the Japanese mind, many students of Japan hold gloomy views regarding a possible change of heart

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[67]For an interesting discussion of the idiosyncrasies and shortcomings of the Japanese people, see Kawasaki Ichiro, Japan Unmasked (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969).

[68]Japan's persistent interest in expansion still worries many countries, leading China to view Japan as "the quintessential imperialist villain." Chalmers Johnson, "How China and Japan See Each Other," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 50, No. 4 (July, 1974), p. 712.

[69]Frank Gibney, Japan: The Fragile Superpower (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), p. 332.

of those who were responsible for the past misdeeds, albeit the new Constitution of Japan "contains some of the finest words in the vocabulary of freedom." Already in 1946, many discerning observers noticed that the Japanese leaders were using the Cold War to their advantage.[70] It may not be too far-fetched to state that the thing that still matters most to the Japanese is patriotism.[71] As B. H. Chamberlain stated many decades ago, for the Japanese people "patriotism comes before everything, before Christianity, before humility, before even fair play and truth."[72]

The Japanese appear to be submissive when they are weak and arrogant when they are strong. As Kawai Kazuo stated in 1953, "When the Japanese were prostrate, they gratefully welcomed American aid and advice. Today they have bounced back far enough to take delight in snapping their fingers at the Americans."[73] Kawai went on to expatiate,

> . . . it has become the fad to take a supercillious, condescending attitude toward American culture. The Americans are uncouth, simple-minded, brash, materialistic, arrogant, and

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[70]Andrew Roth, "Japan Unchanged," New Statesman and Nation, April 6, 1946, pp. 240-241.

[71]Gibney, op. cit., pp. 65, 300.

[72]Quoted in Karl Loewith, "The Japanese Mind," Fortune, December, 1943, p. 240.

[73]Kawai Kazuo, "The New Anti-Americanism in Japan," Far Eastern Survey, XXII, No. 12 (November, 1953), 153.

> selfish. . . . The Japanese, in common with other Orientals struggling to get ahead in a world still largely dominated by the white race, suffer from a national and racial inferiority complex. Although most Japanese fail to recognize the truth of this statement, and would indignantly deny it, they feel unsure of themselves in this essentially white man's world. They thus waver between excessive shyness and excessive aggressiveness. What appears to be their over-assertiveness is really an attempt to compensate for secret fears and doubts. Even the ultra-nationalistic megalomania of the wartime period was a perverted response to an inner need of the Japanese to reassure themselves of their own adequacy, rather than an expression of genuine belief in Japan's "divine mission."[74]

In spite of the Occupation-induced democratic reforms, Japanese adaptation to democracy was a static type of adaptation which, with no real inner change of character structure, externally modified behavior to meet the challenging situation in the post-surrender period.[75] Japan is cosmopolitan, at least outwardly, but retains touches of xenophobia. Japanese national prejudice against Koreans has long been well-known. The Japanese massacre of hundreds of Koreans in the wake of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 was a case in point. The survey on Preference for Nationalities conducted in September, 1951, by Izumi Seiichi reveals the relative strength of anti-Korean prejudice among

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[74] Ibid., 154-156.

[75] New York Times, November 6, 1970.

the Japanese.[76] Izumi points out that Japanese racial prejudice against Koreans is on the whole not based on any idea that Koreans are qualitatively abnormal, but on a well-established stereotype of hatred.

It is not only to Koreans but also to other races that Japanese feel superior as the memory of their surrender in 1945 fizzles into oblivion. Table 20, based on surveys on Japanese National Character,[77] shows that Japanese feel progressively superior to Westerners as time distances itself further from Japan's defeat in 1945.

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[76]Hayashi, Kyoiku Tokei No. 30, pp. 50-53.

[77]Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Tokyo, Kokuminse Chosa Iinkai, "Kokuminsei no Kenkyu--1968 nen Zenkokku Chosa" [A Study of the Japanese National Character--the 1968 Nation-Wide Survey], Research Report General Series 33 (April, 1969), p. 152.

Table 20
Perception of Racial Superiority

| | Superior | Inferior | Same | Undecided | Other | D.K.(a) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1953 | 20 | 28 | 14 | (b) | (b) | 15 | 100% (2254) |
| 1958 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1963 | 3 | 14 | 16 | 27 | 1 | 9 | 100% (2698) |
| 1968 | 47 | 11 | 12 | 21 | 1 | 8 | 100% (3033) |

(a)Don't Know
(b)Together these responses comprised 23%.

It is significant to note that on the whole there is hardly any difference in response among various age groups. It is particularly significant that 53% of the respondents with college education feel that the Japanese are superior to Westerners, whereas only 42% of the respondents with primary school education feel that the Japanese are superior. As Table 21 clearly demonstrates,[78] regardless of age and educational level, Japanese are becoming quite confident in themselves.

[78] Ibid. For a fuller analysis of the results of various surveys on "racial comparison," see Nishihira Shigeki, Nihonjin no Iken [The Japanese Opinion] (Tokyo: Seishin Shobo, 1958), pp. 66-78.

Table 21
Japanese vs. Other Nationalities

| Sex | Superior | Inferior | Same | Undecided | Other | D.K. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 53 | 11 | 14 | 18 | 1 | 3 | 100% (1427) |
| Female | 41 | 12 | 11 | 24 | 1 | 11 | 100% (1606) |
| Age | | | | | | | |
| 20-24 | 47 | 9 | 16 | 24 | 1 | 3 | 100% ( 376) |
| 25-29 | 46 | 13 | 11 | 23 | 1 | 6 | 100% ( 398) |
| 30-34 | 46 | 13 | 16 | 18 | 0 | 7 | 100% ( 399) |
| 35-39 | 47 | 10 | 15 | 21 | 1 | 6 | 100% ( 389) |
| 40-44 | 49 | 11 | 11 | 21 | 0 | 8 | 100% ( 344) |
| 45-49 | 50 | 10 | 12 | 23 | - | 5 | 100% ( 243) |
| 50-54 | 45 | 11 | 11 | 23 | 1 | 9 | 100% ( 222) |
| 55-59 | 48 | 14 | 13 | 16 | 2 | 7 | 100% ( 205) |
| 60+ | 45 | 13 | 8 | 20 | 1 | 13 | 100% ( 457) |
| Educational Level | | | | | | | |
| Primary | 42 | 15 | 9 | 18 | 0 | 16 | 100% ( 494) |
| Middle | 47 | 14 | 10 | 19 | 1 | 9 | 100% (1202) |
| High School | 47 | 9 | 15 | 25 | 1 | 3 | 100% (1019) |
| College | 53 | 6 | 17 | 22 | 1 | 1 | 100% ( 309) |

Paying attention to the Japanese confidence which, in some sense, rather verges on national arrogance, many

observers believe that Japan in a brief time span of a quarter of a century advanced from a position of discipleship in democratization to a position of confident partnership smacking of condescension toward Western peoples. As Kiuchi Nobutane writes,

> But these predictions . . . usually fail to reckon with Japan's complete changeability. And Japan is capable of making, for better or worse, a complete turnabout at strategic points of history. . . . Neither the post-Meiji Westernization nor the post-World War II Americanization, however, completely eliminated Japanese tradition. After being eclipsed for some time, tradition was quietly resurrected in places where it could strike a new balance and harmony with the imported alien culture. . . . <u>They</u> [the Japanese] <u>can no longer see a model in America, and indeed they realize that they can no longer find any foreign model to follow</u>. So, at last, after a century of interlude, Japan once again finds itself free and, for the time being, alone, standing at a crossroad. (Emphasis added.)[79]

What Kiuchi argues is that the Japanese are superbly adept in "situational ethics." We could argue that since the circumstances and supports of life in Japan have drastically altered since Japan's surrender, ideas and attitudes toward life have, indeed, changes as well, but only to a certain extent. "It is," Nakane Chie argues, "Japanese nature to accept change with little resistence and, indeed to welcome it and value change; but a superficial change of outlook, as facile as changes in

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[79]Kiuchi Nobutane, "Japan Will Have to Slow Down," <u>Fortune</u>, February 1971, p. 98.

fashion, has not the slightest effect on the firm persistence of the basic nature and core of personal relations and group dynamics."[80]

As the inclement conditions caused by defeat and the blasts of the Occupation typhoon in the early post-surrender period wore off, nationalistic sentiments made steady headway.[81] There was a revival of many of the major symbolic nationalist functions: the national flag of the Rising Sun was once again proudly waved on every possible occasion; the national anthem, patriotic songs, and military marches became once more popular; and Japanese again began to flock to the Shinto shrines.[82] It should be remembered that Shinto, as already dwelt upon at great length, could be regarded as a sacred form of Japanese nationalism in the pre-1945 era.[83] Even today, popular interest in Shintoism can be considered a barometer for a certain aspect of Japanese nationalistic feeling. Attendance at Shinto shrines has steadily increased since Japan's regaining

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[80]Nakane, Japanese Society, p. 148.

[81]Nihon Jinbun Kagakkai [The Japanese Society of Humanistic Science], ed., Shakaiteki Kincho no Kenkyu [A Study of Social Tension] (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1953), p. 308.

[82]Mainichi Shimbun, April 7, 1952.

[83]Daniel C. Holtom, Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism: A Study of Present-Day Trends in Japanese Religion (Rev. ed.; New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1963), p. 212.

independence.[85]

Family and group visits to Shinto shrines constitute a popular form of holiday outing in Japan, and often have no religious, let alone nationalistic, significance. Yet the increasing popularity since 1953 of such shrines as the Great Shrine at Ise, the Meiji and Yasukuni Shrines in Tokyo, the Kashiwara Shrine near Nara, and Atsuta Shrine in Mie Prefecture, which were traditionally associated with the expression of nationalistic feeling, cannot be simply dismissed as a result of improved economic conditions. There is no denying that this growing popularity is to some extent indicative of a renascent form of Japanese nationalism and of a growing mood of nostalgia for prewar patterns.[86]

The postwar public opinion surveys on the Japanese national character reveal that the majority of the people

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[85] In the inclement years of 1946 and 1947 when Shintoism was severely suppressed by the Occupation the number of daily visitors to Shinto shrines barely amounted to a few dozen and the total cash offerings meant no more than a handful of pennies. Following the Occupation's relenting in its attitude toward Shintoism, the number of Japanese visiting the Yasukuni Shrine increased drastically. In October, 1948, the Emperor revived the custom of paying personal visits to the Yasukuni Shrine. Visiting the Yasukuni Shrine had been suspended in November, 1945. See Japan Times, April 23, 1957.

[86] Okawa Shumei, for instance, claimed that the growing popularity of visiting the Meiji, Ise, and Yasukuni Shrines was an indication that Japanese national pride was springing up spontaneously among the Japanese, in spite of all the efforts of politicians and cynical intellectuals to denigrate Japan's traditions. See his "Seiji no Fuhai to Nihon Kakumei" (The Corruption of Politics and the Japanese Revolution), Nihon Shuho, April, 1953, pp. 3-12.

think either that it is better for a newly-appointed prime minister to visit the Grand Shrine at Ise, or that such a visit is up to him. As Table 22 shows,[87] more Japanese favored a new prime minister's visit to Ise in 1953 when the memory of the Pacific War was still very vivid.

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[87]Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Tokyo, Kokuminsei Chosa Iinkai, "Kokuminsei no Kenkyu--1973 nen Zenkokku Chosa" (A Study of the Japanese National Character--the 1973 Nation-wide Survey), Research Report General Series No. 38 (March, 1974), p. 36.

Table 22
New Prime Minister's Visit to Ise

| | 1953 | 1958 | 1963 | 1968 | 1973 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| He must visit | 7% | 5% | 4% | 3% | 4% |
| Visiting is better | 50 | 33 | 28 | 28 | 21 |
| Visiting is up to him | 23 | 27 | 41 | 33 | 48 |
| Not visiting is better | 6 | 12 | 9 | 14 | 10 |
| He must not visit | 2 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| Others | 2 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| Don't know | 10 | 16 | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| Total | 100% (2254) | 100% (1449) | 100% (2698) | 100% (3033) | 100% (3055) |

The conservative politicians revival of the pre-1945 tradition of personally visiting the Grand Shrine at Ise to apparently "report to the gods" on all major developments in the country can be seen as a symbolic way of expressing Japan's renascent nationalism. It appears that the "emotional foundations of Shinto have not altered,"[85] despite the fact that Shinto has been "democratized" by decentralizing the administration of shrines and by its divorce from the government and the school.

The record-breaking success of the film Emperor

[85]Herrymon Maurer, "The U S. Does a Job," Fortune, March, 1947, p. 185.

Meiji and the Great Russo-Japanese War, produced in 1957, consisting of a series of emotive episodes surrounding the Russo-Japanese War, is indicative of postwar Japanese nationalism. To the question, "What was your motive for coming to see this film?" the most common answer from people of middle age and over was that they longed to see the story of the Russo-Japanese War in which the whole nation devoted itself to a single cause. To the question, "Why would you like other people to see this film" many young people born after 1945 answered that it would enable others to understand the horrors of war. However, people of middle age and over replied to the effect that "I want others--selfish young people--to see this film so as to make them understand the beautiful state of affairs in which the people united their efforts by casting aside personal interests."[86] In reactions like these, a clear connection seems to emerge between nostalgia for pre-1945 non-political patterns on the one hand, and intolerance for the egoism associated with postwar foreign-style liberalism and democracy on the other.[87] Results of the nation-wide

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[86]Asahi Evening News, May 39, 1957.

[87]Many claimed that a rash democratization falsely caused the youths to liken democracy to license, and that too many people think that democracy is selfishness, or to make more money, or to be too free. As the anti-Communist policy of the Occupation became more intensified, the anti-Communist stance of the ultraright wing became so naked and

surveys on the Japanese National Character show that the post-surrender democratization, in some sense, made Japanese very money-conscious. However, the number of Japanese who feel that "money is not everything," overwhelmingly outnumbers those who feel that money is everything.[88]

What we can deduce from the Occupation-imposed reforms on the one hand and the revival of traditional sentiments of nationalism on the other is that many of the traditional values seem to assume a new charm, and many of the reforms wrought by the Occupation appear as unnecssary and uncongenial innovations.[89] We can also state that "American policy [in Japan], more often than not, has the effect of strengthening the status quo to the benefit of ultra-conservatism and the detriment of liberal forces among the people."[90]

The American Director for the Fulbright Program in Japan is quoted to have said: "Frankly, the Japanese here are fed up with what they call democracy. It means to them that children should be allowed to do anything they wish.

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bold as to claim that the policy of the Occupation went further than permissible in the name of democracy. See Nihon Jinbun Kagakkai, op. cit., p. 308.

[88]Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Research Report No. 46, pp. 82-83.

[89]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 488.

[90]Lawrence E. Salisbury, "Support of the Status Quo," Far Eastern Survey, October 24, 1945, p. 297.

They have tried that, and have found that it didn't work." A Japanese professor described the general atmosphere of reaction: "We shall go back. We are going back now, but we shall not go back all the way."[91] In effect, the Japanese are amenable to those of the Occupation-imposed reforms that would serve the "principle of instinctivism,"[92] while they are resistant to those that are deemed repugnant to their cultural sentiments. In other words, reforms for the furtherance of "comfort instinct" are gleefully accepted and rationalized by the Japanese, whereas reforms in defiance of "cultural inertia" are not. To put it in terms of "system affect" and "product affect" advanced by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, the Occupation-instigated reforms have been quite conducive to product affect, while they have been unable to influence system affect.

As Harry Eckstein writes, "externally imposed change does not reflect on intrinsic durability and should be disregarded. Systems thus changed can best be treated in the manner of 'continuing' cases, the durability score being extrapolated from the known duration."[93] "Although all

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[91]Oslo L. Derby, "Impressions of Education in Postwar Japan," Institute of International Education News Bulletin XXXII, No. 7 (April, 1957), pp. 25-28.

[92]Furukawa Tesshi, History of Japanese Ethical Thought (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1952).

[93]Harry Eckstein, The Evaluation of Political Performance: Problems and Dimensions (Beverly Hills: Sage

Japanese lives are nowadays much Westernized, the vast majority of participants preferred Japanese things for their emotional significance. . . . Nevertheless, the emotional appeal of things Japanese is growing stronger and stronger, with an associated growth of Japanese self-confidence and pride."[94] Suffice it to say that consciousness of individual rights remains largely superficial. In many respects, the individual is as dependent on the group as ever, but group pressure is exercised in a more implicit manner than before.[95]

It may very well be that Japan will only grow more efficient in her use of things Western (rationalization of product affect), and that her traditional pattern of mind (system affect) will remain essentially unchanged.[96]

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Publications, 1971), p. 32.

[94]"Japanese-ness," Japan Quarterly, XVI, No. 3 (July-September, 1969), p. 267.

[95]For detailed discussions on the relationship between group pressure and the individual in Japan, see Ishida Takeshi, Gendai Soshiki-ron [Contemporary Organization Theory] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961); Nishihira Shigeki, op. cit., pp. 167-93.

[96]For a good distinction between modernization and Westernization, see Kishimito Hideo, "Modernization Versus Westernization in the East," Journal of World History, VII, No. 4 (1963), 871-74. Also see John H. Douglas, "Pioneering a Non-Western Psychology," Science News, CXIII, No. 10 (March 11, 1978), pp. 154-58; Nakajima Fumio, Nihon Seishin to Sei Seishin [Japanese Spirit and Western Spirit] (Tokyo: Yoyo Shobo, 1947); Takashima Zenya, "The Social Consciousness of the People in Postwar Japan," Annals of the Hitotsubashi Academy, I (April, 19510, 91-103.

PART THREE

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AFTER THE OCCUPATION

## CHAPTER XII

## PERSISTENCE OF JAPANESE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

As examined in the previous chapter, despite the great surface changes wrought by the American Occupation, there are indications that Japan will remain in many ways Japanese.[1] As clearly demonstrated through postwar developments in Japan, for Japanese, unity in the face of national difficulties is an obsession and the idea of national breakdown is deeply abhorrent. Moreover, the great conflict in Japanese life is between the individual's personal inclination and his social duty, a battle in which duty always and virtuously triumphs.[2]

Arthur M. Knapp commented on the spiritual force of the Japanese in 1897 in the following words.

> The soul of Japan--the instinct of loyalty, the impulse of self-devotion, the spirit of unquestioning obedience to duty, the worship of

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[1]Hilary Conroy, "Young Japan's Anti-Americanism," American Quarterly, VII, No. 3 (Fall, 1955), 247-56.

[2]In this connection, see Nakamura Hajime, "Some Features of the Japanese Way of Thinking," Monumenta Nipponica, XIV (1958-1959), 31-72.

> the beauty of self-sacrifice for itself alone, in a word, the very flower and cream of civilization--is no mere tradition and has been no ephemeral experience. It is the vital force in the nation's present life as it has been the glory and pride of its immemorial past.[3]

Even many of the postwar writings on Japan seem to conclude that the strength of Japan lies in the Japanese national sense of solidarity. In 1948, W. Macmahon Ball wrote to the effect that

> "the Japanese today disown Hideki Tojo and his friends, not for being militarist, but for their blundering miscalculation of chances. . . . It has often been remarked that Japan, under the Occupation, has become very pro-American. I [Ball] do not believe that the Japanese, at bottom, are either pro-American or pro-Russian. They are pro-Japanese."[4]

Japan has eagerly accepted materials and institutions which could be fitted to Japanese requirements, but has not allowed the entry of ideas that would undermine the Japanese value system and sentiments. The duality of social change in Japan has enabled Japan to become a materially very advanced country, but has hardly affected the long-enduring Japanese national consciousness. It is commonly understood that national consciousness is inseparably interconnected with loyalty, patriotism, and

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[3]Arthur M. Knapp, Feudal and Modern Japan (2 vols.; Boston: Page, 1897), I67.

[4]W. Macmahon Ball, "Reflections on Japan," Pacific Affairs, XXI, No. 1 (March, 1948), p. 4.

nationalism.[5]

Many studies establish that the diminution of national consciousness by fiat is not possible any more than the cultivation of national consciousness by official directives is out of the question. However, once national consciousness is firmly rooted in a national society, it seems to become further strengthened in crisis.[6] Since the subjective and objective elements that are believed to have been conducive to the rise, stimulation, and fortification of Japanese national consciousness over the period of many centuries have remained essentially unchanged, we turn now to such problems as Japanese national pride, national security concerns, and racial feeling which seem to have been some of the most essential ingredients of Japanese nationalism.[7]

As a study reveals, the national pride of a people

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[5]Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism: Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1956), p. 5.

[6]For a fuller understanding of the persistent nature of national sentiments, see John Stuart Mill, Representative Government, 1861 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), pp. 120-24; David Thomson, "Must History Stay Nationalistic?" Encounter, XXX, No. 6 (June, 1968), 22-28; Hugh Seton-Watson, "Unsatisfied Nationalism," Journal of Contemporary History, VI, No. 1 (1971), 3-14.

[7]Cf. Matsumoto Sanosuke, "The Significance of Nationalism in Modern Japanese Thought: Some Theoretical Problems," Journal of Asian Studies, XXXI, No. 1 (December, 1971), esp. 51-53; U. S. Department of State, Japan: Free World Ally. Publication 6516, Far Eastern Series 74 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 3.

is a reflection of perceived "greatness" and honor found in their country.[8] The extraordinary obsession of the Japanese with their national honor[9] and the Japanese sensitivity to their ranking[10] among nations were partially responsible for their pre-1945 imperialist policies to gratify their national pride. Though Japanese national pride was humbled and humiliated by the defeat in 1945, the Japanese were not deprived of their national consciousness. As Ivan Morris writes, "The pre-1945 form of Japanese ultranationalism has virtually disappeared, but nationalist sentiment remains a powerful force."[11]

No sooner had the agony of defeat and of humiliation been dulled by the lapse of time than the unique Japanese

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[8]K. G. Collier, "The Inheritance of Values," Sociological Review, XL (1948), 97-112.

[9]"The Japanese nation is by nature the most ambitious of honour of all Oriental nations, and will sacrifice life itself to maintain a punctilio." Quoted in Maurice Collis, Land of the Great Stone Image (New York: Knopf, 1943), p. 126; also see, for a good discussion of the constancy of Japanese national pride, see George R. Packard, III, "Japan's New Nationalism," Atlantic Monthly, CCXI, No. 4 (april, 1963), 64-69.

[10]Herbert Passin argues that the Japanese harbor an extraordinary concern for international ranking and tend to treat foreign nationals in accordance with the perceived rank of their country. See his, "Socio-cultural Factor in the Japanese Perception of International Order," Japan Institute of International Affairs Annual Review, V (1969-1970), 51-75.

[11]New York Times, July 18, 1965.

national consciousness reared its head.[12] In fact, no astute observer seriously believed that the American Occupation could alter the nationalistic sentiments of the Japanese. Writing in 1950, Ike Nobutaka stated,

> The eventual revival of ultra-nationalism is postwar Japan was, from the beginning, a foregone conclusion. Few people seriously believed that the forces which dominated the Japanese political scene in the 1930s were dissipated and gone forever. The real question, therefore, was not whether they would be revived but the form that such a revival would take.[13]

Many Japanese believed that the Occupation's "humanization of the Emperor" had the effect of depriving individuals of any public value or entity that might morally bind them.[14] Mishima Yukio denounced the Occupation's rash democratization of Japan in the following words.

> Is it right to protect life to let the soul die? There can be no army without values higher than life. We'll show you men [Occupationaires] now one value that's higher than life. It is not freedom, and it's not democracy. It is Japan.

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[12]See Frank Gibney, "The View From Japan," Foreign Affairs, L, No. 1 (October, 1971), 97-111.

[13]Ike Nobutaka, "'National Socialism' in Japan," Pacific Affairs, XXIII, No. 3 (September, 1950), 311.

[14]Matsumoto Sannoshuke, "A Re-evaluation of Postwar Ideals," The Japan Interpreter, VII, Nos. 3-4 (Summer-Autumn, 1972), 304; also see "Japanese Restoring Ethical Education; U. S. Barred Courses as Nationalistic," New York Times, November 17, 1957.

The country whose history and tradition we love.[15]

Despite the changed status of the Emperor, in postwar Japan, the loyalty and devotion to the Emperor still retains wide acceptance and his symbolic role as head of the national collectivity radiates an importance of tremendous magnitude. In a group-oriented society like Japan, the need for a symbolic head who pulls together the entire nation and points up the goals of the national collectivity may very well be more important than in an individually-oriented society.[16]

Though the American Occupation was largely incapable of enervating Japanese national consciousness,[17] it seems to have been very successful in inculcating ameliorative inclinations guided by rationality in the Japanese people.[18] Since the sentimental inertia of the Japanese deeply rooted in national culture has hardly been affected by the Occupation reforms, Japanese national consciousness is likely to be further sharpened as Japan's national economy

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[15]Quoted in Ibid., p. 305.

[16]Tsurumi Shunsuke, "Nihon Shiso no Tokushoku to Tenno-sei" [Characteristics of Japanese Thought and the Emperor System], Shiso, No. 336 (1952), 44-53.

[17]Abe Shinnosuke, "The Emperor of Japan," Radio Japan, I., No. 2 (February, 1957), pp. 7-9.

[18]William P. Woodard, The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945-1952 and Japanese Religion (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. 280.

continues to enhance its international image and stimulate the Japanese national pride.[19]

## 1. Growing National Pride

Losing "face" in Japan is tantamount to losing everything. Though the surrender in 1945 was the greatest national humiliation ever experienced by the Japanese,the Japanese people refused to be overwhelmed by their wounded national pride resulting from the surrender. As Emperor Hirohito's address before a special session of the Diet on September 4, 1945 reads in part,

> It is our desire that our people will surmount the manifold hardships and trials which attend the termination of the war, and make manifest the innate glory of Japan's national polity, win the confidence of the world, establish firmly a peaceful state and contribute to the progress of mankind.[20]

The passage quoted above clearly shows Japan's wounded national pride, on the one hand, and Japanese national determination to weather through the unbearable situation with dignity for a speedy recovery of their

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[19]Tansho Yamazaki, Tennosei no Kenkyu [A Study of the Emperor System] (Tokyo: Teikoku Chiho Gyosei Gakkai, 1959), pp. 389-90.

[20]Quoted in Leonard Mosley, Hirohito: Emperor of Japan (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1966), p. 334.

national prestige, on the other. When the Japanese realized that the Occupation's "reverse course" was under way and that the Cold War was becoming very serious, the post-surrender shock and bewilderment of the Japanese were replaced by traditional patterns of Japanese thinking which, immediately after the surrender, had seemed to have been wiped out forever. "To the extent that Japanese ability and tradition are valued again at home, Japan, despite defeat and three years of military occupation, has regained her national self-confidence."[21]

Paying close attention to the attitudes and feelings of the Japanese people since defeat, we can readily see that it was not the sense of loyalty to the nation that was changed, but rather the expressions and manifestations of that loyalty. Despite reforms and new patterns of life imposed by the Occupation authorities, Japanese pride in their country and their affective sentiments toward the Emperor system have been changed little.[22] Leonard Mosley went so far as to argue that "By 1950 it could be said that Hirohito was established as Emperor of Japan more solidly than he had ever been before, even though the people no

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[21]New York Times, February 19, 1949.

[22]Hugh H. Smythe, "The Japanese Emperor System," Social Research, XIX, No. 4 (December, 1952), 485-93.

longer bowed in fear when he ventured abroad."[23]

The persistence of Japanese traditional thinking and the resuscitation of Japanese national pride may be explicated by the argument that "It is thus possible for great and revolutionary changes to take place in the institutions of a nation without a parallel change in the underlying qualities of the mass of the nation."[24] Japan's growing national pride was well implied when Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke of Japan addressed the members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives on June 20, 1957.

> We [Japanese] firmly believe that they [Communists] are wrong. . . . As the most advanced and industrialized nation in Asia, Japan has already shown that economic and social progress can be achieved without the Communist shortcut. . . . It is my [Kishi's] firm conviction that Japan, as a faithful member of the free world, has a useful and constructive role to play, particularly in Asia, where the free world faces the challenge of international Communism. We are resolved to play that role.[25]

Kishi's attitude implied in the passages above are in many respects redolent of the pre-1945 Japanese sense of national mission as the self-appointed civilizer of Asia.

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[23]Mosley, op. cit., p. 348.

[24]M. Ginsberg, "National Character," British Journal of Psychology, XXXII, Part 3 (January, 1942), 188.

[25]U. S., Congress, Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke of Japan addressed members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, 85th Cong., 1st sess., June 20, 1957, Congressional Record, CIII, 9777.

With the rise of the conservative and nationalistic tide following the introduction of the reverse course, the growing Japanese national pride was quite evident. Instead of the hammer and sickle, the neo-nationalist Japanese youngsters exalted the Rising Sun flag. They have revived the nationalist mystique that surrounded the imperial family before Emperor Hirohito divested himself of all claims to divinity in January, 1946.[26] For example, a Japanese youth, Komori Kazutaka (17 years of age), angered by a fiction article in a magazine describing the imaginary execution of the present imperial family by a revolutionary mob, attempted to kill the publisher of the magazine. Following the assassination attempt, Komori was found to possess in his pocket a handkerchief on which was written a poem: "Long live the Emperor--who would hesitate to sacrifice his life for the sake of the Emperor and his country, since the life of man is as transient as a dewdrop on a blade of grass."[27]

What George R. Packard III wrote on Japan's resurging nationalism in 1963 seems so cogent that a partial

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[26]The persistence of the "Emperor complex" of the Japanese can be better understood if we bear in mind that the Japanese are far from a religious people. For results of various surveys on how Japanese feel about religion, see Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Research Report General Series, No. 38, pp. 32-34. For a detailed analysis of opinion survey results on Japanese religiosity, see Nishira, op. cit., pp. 58-63.

[27]New York Times, February 12, 1961.

quotation is warranted.

> . . . But the force of nationalism that permitted Tojo and the militarists to take over before the war is the overriding factor on the Japanese political scene today. The old quest for a sense of mission, for national unity, power, and world recognition, has reappeared in new shapes and guises. . . . Japan is still a status-conscious nation looking for its proper position in the world. There is unspoken agreement among all the people that Japan has a rightful destiny at the top of the international hierarchy.[28]

Then, Packard posed soul-searching questions.

> Is Tojo rejected for his error in starting a war he could not win, or is he rejected for his aims and methods--expansion and power through the use of force? Have we grown so used to the cliches about Japanese pacifism, hatred of war, revulsion against nuclear weapons, that we see only chrysanthemums where the sword once glistened? Is it fair to ask or expect Gandhi-like pacifism from a nation that has been dominated for centuries by military men? Will Japan be content to remain a third-rate or second-rate military power if its peace diplomacy fails? Has Japan been so thoroughly democratized that it would never engage in the use of force even if it could?[29]

Packard finds the growing Japanese national pride not only in the Japanese adult, but also in the young Japanese. There seems to be a three-way pull on every young Japanese. He is, first of all, a nationalist, who is not only more confident and relaxed, but also more determined

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[28]George R. Packard, III, "Japan's New Nationalism," Atlantic Monthly, CCXI, No. 4 (April, 1963), pp. 65-66.

[29]Ibid., p. 68.

than his elders. Secondly, he is an Asian. thirdly, he is a citizen of a great modern state, proud of Japan's economic ties with the advanced West and anxious for a responsible role in world affairs. Of these three forces, the first two, rooted in history and emotion, are tremendously powerful.[30]

In proportion to the inflation of Japanese national pride, the Japanese seem to detest the fact that the United States regards Japan as an "automatic ally" which is to do things exactly as America wishes.[31] Japanese dissatisfaction with the way they are treated internationally is bound to further fan Japanese national sentiment which, during the immediate postwar years, had lain frozen like a giant glacier. In the mid-sixties, this glacier began to thaw, melted by a growing confidence of the Japanese people in themselves. As this confidence grows, the sense of nationalism grows. There are indications that the isolationism, pacifism, and business-first-ism of the postwar years no longer seem quite enough to satisfy.[32]

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[30]New York Times, August 29, 1965.

[31]William B. Dickinson, Jr., "Rising Japanese Nationalism," Editorial Research Reports, I (January 5, 1966), pp. 3-20; Kato Yoshimani, Zaikai (Tokyo: Kawada Shobo, 1966), p. 184).

[32]Kosaka Masataka, "Nanajunendai no Nichi-Bei Kankei O Kangaeru" [Thinking the Japan-United States Relations in the 1990's], Bungei Shunju XLVIII, No. 10 (September, 1970), 94-108; Kano Tsutomu, "Why the Search for Identity," The

Of course, Japan can be seen as a nation of prosperous, satisfied businessmen and enraged students. Japan, however, is a land with roots struck deep into the past and visions soaring far into the future. Though the Pacific War, to some Japanese, was a complete break with the past, the postwar era signified a clean page of history. Yet others, including historians, political scientists and sociologists, have found that old problems exist in new guises. Such questions as possible militarism, nationalism and lack of individualism still prove troublesome. Some argue that democracy has taken firm roots, whereas others argue that the democratization in Japan has been superficial.[33] Perhaps we could safely state that the one problem that does not remain any longer is Japan's feeling of economic inferiority to the West.[34]

At a symposium sponsored by the Japan society of New York and the Johnson Foundation on December 2, 1969, Herman Kahn declared that "the driving force in Japan today is prestige. They will insist on a status equal to the United States and the Soviet Union, or just below. This includes getting a permanent seat in the United Nations Security

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Japan Interpreter, VIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1973), 153-58.

[33]David Reisman and Evelyn Thompson Reisman, Conversations in Japan: Modernization, Politics, and Culture (New York: Basic Books, 1967), pp. 18, 199.

[34]New York Times, October 23, 1968.

Council." Praising Japan's postwar performance and economic growth, James Abegglen argued that the rapid growth of Japanese economy was not a function of cheap labor nor was it based on copying others. He went on to argue that there was no reason to believe Japan's growth rate would slow. James W. Morley observed that "the tide toward radicalism and leftist extremism had ebbed and that a shift toward the right or political centrism was in prospect." Dr. Morley foresaw a continuing growth of nationalism, more stress on law and order, and a search for "what is best for Japan."[35]

Through Expo-70, the futuristic world's fair of arts and industry, which opened in Osaka on March 15, 1970, the Japanese, in effect, were saying to the world and to themselves that they were a proud people who deserved respect because of their accomplishments. The year 1970 seemed to be the year in which a resurgent nationalism had come nearly to full force, twenty-five years after the humiliating defeat in World War II.[36]

Mishima Yukio's death on November 25, 1970 should not be treated lightly as an isolated incident. Mishima's death might have been indicative of the prevailing Japanese mood. Richard Halloran writes on the implications of Mishima's death.

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[35] Ibid., December 7, 1969.

[36] Richard Halloran, "Japan's Future on Expo-sition," Commonweal, April 17, 1970, pp. 109-110.

> Mishima's death was his final battle in the defense of Japanese culture. . . . Mishima pleaded for a rejection of alien traits, especially the materialism of the West, and a return to the best in the tradition of Japan. He railed against the Constitution that was imposed on Japan by the American Occupation nearly 25 years ago. . . . His seppuku came in the midst of a national search for identity in which the Japanese are looking into themselves, their history, and their culture to discover again who they are. Mishima's memory may well become one of the beacons lighting the way. The strongest sentiment that is coursing through Japan today is the resurgence of nationalism, which should not be confused with the ultra-nationalism of the 1930s. Rather, it is a renewal of pride in being uniquely Japanese and a revival of confidence in Japanese ways and customs and institutions. Mishima was eminently a man of his times and could well have stimulated the already swift flow of Japanese nationalism. . . . they are coming out of their postwar cocoon to demand what they consider to be their rightful place in the political sun.[37]

In 1973, Richard Halloran expressed the view that there was a widespread feeling among Japanese senior officials that President Nixon and Dr. Henry Kissinger disliked Japanese. Stories abounded that Nixon and Kissinger mocked the Japanese. Many politically articulate Japanese thought that the Nixon Administration took Japan for granted. Kissinger was quoted as saying that Japan had to go along with the United States because she had nowhere else to go. This definitely was offensive to Japan's resurgent national pride. Halloran went on to say that "the

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[37]Richard Halloran, "The Politics of Suicide: Yukio Mishima and the Spirit of Japan," Commonweal, March 19, 1971, pp. 34-36.

Japanese, perhaps more than any other people, respond to power when it is applied with finesse. If they are threatened openly, their resistance stiffens because 'face' is at issue."[38]

Echoes of Japan's resurgent nationalism were getting louder in proportion to her economic muscle. In 1973, Secretary General of the Liberal Democratic Party Hashimoto Tomisaburo along with other elites stated that Japan felt isolated and that the Western powers were discriminating against her politically and economically. They talked about an informal, tacit understanding with the Chinese, with whom they are culturally and racially linked, against the West. Some Western observers have already speculated on the consequences of a combination of Japanese industrial might and Chinese manpower. "The Japanese are experiencing a resurgence of national pride based largely on having built the world's third most productive economy. Nevertheless, there is every indication that the Japanese want more than economic strength, for in Japanese national and personal life little is more important than prestige or recognition from other nations or people."[39] The "true Japan" might have long been lost in the course of modernization and democratization. "It still exists, however, somewhere in

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[38]New York Times, February 27, 1973.

[39]Ibid.

the depths of the Japanese mind and every time the pendulum swings inward, this image is called back into active service."[40]

In this connection, it should not go unmentioned that with the passage of time and the increase of Japan's economic aggressiveness there is a strong likelihood of a growing significance of the Yasukuni Shrine. Cyril Powles argues that "the re-establishment of the Yasukuni Shrine represents one aspect of a large-scale drift on the part of Japan's ruling elites back toward the Emperor-centered, authoritarian society which existed before 1945."[41]

The increasing importance of celebrating Japan's National Foundation Day on February 11 can also be seen as a good indication of the growing national pride of the Japanese. Inamura Sakonshiro, Director General of the Prime Minister's Office, representing the Government, in an address at the ceremonial rally in 1978 stated that "the National Foundation Day was intended to inspire the public with a sense of national unity and to foster a love of the nation and a commitment to the development of Japan."[42]

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[40]Kano Tsutomu, "Why Search for Identity," The Japan Interpreter, VIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1973), 153-8.

[41]Cyril Powles, "Yasukuni Jinja Hoan: Religion and Politics in Contemporary Japan," Pacific Affairs, IXL, No. 3 (Fall, 1976), 492.

[42]"Japan's Foundation Day Stirs Controversy," Asian Student, February 25, 1978, p. 1.

Mayuzumi Toshiro, president of a private committee representing some 120 groups that sponsored the celebrations said in a speech that "Japan stood high among the nations of the world because of its unbroken line of Emperors. Japanese people should respect the unparalleled culture and tradition of their own country in their endeavors toward building an excellent nation."[43]

It seems as essential for a nation as it is for an individual to have a sense of significance and achievement. Every people lives by a conviction of benevolent destiny. In fine, the Japanese are becoming more self-confident and nationalistic because of their country's growing economic strength.[44]

## 2. National Security Concern

As in any country, Japan too has historically always been concerned with national security. In addition to the foreign threats which we already discussed in Chapter 2 at great length, the Russian ambition for aggrandizement haunted Japan as early as 1797.[45] We can state that the

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[43]Ibid.

[44]Far Eastern Economic Review, Asia 1977 Yearbook, p. 203.

[45]For Japan's historical concern about national security and its fear of Russia, see John A. Harrison, Japan's Northern Frontier: A Preliminary Study in Colonization and Expansion with Special Reference to the

Meiji leaders' utmost concern was the speedy release of Japan from fear of foreign attack and infringement upon its sovereign rights by the Western Powers.[46]

Given the reality of international politics, even today no nation is free from national security concern. The postwar Japan is by no means an exception, for Japan's growing national pride resulting from its miraculous economic growth would be ludicrous without a reasonable degree of national security. The Japanese system, except in unusual circumstances, does guarantee a meager security. A rash Westernization in Japan is likely to break down that security without giving anything to replace it. The Japanese defense planners seem to believe that Japan's national security ultimately depends upon its political stability, which, in their opinion, must derive from the spirit of national loyalty and patriotism of the Japanese people as a whole.[47]

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Relations of Japan and Russia (Gaineville: University of Florida, 1953). For an account that the foreign threat has tended to fortify the Japanese national consciousness and national unity, see Maruyama Masao, Nihon Seiji Shiso-Shi Kenkyu [A Study of History of Japanese Political Thought] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1970), p. 340.

[46]Josefa M. Saniel, "Mobilization of Traditional Values in the Modernization of Japan," in Robert N. Bellah, ed. Religion and Progress in Modern Asia (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 143.

[47]Sakanaka Tomoshsa et al, Nihon no Jiei Ryoku [Japan's Self-Defense Power] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Sha, 1967), pp. 44-50.

Some observers of Japan are wont to believe that the brief span of time since the end of World War II did a tremendous job in discrediting the military, arguing that "the Japanese boys actually ranked the soldier lower on all scales than did the girls. . . . This case provides an instance of marked attitude change within a brief time span, and represents an important development for Japan's role in world affairs."[48] However, this negative attitude of Japanese youth cannot be interpreted at its face value. Public opinion polls in the 1960's indicated that such measures as amending Article IX of the 1947 Constitution, developing nuclear weapons, upgrading the Defense Agency to a full-fledged ministry, or sending Japanese troops overseas, have been extremely unpopular. But these same polls also indicate that a great majority of the Japanese people are of the opinion that maintaining conventional, strictly defensive forces is not only necessary, but also does not militate against the spirit of the Constitution.[49]

By the same token, as Table 23 shows[50] already in the early 1950's more and more Japanese held a favorable opinion on maintaining a military establishment.

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[48]Robert J. Smith, "Attitudes of Japanese High School Seniors Toward the Military," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), 253.

[49]Doi Akio, Shin Senryaku to Nihon [The New Strategy and Japan] (Tokyo: Jiji Tsushin Sha, 1968), pp. 73-83.

[50]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 628.

TABLE 23

Rearmament for Self-Defense

Question: Do you support or oppose our country's rearmament for self-defense?

Returns:

| | Support | Oppose | Others | Don't Know | No Answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 47.6% | 32.9% | 3.6% | 15.4% | 1.0% |
| By occupation: | | | | | |
| Farmers and fishermen | 60.6% | 28.2% | 1.8% | 8.2% | 1.2% |
| Salaried people | 54.1% | 33.4% | 7.4% | 4.2% | 0.9% |
| Laborers | 43.8% | 43.4% | 0.4% | 11.8% | 0.8% |
| Merchants and industrialists | 65.3% | 20.5% | 5.4% | 8.4% | 0.4% |
| Professionals | 61.8% | 29.4% | 8.8% | — | — |
| Others | 55.5% | 26.5% | 1.3% | 13.5% | 3.2% |
| By level of education | | | | | |
| Under 9 years | 46.3% | 31.1% | 1.7% | 19.8% | 1.3% |
| 10 to 12 years | 50.0% | 37.1% | 5.4% | 8.8% | 0.8% |
| More than 13 years | 51.2% | 36.4% | 10.0% | 2.4% | — |
| By age [men] | | | | | |
| 20 to 29 | 45.7% | 43.0% | 4.2% | 6.4% | 0.7% |
| 30 to 39 | 53.4% | 33.5% | 8.4% | 8.6% | 1.1% |
| 40 to 49 | 61.5% | 26.0% | 3.1% | 7.8% | 1.5% |
| 50 and over | 65.6% | 20.8% | 1.1% | 11.4% | 1.3% |

Table 23 suggests that already in 1953 a majority of Japanese were quite concerned about Japan's national security. Another point worthy of attention is that the Japanese, regardless of their occupation or level of education, seem to hold similar opinions when they are questioned about matters pertaining to national security. It is important to note that the better-educated score a higher percentage of support than the less-educated, albeit the better-educated are usually liberal or progressive, if not left-leaning. Table 23 also seems to confirm our general understanding that the Japanese tend to become more conservative and nationalistic as they get older.

The rearmament question has been the most controversial issue in recent Japanese politics. It is ironic that the thoroughness of the 1945-1948 demilitarization reforms pursued by the American Occupation was to be quickly followed by American demands that Japan become a bulwark of the free world against Asian Communism. Justification for the Occupation's "reverse course" in Japan was found in the rethinking on the part of Americans. For one, in his New Year's message of 1950 to the Japanese people, General MacArthur claimed that "by no sophistry of reasoning can [Article IX of the 1947 'Peace Constitution' of Japan] be interpreted as a complete negation of the right

of self-defense against unprovoked attack."[51]

The pace of the American rethinking quickened after the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950. On July 8, 1950, General MacArthur ordered the creation of a 75,000-man National Police Reserve, which was the forerunner of today's Ground Self- Defense Force. The Occupation began to apply the purge to Japanese Communists. In effect, the United States was belatedly reminded by the Korean War that it was the Soviet Union and Red China rather than postwar Japan that posed the greatest threat to world peace. The new development in East Asia hastened plans for the San Francisco Peace Treaty, in which affirmed that Japan "as a sovereign nation possesses the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense . . . and may voluntarily enter into collective security arrangements."[52]

The Japanese were fully aware that the reverse course in Japan pursued by the United States was in line with United States interests rather than those of Japan. When the United States expressed dissatisfaction with the slow progress of Japanese rearmament, Japanese response thereto sounded typically Japanese and nationalistic. A Yomiuri Shimbun political critic on September 3, 1953,

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[51]New York Herald Tribune, January 1, 1950.

[52]For the full text of the Treaty, see U S. Department of State, Treaty of Peace with Japan and Related Documents, Publication 4561, Far Eastern Series 54 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1952).

deemed representative of the Japanese reaction to the American demands for Japanese rearmament may be quoted here.

> It is America which destroyed our mighty army and navy and the munitions industry . . . even dumped research equipment into the ocean. It is also America which, with an air of importance, forced on Japan a silly constitution renouncing arms. America instilled antimilitary thought in the Japanese; America opened all Japan to the Communist party. In short, it is America which made Japan such that it cannot meet the American demands of today. . . . If America wishes to have Japan as its true ally, it must first recognize its past errors. (Emphasis added.)[53]

It is interesting to note what the Washington Post had to say in this connection.

> You have to pinch yourself to realize that we are only eight years away from 1945. In that year we disarmed Japan entirely. What is more, we made the Japanese write a new Constitution pledging themselves and generations unborn that they would never again raise an army or navy. That was a profound mistake. But a worse mistake would be to behave as if the Japanese Constitution did not exist.[54]

Despite the reluctance on the part of the Japanese to expand their Self-Defense Forces, more Japanese favor the use of their own troops than reliance on the United Nations, United States bases, or other arrangements. As Table 24

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[53] Yomiuri Shimbun, September 3, 1953.

[54] Washington Post, September 3, 1953.

TABLE 24

Constitutional Provision for National Defense

Agency, Date, Sampling and Method:
Yoron Kenaku Kyokai: October 28, 1954; Tokyo Metropolis, Random Sampling, 787 of 800 Responding; Interviewing.

Question: It is recommended that the Constitution should provide for the people's duty to defend the country. Do you agree?

| | Agree | Disagree | Don't Know | Other Opinion | No Answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 58.1% | 24.8% | 16.4% | 0.3% | 0.3% |
| By Occupation | | | | | |
| Salaried people | 62.9% | 29.5% | 7.6% | — | — |
| Merchants/Industrialists | 64.1% | 28.8% | 6.4% | — | 0.6% |
| Laborers | 60.2% | 24.7% | 14.0% | — | 1.1% |
| Housewives | 55.2% | 22.2% | 22.2% | 0.4% | — |
| Students | 51.2% | 39.5% | 9.3% | — | — |
| Professionals | 65.5% | 26.8% | 3.8% | 3.8% | — |
| Farmers | 31.3% | 18.5% | 56.2% | — | — |
| Unemployed | 55.9% | 14.8% | 29.5% | — | — |
| By Age | | | | | |
| 20 to 29 | 52.6% | 31.0% | 16.0% | — | 0.4% |
| 30 to 39 | 61.0% | 21.4% | 17.1% | 0.5% | — |
| 40 to 49 | 57.6% | 26.3% | 15.6% | — | 0.5% |
| 50 and over | 63.0% | 19.3% | 17.2% | 0.5% | — |

clearly shows,[55] the demilitarization of occupation reforms and the easing of tension over Korea still left the majority of the Japanese people convinced that their own forces could offer the best national security.

Opinion surveys[56] conducted by the Central Research Services in October, 1956, and August, 1957, reveal similarly that the Japanese are convinced that their own forces are the best means for Japan's security, having a very low opinion of American forces as a means for protecting Japan's security, as shown in Table 25.

Table 25
Means for Japan's Security

| | October 1956 | August 1957 |
|---|---|---|
| Our Own Forces | 38% | 37% |
| Collective Security | 33 | 27 |
| American Forces | 4 | 4 |
| Other Opinion/Don't Know | 25 | 32 |

That a plurality of respondents believed in depending on their own forces rather than United States forces or United Nations guarantees is a finding which

[55]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 455.

[56]Central Research Services, Kempo ni Kansuru Yoron Chosa--Dai San-Kai [Public Opinion Survey on the Constitution--No. 3] (Tokyo: Prime Minister's Office, September, 1957).

requires further examination.[57] It must be noted that preferring native defense to collective security measures or United States bases is not tantamount to strong support for full-fledged rearmament.[58] The Japanese attitudes toward national security must be seen in the light of the changing international situation and the utilitarian view of the Japanese for the maximization of Japanese interest.

A Mainichi opinion survey on the adequacy of the policy force after the Peace Treaty conducted during the period of March 30 through April 1, 1950 (namely, before the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950), reveals quite natural responses: 12.7% of 3,515 respondents thought that the present strength of the police force would be adequate; 36.3% thought that it is sufficient at present, but insufficient after the Peace Treaty; 23.4% thought that it is sufficient neither for now nor for the post-treaty days; and 27.6% expressed other opinions.[59] In view of the prevailing political situation at that time, when the Cold War was steadily becoming very serious, on the one hand, and the Japanese were looking forward to regaining their independence as the Peace Treaty negotiation was making headway, on the other, the Japanese were about to become

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[57]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., pp. 563-69.

[58]Ibid., p. 567.

[59]Ibid., p. 563

conservatively-oriented.

Another Mainichi opinion survey[60] conducted about two months after the outbreak of the Korean War shows that there were more Japanese opposing United States military bases in Japan than those approving them, albeit the Japanese were fully aware of the fact that their national security was protected by the United States military presence.[61] This seems to imply that the maintenance of national defense attributable to the United States military presence was once thing, and that the Japanese, regardless of their ideological orientation, did not wish to get directly involved in the East-West confrontation was quite another.

A Mainichi survey conducted in December, 1950, indicated that the Japanese were becoming more or less rearmament-oriented as the uncertainty surrounding the Korean War loomed larger and larger.[62] While Japan was gradually expanding its defenses, various opinion surveys continued to show strong majority approval of the basic

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[60]Ibid., p. 566.

[61]As early as July, 1946, the fear of the threat of Soviet Communism was quite evident in the United States and Japan. AN early warning of this threat is found in "The Fortune Survey," Fortune, July, 1946, pp. 5-6, 10.

[62]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 567.

principle denied by Article IX of the 1947 Constitution. Thus, by 1957 the margin was over three to one in favor of rearmament.[63]

Japan at the time was less interested in embroiling itself in such an emotionally touchy issue as rearmament than in taking advantage of the on-going war in Korea to improve its national economy, as table 26[64] and table 27[65] clearly show.

Table 26 seems to prove once again that all the Japanese are basically nationalistic. Quite contrary to the usual findings that Japanese intellectuals tend to be liberal, progressive, and left-leaning, the percentage favoring rearmament among the college-educated is 70.7%, whereas that among the primary-school-educated is only 60.2%

Findings of other surveys on the Japanese attitudes toward rearmament and United States bases in Japan seem to be very contradictory. According to a Mainichi survey of September 13-14, 1951 on the "Danger of Communist Invasion Because of Japan-U. S. Security Pact," 46.5% expressed the

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[63]Asaki Shimbun, May 2, 1957. Writing in 1950, Kawai Kazuo observed that "Japan's commitment to forsake war, originally forced on the defeated Japan, no longer depends primarily on whether or not the Japanese are willing to abide by it, but upon whether the Allied Powers will be able to agree to allow Japan to retain it." See his "Japanese Views on National Security," Pacific Affairs XXIII, No. 2 (June, 1950), p. 127.

[64]Cole and Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 574.

[65]Ibid., p. 579.

TABLE 26

Rearmament After Peace Treaty

Question: "Do you think Japan should have its own armament in order to protect the security of this country after the peace treaty?"

| | Yes | No | Don't Know | No Answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 63.0% | 19.5% | 16.7% | 0.8% |
| **By Occupation** | | | | |
| Salaried People | 67.4% | 28.1% | 4.0% | 0.5% |
| Merchants and Industrialists | 73.4% | 19.8% | 6.5% | 0.3% |
| Farmers and Fishermen | 71.2% | 15.7% | 12.6% | 0.5% |
| Laborers | 69.8% | 17.5% | 10.4% | 2.2% |
| Others | 64.4% | 17.8% | 16.1% | 1.7% |
| **By Level of Education** | | | | |
| Primary School | 60.2% | 17.4% | 21.5% | 0.8% |
| Middle School | 68.2% | 23.8% | 7.5% | 0.4% |
| College | 70.7% | 24.4% | 3.4% | 1.5% |
| **By Age** | | | | |
| 20 to 29 | 66.8% | 25.6% | 6.1% | 1.5% |
| 30 to 39 | 69.9% | 24.3% | 5.6% | 0.2% |
| 40 to 49 | 73.2% | 15.4% | 10.3% | 1.1% |
| 50 and over | 69.8% | 13.7% | 15.8% | 0.4% |

Source: Mainichi national survey of June 15-17, 1951 (N=3,564)

TABLE 27

Rearmament After U. S.-Japan Security Pact

Question: "The Japan-U. S. Security pact will last until our country can manage its own self-defense. What do you think about our country's rearmament?"

| | Better Rearm Quickly | Rearm After Economic Security | Should Not Rearm | Others | Don't Know | No Answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 24.9% | 51.4% | 12.1% | 2.9% | 7.9% | 0.8% |
| By Occupation | | | | | | |
| Salaried people | 30.1% | 47.7% | 14.5% | 3.6% | 2.6% | 1.3% |
| Laborers | 30.7% | 52.0% | 8.6% | 2.4% | 4.7% | 1.6% |
| Merchants and Industrialists | 27.2% | 62.4% | 5.6% | 3.2% | 1.6% | 0 % |
| Others | 23.7% | 50.6% | 11.2% | 1.1% | 11.2% | 2.2% |
| By Level of Education | | | | | | |
| Under 9 years | 27.1% | 50.0% | 8.5% | 2.2% | 11.3% | 0.9% |
| 10 to 12 years | 22.6% | 51.9% | 16.4% | 4.1% | 4.1% | 0.9% |
| More than 13 years | 21.4% | 55.7% | 16.4% | 2.9% | 3.6% | — |

Source: Mainichi survey of September 13-14, 1951 (N=1,280).

feeling that danger of invasion would decrease, whereas 13.3% thought the danger of invasion would increase.[66] Another Mainichi survey of January 31 and February 1, 1953 produced results which are not consistent with the above findings. When Japanese were queried "The U. S. has established military bases in Japan. Do you think this is for Japan or for the U. S.?," 44% thought it was for the United States, whereas only 17% felt that it was for Japan.[67]

The contradiction of Japanese attitudes seems to be inevitable, for the Japanese are practical in terms of taking advantage of what the United States offers for their national security.[68] But at the same time they are so nationalistic that they detest the very idea that they have to stomach the presence of the United States bases in Japan.[69] In his speeches in 1967 and 1968 on the Security Treaty and on Okinawa, Prime Minister Sato Eisaku preached to the Japanese to cultivate their Boei Ishiki [Defense Consciousness]. Sato stated that Japan needed military defense, and they would have to continue to rely on the

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[66] Ibid., p. 666.

[67] Ibid., p. 609.

[68] Japan Times, July 9, 1968; Sakanaka, op. cit., pp. 52-59.

[69] Oka Takashi, "Japan's Self-Defense Force Wins a Skirmish with the Past," New York Times Magazine, February 28, 1971, p. 35.

Treaty and protection under the U. S. nuclear umbrella.[70]

Opinion polls seemed to indicate that with the passage of time more and more Japanese held favorable opinions on maintaining a military establishment. Already in the mid-sixties there was a rise in popularity of movies and literature depicting the military heroes of Japan's past.[71] Arguing that, due to Japan's dependence on outside resources to feed its industry, Keyes Beech comments that it is highly unlikely that Japan will return to militarism unless the military and political situations in the Far East are drastically changed, and that Japan is fatefully, as far as the current political wisdom goes, tied to the United States by necessity, trade and common aspirations. Beech goes on to state,

> The [1947] Constitution is a kind of judicial chastity belt preventing a return to militarism. . . . Perhaps the best argument for a peace-loving Japan is its awful vulnerability to attack. "The biggest non-floating target in the world," one State Department official called Japan in pointing to the density of its population and industry. Scoffing at an American futurologist's prediction that Japan would "go nuclear," a Japanese defense analyst said: "To be an effective nuclear power, you must have a second-strike capability. But after the first strike on Japan, there wouldn't be anything left of Japan."[72]

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[70] Asahi Shimbun, August 17 and September 4, 1967.

[71] New York Times, November 5, 1965, and March 13, 1966.

[72] Keyes Beech, "Japan--The Ultimate Domino?" Saturday Review, August 23, 1975, p. 17.

No one could confidently dispute the argument that Japan is vulnerable to military attack and foreign economic strangulation. Yet, whether or not Japan would go nuclear, remains a moot question.[73] Japan's enormous energy needs, and its well-nigh total dependence on foreign sources have necessitated a top-priority decision to develop the most advanced nuclear processes in the world and a self-reliant nuclear energy program. Japan's program for the peaceful use of atomic energy could doubtlessly be transformed into a military purpose, with hardly any additional cost. Many observers are of the opinion that the present program will engender a psychological climate that will redound to a decision to develop military weaponry.[74]

Given the Soviet threat,[75] Japan's military planners, imagining an attack from the Soviet Union, have predicted that "the Air Force would live for four hours against the Russians in the sky, the Navy might survive four

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[73]For a good essay on the development of the Japanese perception of their national security since the idealism contained in the preamble of the Constitution in effect since May, 1947, see Hirasawa Kazushige, "Japan's Emerging Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs, LIV, No. 1 (October 1975), 155-172.

[74]Asahi Shimbun, November 16, 1973.

[75]Inoki Masamichi, "Foren no 'Kyoi' ni do Taisho Suruka" [How to Face the Soviet Threat], Chuo Koron, (November, 1976), 56-65. Also see Chitoshi, "Japan in Danger," Current History, XXVII, No. 159 (November, 1954), 283-88.

days at sea, and the Army could hold out for about four weeks."[76] Though fully convinced of a possible military attack on Japan, Japanese defense planners believe that building conventional military forces strong enough to enable Japan to repel a possible Soviet conventional attack is an unnecessary duplication of effort as long as the United States is committed to the defense of South Korea and retains its naval and air superiority in the Western Pacific.[77]

Insofar as Japan's security is concerned, it seems to be very delicate and difficult for the Japanese to be nationalistic and realistic at the same time. Some critics of the Government's policy have claimed that as long as the United States maintains a positive defense posture in the Far East, Japan's security is protected even without the physical presence of the United Forces in Japan.[78] On the other hand, Director General of the Defense Agency claimed in November, 1977 that

> the defense of our country does not pose a threat to other countries. It is designed to complete a structure which will make it possible for the

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[76] New York Times, June 12, 1975.

[77] Sakanaka, op. cit., pp. 52-59; Saeki Kiichi, Nihon no Anzen Hosho [Japan's Security Policy] (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Mondai Kenkyujo, 1966), pp. 60-67.

[78] Royama Michio, "Kaku Senryaku no Igi to Nihon no Shorai" [The Meaning of Nuclear Strategy for Japan's Future], Chuo Koron (March, 1968), pp. 50-67.

people to sleep without fear, providing security against aggression by other countries.[79]

According to former Director General of the Defense Agency Sakata Michita, Japan's defense rests on three principles: "The will of all Japanese to defend the nation, an adequate defense force, and the mutual security treaty with the United States."[80] The national security concern of the Japanese people is likely to be heightened, for pride in economic accomplishments and uncertainty about future security prevail in Japan.[81] One thing that seems to further stimulate Japanese security concerns is the Japanese people's waning faith in the United States' military might.[82]

Indeed, Japan's confidence in American know-how and military capacity is being eroded.[83] As Morton Kondracke argues, "the future that the Japanese Government prefers is

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[79]Mainichi Shimbun, November 29, 1977.

[80]Beech, op. cit., p. 16.

[81]Morton Kondracke, "Tokyo Has Risen," The New Republic, September 10, 1977, pp. 11-14.

[82]G. Ringwald, "Tokyo's Waning Faith in U. S. Military Might," Business Week, December 31, 1979, p. 54; John K. Emmerson, "Our Asian Interests: Japanese Allies, Chinese Friends," Vital Speeches of the Day, July 15, 1980, pp. 578-81; Lawrence Minard, "Guns Instead of TV Sets," Forbes, March 20, 1978, pp. 71-72; Kawada Tadashi, "Seicho Suru Nihon no Boei Sangyo" [Defense Industry of Growing Japan], Sekai, October, 1964, pp. 64-74.

[83]Emmerson, op. cit., p. 579.

that of a superpower without military power, an unprecedented creature in world history."[84] Perhaps the Japanese attitude toward national defense is best encapsulated in the words uttered by Director of Nikkeiren [the Japan Federation of Employers Organization=JFEO] Sakurada Takeshi: "I do not want economic development where you have peace and freedom without an assured national defense."[85] the Japanese believe that national strength is safer than alliance.

### 3. Racial Implications

Along with Japanese national pride and security concern stands the Japanese racial feeling, which can be stated as the most essential ingredient in continuously fostering the Japanese national consciousness.[86] As Anthony D. Smith states, "The essential background for an understanding of the appeal of nationalism is the concept of

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[84]Kondracke, op. cit., p. 13.

[85]Asahi Nenkan, 1969, p. 465.

[86]For a fuller understanding of the relationship between the Japanese racial feeling and national consciousness, see Minami Hiroshi [a U. S.-educated Japanese social psychologist], "Nihonjin no Gaikokujen Kan" [Japanese Views of Foreigners], Ningen no Kagaku, II, No. 1 (1964), 14-23; Katamura Hiroshi, "Psychological Dimensions of U. S.-Japanese Relations, Occasional Papers in International Affairs, No. 28 (August, 1971) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Center for International Affairs, 1971.)

the ethnic."[87]

Despite the moralistic preachments by thoughtful and well-meaning observers to the effect that racism is one of the greatest human follies, that culture is not a function of race, and that no racial type has a monopoly on high culture, racism still lingers on even in the second half of the twentieth century, pestering mankind and international relations.[88] Thus, we are led to argue that a civilized type of world view does not necessarily develop together with a civilized type of social relations.

It is by no means a recent development that the Japanese are subject to the emotional aspects of racism. Since the centuries-old national consciousness and racial feelings were already discussed at some length in Chapter II, in the following pages we will discuss some of the racially-related developments that have either stimulated or aggravated the Japanese racial feelings.

Given the Japanese racial feelings of extraordinary

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[87]Anthony D. Smith, "Ethnocentrism, Nationalism, and Social Change," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, XIII, No. 1 (March, 1972), 19.

[88]For some arguments against racism, see, for example, James Bryce, The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind (Oxford: Clarendon, 1902); Ruth Benedict, Race and Racism (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1942); John Benjamin Nichols, "We Are Not Born Civilized," Common Ground, VIII, No. 4 (Summer, 1948), 3-10; Francis B. Sayre, "The Problem of Underdeveloped Areas in Asia and Africa," Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, LXXXI, No. 6 (April, 1952), 284-98.

nature, a series of international developments even after Japan's emergence as a major power following Japan's victories over China and Russia at the turn of the century have further deepened the racial feelings of the Japanese.[89] Minami Hiroshi tells us that the foreigners are, in the views of the Japanese, not only different people of different race and nationality coming from outside, but also they are people of higher status and stronger power, coming from above. Minami goes on to tell us that the Japanese feel shy toward the foreigners as outsiders and feel an inferiority-superiority complex toward the foreigners who come from above.[90]

Though the Japanese might feel racially inferior to Westerners, they do hate to be looked down upon or to be sneered at. No less a figure than Woodrow Wilson expressed his racial view in the following words in 1902.

> Chinese laborers had poured in [to the Pacific Coast], first by hundreds, then by thousands, finally by hundreds of thousands, until the labor situation of the whole coast had become one almost of revolution. Caucasian laborers could not compete with the Chinese, could not live upon a handful of rice and work for a pittance, and found themselves being steadily crowded out from occupation after occupation by the thrifty,

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[89]For an overview of race sentiment, see James Bryce, Race Sentiment As a Factor in History (London: University of London Press, 1915). The January 1921 issue of Annals was devoted to "Present Day Immigration With Special Reference to the Japanese."

[90]Minami, op. cit.

> skillful Orientals, who, with their yellow skin and debasing habits of life, seemed to them hardly fellow men at all, but evil spirits, rather.[91]

It does not take much intelligence to read between the lines of the passage above. For racially self-conscious Japanese, learning that such a noble, "humanitarian" personage as Woodrow Wilson harbored racial prejudice against non-Caucasian races must have been very disturbing and gnawing. We should also note that President Woodrow Wilson had long opposed Oriental immigrants and in 1912 had declared "We cannot make a homogeneous population out of a people who do not blend with the Caucasian race."[92]

According to Fred H. Matthews' argument, "The real [American] prejudice against the Japanese dates from the time when they began to be small owners, rather than farm laborers."[93] Matthews' statement would have been truer to reality had he used the word "discrimination" rather than "prejudice." The Japanese could not have failed to notice the hypocrisy involved in the American attitude in dealing with Asiatics: that it was all right to take Christianity to the Far East, but it was not desirable that its peoples

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[91]Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People (6 vols., New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902), p. 185.

[92]Quoted in Fred H. Matthews, "White Community and the 'Yellow Peril'," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. L (1964), 620.

[93]Ibid., p. 618.

leave home to seek it in the United States.

For a fuller understanding of American racial prejudice of an earlier period, we may quote the following:

> Puritan pastors of the early colonial period began to forge the American myth of foundation. It was argued that God separated the good wheat from the chaff of Europe, and appointed the good the task of founding a "Wilderness Zion," a "City on the Hill," in America. This kind of religious pronouncements was to be later exploited in spiritualizing the secular revolution. "We have incontestable evidence," said one preacher-patriot, "that God Almighty, with all the powers of heaven, are on our side."[94]

Similar views on American prejudice were voiced by many. In a editorial in the **New York Morning News** on December, 1845, John L. O'Sullivan (1813-1895) argued that it was the "manifest destiny" of the United States to expand to the Pacific, "the manifest design of Providence." His phrase was to become a name and a rationale to conjure with in the justification for the land the United States took from Indians and Mexicans as well as for demands that it take Cuba, Canada, perhaps all of North America. He went on to argue that the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon was not only inevitable, but also he had a duty to discharge--a duty to

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[94]Quoted in Robert Middlekauff, "The Ritualization of the American Revolution," in Lawrence Levine and Robert Middlekauff, eds., The National Temper (New York: Harcourt, 1972), p. 107.

spread free and democratic institutions.[95]

Furthermore, advocating the application of American Manifest Destiny to Asia, United States Senator Thomas Hart Benton eloquently expressed his belief in May, 1846.

> The arrival of the van of the Caucasian race upon the border of the sea which washes the shore of Eastern Asia promised a greater and more benificent change upon the earth than any human event past or present since the dispersion of man upon the earth. The Caucasian race "must wake up and reanimate the torpid body of Asia. . . . The moral and intellectual superiority of the White race will do the rest: and thus the youngest people, and the newest land, will become the reviver and the regenerator of the oldest."[96]

Of course, the Japanese detested the American doctrine of Manifest Destiny. But it must be a historical irony of the first order that the Japanese came up with their own version of Manifest Destiny, conquering their Asian neighbors under the pretext of "the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." The sudden emergence of extraordinarily altruistic pretensions in national life raises a problem which transcends the sphere of conscious reasoning.[97] There is no denying that national self-interest is aggresively pursued in the name of Providence,

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[95]Quoted in Richard Current and John Garraty, eds., Words That Made American History (2 Vols.; Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), I, pp. 437-445.

[96]Quoted in Yanaga Chitoshi, Japan Since Perry (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), p. 17.

[97]New York Times, April 30, 1967.

international morality, or civilized dignity. As Albert K. Weinberg rightly said, "the enlargement of territorial aims was probably due less to philanthropy than to a consideration of national self-interest."[98]

American racial politics has been a function of emotion, not of reason. There had been no significant anti-Japanese legislation passed in California prior to 1913, but there had been a long struggle for Japanese exclusion.[99] Toward the beginning of this century, **"California was alarmed, for no very good reason other than that these new people [Japanese] did not look right."**[100] (Emphasis added.)

Edward Seidensticker says that

> the subtler rationale for 'the Pacific War' was racist not nationalist. . . . Xenophobia and insularity are part of the Japanese facts of life that may one day disappear but today must be lived with. This disquieting thought is that the stronger the initial affinity with the West appears to be and the longer the exposure, the

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[98]Albert K. Weinberg, Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), p. 169.

[99]For a good account of anti-Orientalism during the Hiram Johnson Administration in California, see, among others, Rogert B. Daniels, Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

[100]Edward Seidensticker, "The Image," in Herbert Passin, ed., The United States and Japan (2nd ed.; Washington, D. C.: Columbia Books, 1925), p. 14.

> more violent may be the hostile forces that are ultimately released . . . the race issue may really lie nearer their hearts than any other noisy issues.[101]

Japanese were fully aware of the fact that they did not "look right" in the eyes of Americans. What is more, Japanese surely hated to be in a subservient position, doing menial labor. As one Fresno fruit grower explained in January, 1907, ". . . we [American fruit growers] are wholly dependent upon [Japanese] labor. If they are excluded, we shall have to give up our farms and go out of business."[102]

Japanese characteristic independence was bemoaned by many large American growers, one of whom expressed his dismay as follows:

> The Chinese when they were here were ideal. They were patient, plodding, and uncomplaining in the performance of the most menial service. they submitted to anything, never violating a contract. The exclusion acts drove them out. The Japanese now coming are a tricky and cunning lot, who break contracts and become quite independent.[103]

As the Japanese in California had steadily become bolder and more independent, the American hatred of Japanese had proportionally grown stronger, trying to prevent

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[101] Ibid.

[102] Quoted in Herbert B. Johnson, Discrimination Against Japanese in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1907), p. 42.

[103] "Chinese and Japanese in America," Annals, XXIV (1903), 5.

Japanese from owning land.[104] As early as 1913 the "yellow press" in the United States and Japan had contributed to a crisis which only hard labor in Washington and Tokyo was able to overcome.[105] It seems quite strange that the Hiram Johnson Administration, so concerned about the plight of the immigrants, would at the same time support legislation designed to restrict the activities of a large portion of the state's [California's] alien population, the Orientals.[106] In September, 1913, public opinion in Japan continued to be bitter against the United States. Hypersensitive to any hint of inferiority, the Japanese were using the California law to oppose not only the United States, but Christianity. Irate Japanese said that when Americans spoke of "the fatherhood of God," and the "brotherhood of Man," they meant only "White Men."[107]

The racial question involving the United States and Japan was becoming extremely serious toward the end of World

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[104]Raymond Leslie Buell, "The Development of the Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States," Political Science Quarterly, XXXVII, No. 4 (December, 1922), 605-38.

[105]Thomas A. Bailey, "California, Japan, and the Alien Land Legislation of 1913," Pacific Historical Review, I (March, 1932), 54.

[106]Spencer C. Olin, Jr., "European Immigrant and Oriental Alien: Acceptance and Rejection by the California Legislature of 1913," Pacific Historical Review, XXXV, No. 3 (August, 1966), 309.

[107]Paolo E. Coletta, "The Most Thankless Task: Bryan and the California Alien Land Legislation," Pacific Historical Review, XXXVI (May, 1967), 182.

War I.[108] Many derogatory writings pandered to a further worsening of the racial question. For instance, Dr. Benjamin I. Wheeler, President Emeritus of the University of California, made an inflammatory remark in May, 1920:

> The two civilizations [of America and Japan] cannot mingle, and the leaders in Japan agree that it is not well to attempt to amalgamate them. They cannot and will not understand our civilization, and no matter in what part of the world he is, a Japanese always feels himself a subject of the Emperor, with the Imperial Government backing him, much as a feudal retainer had the support of his overlord in exchange for an undivided loyalty.[109]

In March, 1919, Prescott F. Hall wrote an extremely racial essay which merits quotation.

> You cannot make bad stock into good by changing its meridian, any more than you can turn a cart horse into a hunter by putting it into a fine stable, or make a mongrel into a fine dog by teaching it tricks. . . . Immigration restriction is a species of segregation on a large scale, by which inferior stocks can be prevented from both diluting and supplanting good stocks.[110]

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[108]See Ralph E. Minger, "Taft's Missions to Japan: A Study in Personal Diplomacy," Pacific Historical Review, XXX, No. 3 (August, 1961), 279-94; Kell F. Mitchell, Jr., "Diplomacy and Prejudice: The Morris-Shidehara Negotiations," Ibid., XXXIX, No. 1 (February, 1970), 85-104; Foreign Relations, 1921, II, 343-47; New York Times, September 2, 27, 28; December 28, 1920; January 8, 30; February 7, 1921

[109]Quoted in Japan Advertiser, May 22, 1920.

[110]Prescott F. Hall, "Immigration Restriction and Eugenics," Journal of Heredity, X, No. 3 (March, 1919), p. 126.

To be sure, remarks like these could not go unheeded in the racially sensitive Japan. Writing again in January, 1921, Hall argued that history evinces that the mixture of races tends to bring about demise of civilizations.[111] And the author went on to argue that the Nordic race is superior to the Alpine and Mediterranean races, and that the characteristics of the former are individual initiative, love of personal liberty, while those of the latter are centralization of authority, reliance upon the state, and in war subservience and absence of morality.

American racial discrimination culminated in the Exclusion Act of 1924, which effectively prevented the immigration of Orientals for almost twenty years.[112] Along with the United States there was Australia, among others, which insisted on racial discrimination. White Australians are opposed even to a quota system for Asiatic immigration. In 1946, Australian racism was so naked as to assert that "there can be no concession whatever . . . the idea of racial purity is sacred to her [Australia], and she must maintain that to the very point of death."[113] Even in the

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[111]Prescott F. Hall, "Immigration and the World War," The Annals, XCIII (January, 1921).

[112]Roger Daniels, "Westerners from the East: Oriental Immigrants Reappraised," Pacific Historical Review, XXXV, No. 4 (November, 1966), 374-75.

[113]Clive Turnbull, "Australia and Asiatics,"

1960's, Australia doggedly pursued the "White Australian Policy."[114]

Japanese response to the racial discrimination in the West was based on emotion, not on reason, resulting in the miscalculated Pacific War. Not to be outdone by the West, Japan demonstrated its own share of racial arrogance by being indifferent to other Asian peoples and by waging racial propaganda against Anglo-American racism.[115]

A telling example of American racial discrimination against the Japanese was demonstrated by the United States' government's official policy during World War II of relocating the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans on the West Coast.[116] The singling out of the ethnic Japanese only

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Spectator, March 8, 1946, pp. 241-42.

[114]Ernest O. Ames, "Australia--for Whites Only," The Nation, September 17, 1949, pp. 274-75; Sydney Morning Herald, May 19, 1945; Herbert I. London, "Foreign Affairs and the White Australia Policy," Orbis, VIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1969), 556-77.

[115]For good discussions of Japan's ultranationalism through racism, see Seldon C. Memefee, "Japan's Psychological War," Social Forces, XXI, No. 4 (May, 1943), 425-36; Sakamaki Shunzo, "Shinto: Japanese Ethnocentrism," in Charles A. Moore, ed., Philosophy: East and West (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1944), Ch. VI; Yves R. Simon, "Secret Sources of the Success of the Racist Ideology," Review of Politics, VII, No. 1 (January, 1945), 74-105.

[116]"As time passes, it becomes more and more plain that our wartime treatment of the Japanese and the Japanese-Americans on the West Coast was a tragic and dangerous mistake. That mistake is a threat to society, and to all men. Its motivation and its impact on our system of law

to the exclusion of the ethnic Germans and Italians was seen by the Japanese as the clear manifestation of Caucasian racism against the Orientals, in general, and the Japanese, in particular.[117]

Informed or not, the majority of the American people advocated a harsh punitive treatment of Japan after the surrender, revealing the deep-rooted American prejudice against the Japanese.[118] That racial prejudice dies hard, indeed, seems to be a truism. It is interesting to learn that the American discrimination against non-white people

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deny every value of democracy. In the perspective of our legal tradition, the facts are almost incredible." Eugene V. Rostow, "Our Worst Wartime Mistake," Harpers, September, 1944, pp. 193-201. For a more scholarly treatment see, Idem, "The Japanese-American Cases--A Disaster," Yale Law Review, LIV (1945), 489-553. For a penetrating analysis of the wartime treatment of the ethnic Japanese, see Edward N. Barnhart, "The Individual Exclusion of Japanese Americans in World War II," Pacific Historical Review, XXIX, No. 2 (May, 1960), 111-30.

[117]This case is a clear indication of the traditional Atlantic-mindedness of Americans and of Caucasian racism against the Japanese. See Marguerite Ann Stewart, "Asia in the School Curriculum," Far Eastern Survey, XIV, No. 8 (September 12, 1945), 256-59. One page 256, Stewart writes: "The fact is that the average American school child learns more about the tiny country of Holland than about the whole continent of Asia, which includes more than one-third of the land space, and is inhabited by nearly half the people on earth."

[118]See Louise Merrick Van Patten, "Public Opinions on Japanese Americans," Far Eastern Survey, XIV, No. 15 (August 1, 1945), 207-208; Shirley Jenkins, "'Uninformed' Opinion on Japan," Far Eastern Survey, XIV, No. 18 (September 12, 1945), 251; A Fortune survey conducted in December, 1945 revealed that Americans were prejudiced more against the Japanese than the Germans. See Fortune, December, 1945, pp. 303, 305-6, 309-10.

was demonstrated by the immigration quota made public in June, 1952: 65,361 for Great Britain and Northern Ireland; 100 for China; and 185 for Japan.[119] We should be reminded that relations between Japan and the United States were very propitious in June, 1952: Japan needed United States aid for its reconstruction, whereas the United States needed Japan as a bulwark against Communist expansion.

However much the more liberal advocates of the ethnic revival may proclaim the contrary, the fact remains that the glorification of one's heritage and one's group always implies its superiority, its "chosenness" over all others.[120] It is not difficult to see that racial and national prejudices are not likely to disappear: They can be more easily denounced than actually given up, Henry Walter Brann writes,

> When making large plans regarding future developments on the world's political and social scene, we must never forget that the strongest motor of human actions was and remains HABIT. . . Group thinking, in which our apparently most original

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[119]"Presidential Proclamation 2980 of June 20, 1952," United States Code, Congressional and Administrative News, vol. 1 (1952), pp. 986-88.

[120]Thoughtful observers deplore the disparity between the American idealism and American practice. Lester B. Granger, "The Negro Views Peace," Far Eastern Survey, XIV, No. 17 (August 29, 1945), 237-39; Rupert B. Vance, "Tragic Dilemma: The Negro and the American Dream," Virginia Quarterly Review, XX, No. 3 (Summer, 1944), 435-55; Suzuki Eisuke, "Foreign Students and the American Dream," Yale Review, LXVIII, No. 3 (March, 1979), 369-82.

> thoughts have a source, moves in concentric circles of a century-old routine. We are all dominated by the terrible law of mental inertia which so often degenerates into moral indifference. How many progressive thinkers and writers, who with all the strength of their professional talents fight against any kind of discrimination and for a just and equal treatment of all races, nations, and faiths of the world actually live up to their own teachings in everyday life? Their number is astonishingly small indeed.[121]

By the same token, Frederick Hertz argues that "Racialism can be defined as the belief in deep, innate and unalterable differences of appearance, mentality and value, between human groups. . . . This idea definitely asserts that human races are not merely distinguished by outward characteristics but also their whole mentality and their cultural value."[122] Japanese obsession with skin color is still as pronounced as ever before. The Japanese regard white skin as beautiful and black skin as ugly even before they have any meaningful contact with Europeans, Africans or Indians.[123] The Japanese racial feeling, be it from their own ethnocentrism or from the racial discriminations in the

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[121]Henry Walter Brann, "Is the Complete Disappearance of Racial and National Prejudices Realizable?," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XXVI, No. 1 (June, 1945), 78. In this connection also see, Nichols, op. cit., p. 9.

[122]Frederick Hertz, "Racialism As a Social Factor," Sociological Review, XL, Section 10 (1948), 123.

[123]Mainichi Shimbun, August 2, 1965; Wagatsuma Hiroshi, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," Daedalus, XCII, No. 2 (Spring, 1967), 407- 43.

West, is likely to remain as a major nationalistic factor.

## CHAPTER XIII

## NATIONAL INTEREST

It appears that the world in which we live still confirms the old dictum that "States have no friends, only interests." Nations, of course, do not have friends and do not feel gratitude. Nations have interests, and they act accordingly. That was the defense for the United States abandonment of Free China on Taiwan. "In essence, liberal internationalists reaffirm their faith in a positive role for the United States, but their proposals are unconvincingly rhetorical--at once too easy and too feeble."[1]

Despite all the noble pronouncements by many well-intentioned internationalists, more and more studies have revealed that neither the advanced industrial countries nor the developing ones are in process of jettisoning national interests in favor of international cooperation and collaboration based on the spirit of "universal

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[1]Richard A. Falk, "Beyond Internationalism," Foreign Policy, No. 24 (Fall, 1976), 103.

brotherhood."[2] Gunnar Myrdal, for one, harbored no illusion when he said: "The Welfare-State is nationalistic."[3]

Realities of international power politics convince us that each nation seems destined to pursue its own national interests unless the few countries with spacious land and abundant natural resources are willing to share them with other peoples. Otherwise, internationalism and humanism only signify ruination for disadvantaged countries.[4] Unless very general psychological and even sociological causes of nations are basically changed, international cooperation, in the real sense, is wishful

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[2]See, among others, Sekai Keizai Chosakai, Nashonarizumu no Kenkyu [A Study of Nationalism] (Tokyo: Sekai Keizai Chosakai, 1956); W. T. Stace, "Have Nations Any Morals?," Atlantic Monthly, November, 1945, pp. 83-87; Hannah Arendt, "Imperialism, Nationalism, Chauvinism," Review of Politics, VII, No. 4 (October, 1945), 441-63; Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Twilight of International Morality," Ethics, LVIII, No. 2 (January, 1948), 79-99; idem, "The Meaning of American Foreign Policy: The National Interest vs. Moral Abstractions," American Political Science Review, XLVI, No. 4 (December, 1950), 833-54; idem, "Another 'Great Debate': The National Interest of the United States," Ibid., XLVI, No. 4 (December, 1952), 961-88; John Somerville, "World Authority: Realities and Illusions," Ethics, LXXVI, No. 1 (October, 1965), 33-46; Paul K. T. Sih, "Nationalism: The Driving Force in Asia," Issues and Studies, II, No. 2 (November, 1965), 14-17.

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, Beyond the Welfare State (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 159.

[4]Sir Alexander M. Carr-Saunders, "Crowded Countries and Empty Spaces," Foreign Affairs, XXVIII, No. 3 (April, 1950), 477-86.

thinking. Seeing the futility involved in the slogan of international cooperation, Pitman B. Potter argued that men's thoughts and sentiments have not caught up with the changes in the world which made international cooperation so much more important in the recent decades.[5]

By the same token, David Hume minced no words when he criticized the whole idea of natural benevolence, and denied categorically the existence of innate nobility, or of regard of others. He states: "It may be affirmed that there is no such passion in human minds as the love of mankind merely as such, independent of personal qualities, or services, or relations to ourselves."[6]

Since Japan is the unique non-Western advanced industrial country most vulnerable to international crisis or disorder, she should not be blamed for her relentless pursuit of national interests at all cost.[7] Yoshida Shigeru was blunt enough when he stated that the economic necessity of Japan would "prevail in the long run over any

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[5]Pitman B. Potter, "Progress in International Cooperation," Political Science Quarterly, L, No. 3 (September, 1935), 377-404.

[6]David Hume, A Treatise of Human Nature, Book II, Part II, Sec. 1 (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), p. 401.

[7]That Japan's economy is placed at the mercy of stable international economic arrangements is forcefully discussed in Kanamori Hisao, "Future U.S.-Japanese Economic Relations," in Priscilla Clapp and Morton H. Halperin, eds., United States-Japanese Relations (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 58-69.

ideological differences and artificial barriers."[8] This clearly means that Japan, like any nation, will remain nationalistic and opportunistic, adopting policies wherever national interests lead.[9] Tanaka Naokichi sees that the international community in which international politics operates still finds itself not far from the state of nature, and that the rule of the dominant class obtains in international politics. Tanaka further maintains that, while one cannot deny the tendency of law and morality to exert an increasingly large influence on international politics, power is still found to prevail over law and morality. He warns those who aspire to world peace, arguing that the call for world peace is meaningless unless we create a strong international organization with effective power.[10]

Since technology, of itself, is incapable of resolving the looming spectre of scarcity or ensuring physical, let alone spiritual, stability, the scientific and technological explosion, which has accompanied the growth of

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[8]Yoshida Shigeru, "Japan and the Crisis in Asia," Foreign Affairs, XXIX, No. 2 (January, 1951), 179; for a similar view, see also "Miyazawa Outlines Foreign Policy," Japan Times Weekly, January 1, 1975.

[9]See Jesse F. Steiner, "Social Change in Japan," Sociology and Social Research, XXXI, No. 1 (September-October, 1946), 3-11.

[10]Tanaka Naokichi, Kokusai Seiji Gaku Gairon [An Outline of International Politics] (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1956).

the industrial state, is far from eliminating the manifestations of bondage in society, tending to accentuate relationships of dominance and dependence. As Louis L. Snyder writes,

> Although technology has brought national cultures closer together, at the same time it has tended to emphasize political differences. . . . Technology not only hardened the political structure along national lines but it also has affected national economies.[11]

In the conduct of its foreign policy, each nation is after its own interest. All nations can profess lofty idealism, and, indeed, they may be motivated in varying degrees by sincere altruism. However, due to the very nature of things, nations have no choice but to act in accordance with their self-interest. Such are the facts of life; such are the realities of international politics.[12] Indeed, lofty idealism is easier said than done. A speech by former Prime Minister of Japan Miki Takio delivered at the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on June 10, 1977, reads in part as follows:

> Humanity is at last one race, with one destiny.

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[11]See Louis L. Snyder, Varieties of Nationalism (Hindsdale, Ill.: The Dryden press, 1976), pp. 131-32.

[12]It is very difficult to disagree with Reinhold Niebuhr's remark: "There is little connection between the ideals of liberal internationalists and the sorry realities of the contemporary international scene." See his "World War III Ahead?," Nation, March 25, 1944, p. 356.

> No longer can any democracy, no matter how powerful, be selfishly concerned with only its national interests. Unless the world's democracies work effectively together, and in harmony and accommodation with the legitimate interests of the rest of mankind, we shall fail the test of our own governability.[13]

It takes little intelligence to realize that Miki's internationalistic-sounding noble speech did not match with Japan's foreign policy, in general, and Japan trade policy, in particular. In the course of trying to negotiate with Japan on the sticky question involving trade, French President Francois Mitterrand pleaded in the following words: "But we must surmount the temptation of each for himself and together face up to common dangers."[14] Ishihara Shintaro was quite right when he stated that the justification of national self-interest has been the sole guide of Japan's modern history.[15]

### 1. National Interest and the Seeming International Cooperation

As the mainspring of human action is self-interest,[16] so the most potent single force in international

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[13]Miki Takio, "The Future of Democracy in Japan: Personal Freedom and Fulfillment," Vital Speeches of the Day, August 15, 1977, p. 660.

[14]Time, April 26, 1982, p. 25.

[15]Ishihara Shintaro, "A Nation Without Morality," The Japan Interpreter, IX, No. 3 (Winter, 1975), 276-91.

[16]It may be noted that Thomas Hobbes regarded self-

politics is national interest. In 1951, General Douglas MacArthur stressed the importance of national interest in the following words:

> If they [great issues] are not conducted with the single purpose of serving the national interest in this hour of crisis, we will fail those who have given us their confidence and depend upon us for leadership and guidance. The guiding light here today, and in the days to follow, must be the national interest, for the national interest transcends, in importance, the fortunes of any individual, or group of individuals.[17]

Given the modern system of competitive territorial states, the conduct of nations must be based upon the law of their own nature--that of self-interest, self-preservation, and growth. Any so-called morality can be little more than egocentric worship of their own pure motives and righteousness. Writing on Nationalism and Internationalism in 1917, Ramsay Muir listed "the spirit of nationalism, the spirit of commercialism, and the spirit of militarism" as

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interest as the main spring of man's action, an argument underlined by Malthus who argued that benevolence has no subsistence when population must be related to the means of subsistence. And it finally collapsed on the scientific doctrines of Gall, Mendel, and Darwin that Nature progresses by means of a ruthless extermination of the weaker stock and that no natural nobility can arrest the process of the survival of the fittest. Darwin argues that the most powerful force in human nature is the instinct for self-preservation.

[17]U. S. Senate, Military Situation in the Far East, p. 2.

enemies of the international idea.[18] Yet, the fact is that "the most important emotional factor in public life today is nationalism."[19]

Time and again, scholars and "statesmen"[20] speak of nationalism as an outdated phenomenon now in process of decline in the presence of a rising internationalism. Those of reason know that it is wrong to base a world society on so flimsy an edifice as nationalism, but they fail to see that they are dealing with a highly emotional and often illogical historical force. The fact remains that the whole machinery of nationalism works blindly all over the world--east and west, north and south. While the leaders of the world speak grandly of growing international cooperation, they invariably place their own nation foremost in any list of priorities. They are judged by their people on how well they succeed in enhancing the national image and protecting it from assault from without. They, as calculating politicians, must regard national power as the key essential

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[18]Ramsay Muir, Nationalism and Internationalism (London: constable and Co., Ltd., 1917), p. 195.

[19]Carlton J. H. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 1.

[20]Harold J. Laski, Nationalism and the Future of Civilization (London: Watts and Co., 1932); Julius Braunthal, The Paradox of Nationalism (London: St. Bololph Publishing Co., 1946); Bertrand Russell, New Hope for a Changing World (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951); Miki, op. cit.

to existence in a dangerous world.[21]

Those who realistically see the realities of power politics claim that nationalistic ethics outweighs international morality.[22] Attacking the U. S. foreign policy as utopian, sentimental, legalistic, Hans J. Morgenthau argues that once the United States thought it could do nothing; now it thinks it can do everything, giving the impression that it can run the whole world strictly according to American ideals; instead it should go back to the realities of power politics. Morgenthau maintains that the object of foreign policy should be the defense of the national interest, neither more nor less.[23]

It may be morally satisfying for liberal humanists to advocate internationalism here and now, but the psychology of nationalism and the reality of international politics do not seem to lend support to the unrealistic call for internationalism and world government. Bertrand Russell, for one, argues that nationalism is in our day the

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[21]See Stace, op. cit.; Imai Senichi, "On Self-Love as Formative Principle in the World of Politics," Japan Annual of Law and Politics, No. 7 (1959), 52-53; Walter Sulzbach, "The New Nationalism," South Atlantic Monthly, LI, No. 4 (October, 1952), 483-92.

[22]Morgenthau, "The Twilight of International Morality," pp. 79-99.

[23]For a fuller understanding, see Hans J. Morgenthau, In Defense of the National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy (New York: Knopf, 1951).

chief obstacle to the extension of social cohesion beyond national boundaries.[24] By the same token, applying certain psychiatric standards of evaluation to the understanding of social-political thinking and dogmas, Kenneth E. Appel has written,

> We are citizens of the world. Isolationism and the idea of national sovereignty as supreme power are outdated concepts--psychologically unsound. Isolation for the individual is self-nullification--for nation it is "globalunacy" and war. We need leaders with vision to show nations how to live in the global community, as psychiatrists help individuals live in their smaller communities. Health and happiness for the individual consist of contributing to the life of the community, accepting its responsibilities and limitations. Similarly, the health and happiness of nations depend upon the acceptance of world responsibilities and cooperation in the solution of world problems.[25]

Appel's contention seems so idealistic and divorced from reality that it reminds us of the Marxian doctrine that "to each according to his need and from each according to his ability." It would, indeed, serve us well to remember the argument that the perilous world situation today results from the conjunction of three poison-breeding factors: 1) hunger and disease; 2) racial hatred; and 3) surging forces of nationalism. Francis B. Sayre claims that "the most

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[24]Russell, op. cit.

[25]Kenneth E. Appel, "Nationalism and Sovereignty: A Psychiatric View," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XL, No. 4 (October, 1945), 362.

profound and baffling problem of all is racial discrimination."[26]

Arguing that a hasty, fervid exhortation of internationalism is likely to result in a failure of good intentions, and that we should be content with accomplishing specific objectives in international control in limited fields, W. F Cottrell concludes that "to attack nationalism in the name of internationalism is to murder a mother whose womb harbors the still unborn child."[27]

Regardless of how one feels about it, nationalism is something that is a significant political factor for national as well as international politics. Hardy C. Dillard bluntly states that "Nationalism is the sentiment of belonging to a nation. Critics of nationalism are thus really critics of the concept of the nation."[28] Given the state of power politics, internationalism or a lasting peace is out of the question without the relinquishment of national sovereignty. In this sense, it is rather strange that the advocates of internationalism fail to deal with the

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[26]Francis B. Sayre, "The Problem of Underdeveloped Area in Asia and Africa," Proceedings of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, LXXXI, No. 6 (April, 1952), 284-98.

[27]W. F. Cottrell, "Cultural Growth of Internationalism," American Sociological Review, X, No. 5 (October, 1945), 586-95.

[28]Hardy C. Dillard, "Nationalism: Midcentury Puzzle," Virginia Quarterly Review, XXVIII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1952), 534.

central problem, namely, the abrogation of the principle of national sovereignty.[29]

The discrepancy between economic internationalism (that is, world-wide economic cooperation) and the principle of national self-determination (interpreted as the creation and maintenance of any number of politically sovereign nations) can by no means be reconciled.[30] As long as the national sovereignty of states is maintained, no thought of internationalism can be seriously entertained, for the possibility of a war has been deliberately left open--a possibility which is likely to become a certainty due to the entire structural and ideological framework of the nation-state. In other words, no meaningful internationalism is feasible until nationalism is brought under control.[31]

It is obvious that no nation-state, except by force, can be moved to a course of action which it deems to be in opposition to its own interests. The egoism of nation-

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[29]For a detailed discussion in this regard, see Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Illusion of World Government," Foreign Affairs, XXVII, No. 3 (April, 1949), 379-88.

[30]N. A. Pelcovits, "World Government Now," Harper's, November, 1946, pp. 396-403. For a penetrating examination of this aspect, see Francis Delaisi, Political Myths and Economic Realities (London: Williams & Northgate, 1925).

[31]See Percy E. Corbett, "The Future of Nationalism and the Nation- State," The Annals, 218 (November, 1941), 153-61. For a devastating attack on the naivete of internationalism, see Kamikawa Hikomatsu, "Senso no Riaritei to Heiwa no Yutopia" [Reality of War and Utopia of Peace], Kokusei Seiji (Spring, 1957).

states must be taken for granted just as the egoism of individuals. Thus, given the selfish idea of interest obtaining in human society and harbored by individuals,[32] it is a corollary that "one loves," as Rousseau once said, "what is one's own more than another."

It may be pointed out that the entanglement of the well-intentioned internationalist's altruism with his patriotism must tend sadly to curtail the social usefulness of the former. Moreover, the internationalist's idealism without a total liquidation of nationalistic megalomania and of racial prejudice is bound to become a ludicrous hypocrisy. In this connection the following merits quotation, despite its sounding rather utopian and unrealistic.

> This prerequisite [one important prerequisite of world government] is the liquidation of all remnants of appeasement and tolerance toward fascism. World government with fascist regimes is impossible. . . . Our whole concept of imperialism must be changed. The idea of spheres of interest . . . must be abandoned. Above all, all principles of human rights "without distinction of race, sex, language and religion" already adopted in the United Nations Charter, but far from being applied, must become an integral

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[32]The tragedy of war, in general, and the Hiroshima-Nagasaki tragedy, in particular, dragooned many into rethinking. For one, Louis Dolivet argues that the post-Hiroshima-Nagasaki historic necessity behooves us to create a world government, but we are, sadly, still very remote from even the beginnings of world government. See his "World Government vs. National Sovereignty: New York Leads Intellectual Revolution," Free World, X, No. 4 (October, 1945), 25-28.

> part of the everyday life of those people who want to have the privilege of being admitted into the world government. It would be a dangerous illusion to believe that the fight for all these partial aspects of democracy has become superfluous and that world government would automatically solve all problems. World government cannot be better than the people and the individual governments that will form it. It would seem to us that the best way to fight for it is to act, in everyday life, for the elimination of those constant and common injustices which are still the plague of our humanity.[33]

Though the passage quoted above contains moral preachments of stupendous quality, the feasibility of such prerequisites seems to be an impossible possibility, for the ignoring of the problem of nationalism is based on wishful thinking, not on reality.[34] As David Thomson is forced to conclude, "It would be truer to say now that all history is nationalist history, and especially that all contemporary history is nationalist history."[35]

The major obstacle to further progress in internationalism seems to lie not in true national interest but in the fact that of two competing conceptions of interest the patriot tends to choose the one which appeals

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[33] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[34] Richard Pipes, "The Forces of Nationalism," Problems of Communism, XIII, No. 1 (January-February, 1964), 1-6.

[35] David Thomson, "Must History Stay Nationalist?," Enounter, XXX, No. 6 (June, 1968), 22.

to nationalist emotion rather than reason.[36] As already noted, Americans, or any other people, have their own share of cultural, racial and historical prejudice, their own parochial nationalism. That is to say, they live in their own glass house.

Internationalism is, indeed, a fitful impulse everywhere, in Washington as well as in Tokyo, easily overborne by the urges of national pride and national interests. As for the Japanese, "parochialism and insularity, however, continue to breed Japanese indifference toward other Asian peoples except as their attention is teased by some political crisis or other."[37]

Many studies have established that the persistent, rather increasing, strength of nationalism is real and ubiquitous. National interest rather than international cooperation continues to be the single most important political factor in international politics.[38] It may be noted that the new nationalism seeks not liberty but security and power, with which the Japanese are most concerned. "Throughout the time that nationalism has been a

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[36]In this connection, see Karl W. Deutsch's distinction between "rational behavior" and "subjectively convenient behavior" in his Tides Among Nations (New York: The Free Press, 1979), p. 24.

[37]Lawrence Olson, "Japan and Asia: An American Viewpoint," Asia, No. 8 (Summer, 1967), p. 104.

[38]Marshall D. Shulman, "What Does Security Mean Today," Foreign Affairs, IXL, No. 4 (July, 1971), 607-18.

political force it has been concerned with states and their frontiers. . . . national allegiance and frontiers are not likely to disappear in the near future."[39] To be sure, the history of the past years does not indicate that the demise of nationalism is as near as has often been predicted, or that it will cease, for a good many years to come, to be a great political force deserving more attentive and more sympathetic study than it has thus far received. As Denis W. Brogan states meaningfully, "Mere patriotism is often enough, but it cannot be always enough and the transition from the blind loyalty of the simplest nationalism to a combined loyalty to the nation and the human race is the hardest political step to take."[40]

Harboring a hope for international cooperation is morally right, but nation-centered power politics suggests that international cooperation is a "sometime thing."[41] International cooperation is found only in case of transnational nature, not in case of supernational nature.[42]

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[39]Sulzbach, op. cit., pp. 483, 492.

[40]Denis W. Brogan, The Price of Revolution (New York: Harper, 1951), 126.

[41]Ohira Zengo and Myres S. McDougal, "Exchange of Views Toward Public Order of the World Community," Hitotsubaski Journal of Law and Politics, III (April, 1964), p. 17.

[42]Horst Mendershausen, Outlook on Western Solidarity: Political Relations in the Atlantic Alliance Systems, R-1512-PR (Santa Monica, Ca.: The Rand Corporation,

As W. T. Stace says, "We can't have a high level of morals until we get a world state. And we can't have a world state till we get a higher level of morals." Appreciable international cooperation in the midst of growing nationalism is something that is likely to remain wishful thinking.[43]

For resources-poor Japan, acutely vulnerable to international crisis and totally dependent upon free trade, seeking national interests, through acquiring raw materials from without and having overseas markets for finished products, "is a matter of life and death to the industry of Japan."[44]

2. Trade War

Broadly speaking, our discussion has hitherto centered around various aspects of Japanese "national mission" and their security concern which tend to either maintain or further stimulate Japanese national consciousness. In other words, we have dealt with the state of Japanese social psychology or political sentiment that is intimately related to Japanese national consciousness. In the following pages, we will treat the economic aspect of nationalism. Writing in 1965, Harry G. Johnson made the

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June, 1976).

[43]Pelcovits, op. cit.

[44]Mainichi Shimbun, January 1, 1965.

following distinction:

> . . . the benefits from the gratification of national sentiment are of two sorts, particular and general, or tangible and intangible. The particular benefits are the incomes and prestige that accrue to those nationals who acquire the property rights or the offices and employment opportunities in which nationalism invests. The general benefits consist of the psychic satisfaction derived by the community at large from gratification of the taste for nationalism.[45]

International economic activities still, as in the past, concern the Japanese more than anything else. Indeed Japan must export or die. Having lost her Empire, Japan must continue to develop overseas markets and new methods of trade.[46] The persistent strength of nationalism throughout the world as the most potent single force in international politics has fragmented the two color maps of the world since World War II. It is no longer possible for nations to define their interests or seek their security in terms of hegemonial control over territory. The alternative to international anarchy calls for the acceptance of two

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[45]Harry G. Johnson, "A Theoretical Model of Economic Nationalism in New and Developing States," Political Science Quarterly, LXXX, No. 2 (June, 1965), 177.

[46]In his book, Japan's Economic Recovery (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), George C. Allen lists four factors that contributed to the "Japanese miracle:" 1) American aid; 2) the Cold War; 3) the Korean War; 4) the absence of heavy defense spending. In addition, Allen attributes the principal credit to the Japanese people themselves--their enterprise, skill, and their adaptive capacity to deal with changing situations.

principles which grow out of the new physical and political conditions of international life: one is the right of free access, and the other is non-interference by force in process of international change.[47]

The preponderant opinion of scholars is that the major wars of the twentieth century were basically caused by economic factors, in the broadest sense of the term. That is, these wars represented essentially the continuation of struggles over the control of markets, raw materials, natural resources, and the territories in which the sources of wealth and power are located.[48] The economic factors of nationalism lead each nation to blindly seek its own interest, paying only lip service to the rationalization of international economic activities.[49]

The utmost importance of trade for Japan necessitated the close coordination among government, business, and labor, which has been called "Japan, Inc.," a term first used in **Time** magazine's story of May 10, 1971.[50]

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[47]Shulman, op. cit., pp. 607, 614.

[48]John Somerville, "World Authority: Realities and Illusions," Ethics, LXXVI, No. 1 (October, 1965), 38.

[49]For a good discussion of the relationship between the demands of nationalism and those of international economic activities, see Hosoya Toshio, Kindai Shakai no Kyoiku [Education in Modern Society] (Tokyo: Asakura Shoten, 1952).

[50]"Japan, Inc.: Winning the Most Important Battle," Time, May 10, 1971, pp. 84-89.

Ezra F. Vogel calls "Japan, Inc." a pejorative, misleading notion, arguing that it is rather "guided free enterprise" for Japan as opposed to "regulated free enterprise" for the United States. Vogel maintains that the United States should learn something from the Japanese system, for it has served Japan so well.[51]

A Sumitomo official candidly describes the thinking behind the cooperation and coordination among major elements in Japan for the sake of Japanese interests in the following words:

> If we [Japanese companies] compete against each other overseas, it's no use; some foreign company may get the job. We have to present a joint front against the overseas competitors. This will become more and more necessary as the years go by--to keep up our competitive advantage against other countries. In order to safeguard Japanese interests against powerful foreign companies, we must form a united front.[52]

This phenomenon found among the Japanese leads many observers to believe that the strength of Japan lies in talents of the people, work enthusiasm, group consensus, and national sense of solidarity.[53] Frustrated foreign

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[51]Ezra F. Vogel, "Guided Free Enterprise in Japan," Harvard Business Review, LVI, No. 3 (May-June, 1978), 1-170.

[52]Louis Kraar, "How the Japanese Mount that Export Blitz," Fortune, September, 1970, p. 170.

[53]Fujino Chujiro, "'Keizei Taikoku' Nihon O Miru Sekai no Me" [The World Looks at 'Economic Great Power'

competitors view the Japanese business practice as follows.

> The Japanese have a high regard for loyalty to a national goal or a family goal or a company goal. They believe loyalty is more important than what Americans might regard as ethical business standards. . . . One Detroiter maintains that Japan's national goal is to expand her exports and that business, government and labor in Japan work together to achieve that goal. "They are not in business to make a profit, but to fulfill an obligation to Japan."[54]

The world's trading nations are truly worried about the menace of "Japan, Inc.," whose weapons include cartels, price-cutting, and limitless patriotic zeal. Writing on the relentless pursuit of expanding overseas markets by the Japanese, Louis Kraar declares that "Japan's export drive is taking on the overtones of a relentless conspiracy to invade and dominate every vital international market. . . . The Japanese team goes after exports with genuinely patriotic zeal."[55] Kraar concludes by saying that "a larger sense of nationalism derived from growth and market expansion--not hard economic necessity--seems to drive the Japanese toward ever rising exports."[56]

It must be pointed out, however, that Japan is the unique industrialized nation most vulnerable to disruption

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Japan], Chuo Koron (March, 1977), pp. 84-88.

[54]New York Times, August 23, 1971.

[55]Kraar, op. cit., pp. 127, 129.

[56]Ibid., p. 172.

of international trade patterns and access to food, energy, raw materials sources, and markets. Conversely, Japan is dependent upon stable international economic arrangements more than ay other major industrialized nation.[57] For the continuous promotion of trade and national interests, Japan appears to be intent on being all things to all people. Foreign Minister Miyazawa Kiichi's policy speech to the Diet in early 1975 called for "diversified diplomacy" to strengthen friendly relations with all nations, regardless of national ideological orientations, while keeping close ties with the United States as the cornerstone of foreign policy. He touched upon international economic issues and urged cooperation of all nations in the establishment of "a new international order." He further stated that Japan must "make a positive contribution to the formation of new harmonious international order."[58]

It is interesting to note that Japan's postwar approach to her national prosperity is through free trade and international cooperation, unlike her pre-1945 aggressive adventures. Sensing Japan's imminent defeat, Willis Church Lamott argued in June, 1945 that a favorable world of international cooperation might likely induce the Japanese to lead life in a civilized world. He further

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[57]Kanamori Hisao, "Future U. S. Japanese Economic Relations," in Clapp and Halperin, op. cit., pp. 58-69.

[58]Japan Times Weekly, February 1, 1945.

maintained:

> But the world must be civilized, for the Japanese will take advantage of every lapse into the old ways, particularly the dark maneuvering of power politics, and will use every such opportunity to assist the nation once more in her climb to world power.[59]

As in the case of the individual, a nation's outlook changes depending upon her relative position in international politics. As Harry G. Johnson states,

> . . . the strength of economic and cultural interests in nationalism will vary with the threat of competition from foreign culture or from foreign economic activities; conversely, one would expect to find that the nations that are leading culturally and economically will tend to be internationalist and cosmopolitan in outlook, because this would tend to extend the market area for their cultural and economic products.[60]

Though Japan's resource vulnerability is so great that she has more at stake than any of the other major countries in a peaceful, stable free-trade world, the fact that the income gap between developed and underdeveloped countries is steadily widening and the sense of nationalism is growing all over the world poses an ominous threat to the future of the Japanese economy. While all the nations are

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[59]Willis Church Lamott, "What Not To Do With Japan," Harper's, June, 1945, p. 288.

[60]Johnson, op. cit., p. 178.

being consolidated and isolated politically by the policy of national unity and sovereignty, they are being increasingly disintegrated economically by international cooperation in such areas as production, commerce, transport, and finance. The irony of the present world seems to lie in the fact that political unity and self-containedness are confronted with economic interdependence.[61] In short, the international community is incapable of harmonizing political myths with economic realities.

As old political problems have dwindled and receded, economic problems that defy easy solutions have come to the face, resulting in a growing sense of nationalism.[62] Writing in 1947, Eugene Staley attributed the pre-1945 Japanese ultranationalism to the continuation of Japan's feudalistic features, international power politics, and economic difficulties. These same factors do still exist, though less obvious at the present time.[63]

The postwar Japan tries to satisfy through trade what she could not accomplish through military aggression. The basic purpose of international trade is the promotion of

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[61]For a good discussion in this regard, see Delaisi, op. cit.

[62]Herbert Passin, ed., The United States and Japan (2nd ed., Rev.; Washington, D. C.: Columbia Books, 1975), p. 25.

[63]Eugene Staley, "Economic Development in the Orient: Some Problems," Pacific Affairs, I, No. 2 (Spring, 1947), pp. 149-50.

national living standards, and is pursued within the framework of national interests. Put differently, "The objective [of international trade] always was to strengthen the economic position of the nation using the schemes, even if at the expense of other nations."[64] The following seems to merit quotation for further illustration of this point:

> The [nations] are running the gauntlet today and the prospect is fair that some of the worst features will eventually be eliminated. But that all of them will be torn up by the roots and thrown on the scrap pile is a vain hope. The weeds in the garden of world trade may be kept down while the going is good, but give us another period of universal difficulty and they will spring into life all over the lot in a remarkably short time. . . . The great American fallacy is that this country should be permitted freely to sell, but need not freely buy. The conflict is basic between the high tariff economic nationalists and the moderate-to-low tariff economic internationalists.[65]

Dr. Saburo Okita, one of the leading economists in Japan, commented to the effect that Japan's economic and foreign policy have only one route to follow: to be everyone's friend and to diversify its markets and resources throughout the world.[66] Japan's postwar "economic miracle"

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[64]C. Hartley Grattan, "If We Really Want International Trade," Harper's, April, 1947, p. 354.

[65]Ibid., pp. 357-58.

[66]Sol W. Sanders, "The New, New Japan," Asian

could not have failed to earn jelousy and animosity. It may be a truism that men think well of others when they are protecting and leading them, but when others become equals, their attitude changes. In this connection, attitudes between nations could not be different.[67] As Tocqueville observed perspicaciously, "the desire of equality always becomes more insatiable in proportion as equality is more complete." Where there is greater equality, there is greater competition. Tocqueville further noted: "When inequality of conditions is the common law of society, the most marked inequalities do not strike the eye; when everything is nearly on the same level, the slightest are marked enough to hurt it."[68]

It appears that Japan has become everybody's favorite whipping boy, getting blamed for its efficiency. Partly due to the lingering superiority complex of the West and partly due to the "missionary disposition" of the American people, Japan's efficient economic performance is subject to almost world-wide jealousy. As C. Hartly Grattan comments on American reaction,

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Affairs, I, No. 6 (July-August, 1974), 371-76.

[67]Kasaka Masataka, "Nanajunendai no Nichi-Bei Kankei O Kangearu" (A thinking on the U.S. Japanese Relations in the Nineties), Bungei Shunjui, XLVIII, No. 10 (September, 1970), 94-108.

[68]Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (New York: Vantage Books, 1945), II, 146-47.

> It is fine to sell abroad, they [Americans] think, and foreigners who raise obstacles to American sales are obviously low scoundrels, but it is poisonous to American welfare to buy abroad and persons who propose to encourage imports are malignant creatures, enemies of the American standard of living.[69]

A typical illustration of a very graphic account of the well-nigh world-wide jealousy of the Japanese economic success may be found in the following passages, which merit a lengthy quotation, for the words thereof cannot be bettered.

> In a way, it's sour grapes, the kind of gut feeling that comes when a father can no longer win on the chessboard he gave his son, or when a daughter starts fooling around the way her mother always said she never did. It must have been the way an Englishman felt about those unmannered Americans who had inherited an industrial revolution from the old country and began doing with great power that which Britain found it increasingly difficult to do in a world that had called her colonial bluff. Now it is the American who sits over his beer in a Bangkok bar, his mind inexcusably full of old visions of cheap toys and those polite, shy little windup Japanese who made them--wondering why he can't sell steel, or cars or television sets, even to his own countrymen. "Those little bastards," he grumbles in a somewhat racist preface to what is becoming an endless diatribe these days. "You know what they do?" Then he rambles on about how they are all over the place and work

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[69]Grattan, op. cit., p. 358.

> together, eat together, play golf together, and how they sneak around making shady deals, and use that cheap labor and that incomprehensible language, and how they are so arrogant and think they're so superior but how they hide behind that shyness bit--shy like a fox . . .[70]

Japanese are apprehensive of the currently fashionable argument of the major industrial nations that "Japan is the villain" for troubled economies of the world.[71] As James Sterba tells us,

> Americans complain because Japanese companies get together to get business for the good of Japan, with profit consideration secondary. But when the American government tries to encourage the same tactics overseas for the good of America, it sometimes finds that American companies are so jealous, uncooperative and untrustworthy that they won't work together.[72]

By the same token, the haters of Japan's economic prosperity go so far as to blame the Japanese businessman for being too aggressive, for getting up too early, working too late, for being the product of a culture that puts virtue in loyalty to both the company and the country.[73]

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[70]James Sterba, "Japanese Businessmen," The New York Times Magazine, October 29, 1972, p. 15.

[71]Tokyo Shimbun, Editorial, December 1, 1977.

[72]Sterba, op. cit., p. 64.

[73]Ibid., p. 66.

Japan, however, is not about to give in to foreign pressure. An editorial in **Tokyo Shimbun** asserts that the nations of Europe and America have been showing too highhanded an attitude in making demands on Japan. Also some of the demands are so unreasonable as to constitute an intervention in Japan's internal affairs. The editorial further maintains that it is good for Japan to reject such demands resolutely by clarifying the reasons for the rejection, and ask these nations for calm self-reflection on their high-handed attitudes.[74]

Having no other choice except for continuously exploring overseas markets for the survival of Japan's economy, the undaunted Japan doubles its efforts to increase trade. Threat to Japanese economic activities comes not only from the nations of the West that have been hurt by the Japanese competition[75] but also from developing nations which are no longer content with the position of poor suppliers of raw materials for the further enrichment of the rich nations.[76] In short, demand for a more rational, more just international division of labor lies at the root of

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[74]Tokyo Shimbun, Editorial, December 1, 1977.

[75]Leon Hollerman, "United States Protectionism in Economic Relations with Japan," Asian Survey, XVII, No. 5 (May, 1977), 491-96.

[76]Joseph C. Chen, "The Economic Relations of Japan and Southeast Asia," Soochow Journal of Literature and Social Studies, III (September, 1973), 145- 65.

economic nationalism--or "resources nationalism" as often called in Japan nowadays--among oil-producing and other resources-rich Third World countries.[77] Japan, which had been engrossed in "resources diplomacy," giving primary attention to various resources, had to learn from the oil crisis that the resources problem goes beyond the realm of economics and is inseparable from politics.[78] Resources have long been not only the foundation of prosperity, but also a political fuse for international conflict or war.[79] Since the oil crisis of the early seventies, Japan has been reminded on various occasions that indulgence in a self-image of powerlessness and diplomacy of economism are no longer tenable.

As demonstrated by the Japanese-American textile wrangle in 1969-1971, the issues causing friction between Japanese and Americans were not economic, but political,

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[77]Yamamoto Mitsuru, "'Resources Diplomacy' Runs into a Stone Wall," Japan Quarterly, XII, No. 4 (October-December, 1975), 324.

[78]"Kissinger on Oil, Food, and Trade," Business Week, January 3, 1975, pp. 66-76. Also see Taira Koji, "Japan After 'Oil Shock': An International Resource Pauper," Current History, LXVIII, No. 404 (April, 1975), 145-76.

[79]History since the beginning of the present century abounds in cases of conflict involving, in particular, Japan's endless ambition for security, unimpeded access to raw materials and U. S. intentions of taking advantage of embargo leverage to enhance its international position. See, for example, Jeffrey J. Safford, "Experiment in Containment: The United States Steel Embargo and Japan, 1917-1918," Pacific Historical Review, XXXIX, No. 4 (November, 1970), 439-51.

psychological and nationalist.[80] The tension between Japan and the United States surrounding the textile question "is a very good example of how easily two nations, which are separated by the barrier of different races and different cultures, can part company."[81] Japan's postwar high growth and trade policy are strongly detested by her Asian neighbors as well. As Lawrence G. Franko notes,

> Japanese multinationals in Southeast Asia have, however, experienced the kind of political hostility once reserved to Western multinationals. Memories of Japan's imperial pretensions in that area and a tendency of Japanese companies to produce goods highly competitive with small local companies have combined to concoct an explosive political cocktail.[82]

As for the tension between the United States and Japan, statistics speak for themselves. While Japan's much criticized trade surplus of $4.1 billion in 1972 had been reduced to $1.4 billion in 1973 and to $1.7 billion in 1974 and 1975, it increased again to $5.4 billion in 1976. Despite Prime Minister Fukuda's promise to reduce the gap in

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[80]For detailed discussion, see Sato Hideo, "The Crisis of an Alliance: The Politics of United States-Japanese Textile Trade" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1976).

[81]Washington Post, March 27, 1971.

[82]Lawrence G. Franko, "Multinationals: The End of U. S. Dominance," Harvard Business Review, LVI, No. 6 (November-December, 1978), 98.

1977, Japan's surplus in 1977 was as much as $8.1 billion. Consequently, protectionist pressure intensified in the United States and "belaboring the Japanese" became "one of the most popular American pastimes."[83]

Despite the evidence to the contrary, Japan tries to justify its position.

> Tokyo insists that major improvements have been made and that it is being unfairly blamed for the shortcomings of others. There is growing resentment of the criticism and a conviction that Japan is being punished for working harder, living more frugally and competing more effectively than other industrial nations. . . . The biggest headache of all may be the U.S. and European conviction that what is good for Japan is not good--or acceptable --for the rest of the world.[84]

According to the above-mentioned Japanese psychology,

> The Japanese see nations in terms of winners and losers. They find it difficult to cooperate with peoples they consider inferior. They can lead and, if they are defeated, they can be submissive. But to cooperate with people who lack the Japanese sense of order and discipline is very hard for them.[85]

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[83]Robert C. Christopher, "They Try Harder," The New York Times Magazine, January 22, 1978, p.27.

[84]"Ohira's Aim in U. S.: Averting a Trade War," U. S. News and World Report, May 7, 1979, pp. 69-70.

[85]New York Times, March 14, 1967.

That Japan enjoys the reputation as the second strongest capitalist economy in the world must have inflated its national ego.

> In Asian eyes, the "ugly Japanese" of today rivals the most absurdly presumptuous ugly American in offensiveness. While Japanese may be polite and respectful in dealing with Western peoples, especially Americans, all too many Japanese are contemptuous and arrogant of Asians and move abroad only in Japanese groups, not dealing often with other Asians. All rhetoric to the contrary aside, Japan now identifies culturally with the West more than any component of the Asian group of nations.[86]

Japan, taking advantage of the postwar international economic environment which enabled it to buy any amount of needed raw materials anywhere in the world and allowed it to sell manufactured goods, made from such raw materials, wherever demand has existed, has, through trade, acquired the long-coveted status of being included among the great powers.

### 3. Liberalism in Japanese Nationalism

Leaving aside all the pros and cons as to what the American Occupation did accomplish in Japan, very few could dispute the fact that the Occupation, at least, gave rise to

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[86]Lawrence W. Beer, "Some Reflections on Japan: American National Interest," Vital Speeches of the Day, XLVI, No. 14 (May 1, 1980), p. 444.

the liberalizing trends in postwar Japan.[87] The new trends based on "given liberalism" have entailed the shifting balance between public and private values. The futility of the Pacific War and the humiliation suffered in defeat brought in a new awakening on the relationship between the individual and the state.[88] We should, however, be careful lest we should come to a hasty conclusion that the liberalizing trends are bound to alter individual values.

One of the fascinating aspects of Japanese society remains the effect of political behavior patterns, many of which are deeply impregnated with traditional cultural legacies, upon the new institutions. This development leads us to be mindful of the sagacious counsel of John Stewart Mill:

> When society requires to be rebuilt, there is no use attempting to rebuild it on the old plan. No great improvements in the lot of man are possible

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[87]See Robert A. Scalapino, "The American Occupation of Japan--Perspective After Three Decades," Annals, Vol. 428 (November, 1976), 104-13.

[88]Many writers paid serious attention to this new development in Japan. See, for example, Allan B. Cole, "Children of a Vacuum," Pacific Spectator (Spring, 1950), 153-59; Simizu Yoshihiro, "The Problems of Juvenile Delinquency in Post-War Japan," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVI, No. 1 (September, 1952), 32-36; John M. Maki, "Japan's Subversive Activities Prevention Law," The Western Political Quarterly, VI, No. 3 (September, 1953), 489-511; David Spitz, "Democracy and the Problem of Civil Disobedience," American Political Science Review, XLVIII (June, 1954), 397-404; Hatada Shigeo, "Sengo Sekai Heiwa Undo no Hattatsu" [The Postwar Development of the World Peace Movements], Kokusai Seiji (Spring, 1957), 152-72.

> until a great change takes place in the fundamental construction of our own mode of thought.[89]

The real implications of the "new liberalism" in postwar Japan should be seen in the light of the nature of the international situation. Men have a habit of attempting, in an almost haphazard fashion, to bring about a new domestic and world order, built on law, committed to peaceful negotiation of international rivalries and conflicts; assisting in the orderly emergence of a host of Third-World nations; and preserving those natural resources of land, sea, and air that are the heritage of all mankind and of prosperity. Men are attempting all of these without changing those fundamental assumptions that have been responsible for the problems themselves. Our greatest difficulty lies in the fact that we are attempting to solve global problems within the framework of nationalism.[90]

The Japanese, who are extreme nationalists themselves, are not blind to the reality that the nationalism we now practice is an anachronism, but instead of abating nationalism, our generation has exacerbated it.[91] Given the nature of nationalism, a question may very well be

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[89]Quoted in Henry Steele Commager, "To Consult Our Copes and Not Our Fear," The Christian Science Monitor, January 7, 1980.

[90]Dillards, op. cit., pp. 539-41.

[91]Ibid., p. 543.

raised whether the rest of the world can expect an increasing trend toward political liberalism in the domestic institutions of Japan in a world characterized by extremes of competition and rivalry. If such competition is to call for a large scale mobilization of national efforts by the great powers, it will be no wonder if the small countries subordinate the liberty and individual rights of the average citizen to the needs of building a structure of internal power.[92]

The Japanese, as believed by many, find no difficulties in embracing foreign ideas, but they cling as firmly as they can to their long-cherished values. Karl W. Deutsch's conception seems to facilitate our understanding of why the changes in Japan take place as they do. As Deutsch has written,

> . . . there is perhaps one characteristic similarity between games and competitive social or economic situations, and that is the distinction between objectively "rational" behavior, i.e. behavior rewarded by the intrinsic rules of the game, or the "logic of the situation" as against subjectively convenient behavior, i.e. behavior that is most probable because of the previously acquired personal memories and habits of the players. Most individuals and groups learn only to a limited extent from playing games, regardless of experience; much of their behavior may remain an experience of their previously acquired and slow-changing personalities or habits, rather than of any strategy objectively conducive to

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[92]David Nelson Rowe, "The New Japanese Constitution--III," Far Eastern Survey XVI, No. 2 (February 12, 1947), p. 34.

winning.[93]

What is revealed in Japanese social change is that "rational behavior" in line with foreign ideas can become insitutionalized in so far as it does not militate against "subjectively convenient behavior." Put differently using the concept advanced by Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, "product affect" is encouraged and promoted within the limit of not sacrificing "system affect."[94] In other words, Japanese national morality stresses that patriotism and loyalty take precedence over individual rights and personal comforts.[95]

In his book, On Freedom and Human Dignity: The Importance of the Sacred in Politics,[96] Morton A. Kaplan attempts to explain how to manage human freedom and dignity consistently in a sea of potential disasters ranging from the Skinnerian advocacy of conditioning to the Charles Reichian glorification of impulse. Kaplan attacks the

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[93]Karl W. Deutsch, Times Among Nations (New York: The Free Press, 1979), p. 24.

[94]Almond and Verba, op. cit., Ch. III.

[95]Hugh Byas, "The Japanese Problem," Yale Review, XXII, No. 3 (March, 1943), 456. As early as 1904, Lafacadio Hearn called Shintoism "the religion of loyalty." See his Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904), pp. 311-330.

[96]Morton A. Kaplan, On Freedom and Human Dignity: The Importance of the Sacred in Politics (Morristown, N.J.: General Learning press, 1973).

Skinnerian approach by arguing that controls beget more controls, ending in more conditioning of society, while attacking the Reichian approach as nothing more than the advocation of narrow utilitarianism. The individual's relationship to other people, to society, or to his work leads to the polarity between intrinsic ends and instrumental ends. Intrinsic ends are good in themselves. Instrumental ends are good only because of what they achieve. Motherhood, patriotism, and love are intrinsic ends.[97]

As Kaplan goes on to state,

> The conservative regime is based on tradition and the liberal regime on utility. The problem with conservatism is that a particular tradition may be incompatible with human nature and needs and that tradition is inadequate for coping rationally with changed circumstances. On the other had, the emphasis on utilitarian science of liberal regimes encourages the analysis of changed requirements but undermines loyalty and value. . . . Two sets of beliefs are inconsistent with identity, recognition and responsibility. The belief that everything is environmentally determined--the Skinnerian world view--denies the self-directing characteristics of the organism and acts as an informal input that defeats its proper functioning. The viewpoint that love is all--the Reichian world view--denies an appropriate role for the ultrastable regulator and thereby undercuts its identity and responsibility.[98]

In a similar vein, Alfred N. Whitehead pointed out

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[97] Ibid., p. 48.

[98] Ibid., p. 52, 60.

the importance of symbolism in political life. As Whitehead has written,

> a social system is kept together by the blind force of instinctive actions, and of instinctive emotions clustered around habits and prejudices. . . . There is no foothold for the intervention of "rational consideration." . . . Symbolic expression first preserves society by adding emotion to instinct, and secondly it affords a foothold for reason by its delineation of the particular instinct it expresses.

Whitehead further maintains that the symbol evokes loyalties to vaguely conceived notions and that no elaborate community of elaborate organisms could exist unless its systems of symbolism were in general successful.[99]

Deutsch, Kaplan, and Whitehead all point to the importance of symbolism needed for affective sentiments toward the political system. Despite the seemingly total destruction of the Emperor system as a power structure as well as an ideological system, the Japanese still find the historical continuity of Japanese "we-consciousness."[100]

It is interesting to see that Japanese writers tend to over-state the postwar liberalism in Japan, whereas Western writers emphasize the persistence of Japanese

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[99]Alfred N. Whitehead, Symbolism, Its Meaning and Effect (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), pp. 68-70, 74, 87.

[100]Ishida Takeshi, Japanese Society (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 29.

nationalism.[101] Of course, there are some Westerners who are wont to exaggerate social ills attendant upon "undigested liberalism."[102] Though many observers, who focus on aberrant aspects of American-induced liberalism, regret, as Matsumoto Sannosuke does, that "postwar Japanese have carried the Enlightenment ideals of individualism and self-interest to extremes, that they lack an understanding of the importance of horizontal, 'public' bonds." Matsumoto goes so far as to regard the contemporary liberated Japanese society as a self-seeking, willful "state of nature" in which a narrow egoism reigns supreme, and which lacks both a sense of civic responsiblity and a concern for political

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[101]In writing on postwar Japan, Japanese writers are redolent of theorists of mass society, frequently using such mass politics phrases as a feeling of purposelessness, a spiritual vacuum, and extremes of self-interest and individualism. See, for example, Ishida, op. cit., p. 41; Takahashi Akira, "Development of Democratic Consciousness Among the Japanese People," International Social Science Journal, XIII, No. 1 (1961), 88; Morito Tatsuo, "Educational Reform Reconsidered," Japan Quarterly, XIII, No. 1 (January-March, 1966), pp. 27-45; Yoshida Shigeru, The Yoshida Memoirs: The Study of Japan in Crisis, trans. by Yoshida Kenichi (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), p. 171; Matsuhara Haruo, Nihon Seinen no Ishiki Kozo [The Attitudinal Structure of Japanese Youth] (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1975); Matsumoto Sannosuke, Kindai Nihon no Chiteki Jokyo [The Intellectual Climate of Modern Japan] (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1974).

[102]Mark Schorer, "Japan's Delinquents: Children of the Sun and Moon," Reporter, October 18, 1956; John W. Dower, "The Masterless Students of Japan," Asia Scene, June, 1963; H. Ehrlich, "Troubled Japan," Look, August 10, 1965; Joseph A. Massey, "The Missing Leader: Japanese Youth's View of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LXIX, No. 1 (March, 1975), 31-48.

affairs that affect the common welfare.[103]

But many observers view Japan quite differently. Remarking that the Japanese are as patriotic now as ever before, Frank Gibney argues that the strength of Japan lies in talents of the people, work enthusiasms, group consensus, and national sense of solidarity. Gibney further argues that "the economic growth of the sixties and early seventies could never have been attained without "a unification of national effort not possible in any other country."[104] Franz Michael and Gaston J. Sigur express a similar view by stating "they [the Japanese] are highly motivated in their loyalty to their country and their identity as Japanese. . . . Military defeat, however traumatic and fearful, can now be seen as a temporary setback to Japanese efforts to achieve industrial and economic parity with the most advanced Western states."[105]

As already examined at some length in Chapter II, the liberalism of the Meiji period as well as that of the Taisho period were Japanese adaptations which did not

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[103]Matsumoto, op. cit.

[104]Frank Gibney, Japan: The Fragile Superpower (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), p. 65.

[105]Franz Michael and Gaston J. Sigur, The Asian Alliance: Japan and United States Policy (New York: National Strategy Information Center, 1972), pp. 35-36.

militate against Japanese values and nationalist thinking.[106] It would not be amiss to recapitulate briefly Second Lieutenant Onoda Hiro's surrender after holding out for 29 years on a jungle island in the Philippines. When the 22 year old intelligence officer in the Japanese Imperial Army set off for the Great Pacific War in 1944, his mother gave him a sword and some old-fashioned Japanese advice: "Die well, Return dead!" Some 29 years later in 1974, at the Tokyo International Airport, Onoda's mother was there to greet him: "I'm so happy to see you come home alive. You did a fine job."[107]

A critic in Manila noted: "Onoda is the model of the fanatical soldier peculiar to the Japanese militarism that wrecked our country." That unpleasant thought also occurred to some Japanese back home. "Onoda should be regarded as messenger tolling an alarm bell to warn all Japanese against taking the road they took in the recent past," said an editorial in the Asaki Shimbun. What is significant here is that Onoda's example of obedience, self-sacrifice, and loyalty amply impressed most of his countrymen.[108]

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[106]See Charles N. Spinks, "Liberal Myth in Japan," Pacific Affairs, XV, No. 4 (December, 1942), 450-56; Fang-quei Quo, "Jiyushugi: Japanese Liberalism," Review of Politics, XXVIII, No. 4 (OCtober, 1966), 277-92.

[107]"Japan: Old Soldiers Never Die," Newsweek, March 25, 1974, p. 49.

[108]Ibid., p. 52.

This episode seems to imply that the Occupation induced reforms did have some positive influence on "product affect" in Japan, without adversely affecting "system affect." Needless to say, that Onoda's mother's advice to "Die well, Return dead" was dictated by the feudalistic Bushido morality existing in Japanese society at the time. But the mother's wrenching advice uttered apparently under social pressure was clearly repugnant to human nature. We can say that the Occupation's reforms which targeted the obnoxious features so repugnant were gladly accepted by the Japanese. The emotions shown by the Japanese in welcoming Onoda's return may be indicative of the unchanged nature of Japanese nationalism.[109]

What has changed seems to be that the Japanese have been liberalized to such an extent as to enjoy reasonable "product affect," while harboring an unabated "system affect." In this connection, it seems warranted to quote Whitehead again.

> As a community changes, all such rules and canons require revision in the light of reason. The object to be obtained has two aspects; one is the subordination of the community to the individuals comparing it, and the other is the subordination of the individuals to the community. . . . The art of free society consists first in the maintenance of the symbolic code; and secondly in

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[109]Tsukasa Matsueda and George E. Moore, "Japan's Shifting Attitudes Toward the Military: 'Mitsuya Kenkyu' and the Self-Defense Force," Asian Survey, VII, No. 9 (September, 1967), 621.

> the fearlessness of revision, to secure that the code serves those purposes which satisfy an enlightened reason. These societies which cannot combine reverence to their symbols with freedom of revision, must ultimately decay either from anarchy, or from the slow atrophy of a life stifled by useless shadows.[110]

Though it was fashionable in the immediate post-surrender days to say that what Japan gained was freedom, what Japan lost was a sense of national pride. Moreover, intoxicated by the given freedom, most Japanese were keen on their rights and oblivious to their duties. Yoshikawa Kojiro of Kyoto University stated that

> . . . we [the Japanese] were reminded clearly that one's country and race are dearer than any others, as one's own body is dear to oneself. Americans kindly taught us that all their lip service to righteousness, morality, and humanity will reach only so far as they benefit their own country or race.

By the same token, Nakaya Kenichi of Tokyo University said: "I cannot think of anything America can give to other nations except freedom."[111]

The above views not only represent Japanese apprehension about American influence, they also reveal that the Japanese understanding of the unmistakable rule of American foreign policy that is always in the national

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[110]Whitehead, op. cit., p. 88.

[111]Quoted in Douglas G. Haring, ed., "Japan Looks Back on the Occupation: A Symposium of Japanese Views," Far Eastern Survey, XXII, No. 3 (February 25, 1953), 27, 29.

interest regardless of rational consequences.[112] Given the notion of national interest and the near impotence of the United Nation, the Japanese, as any other people, believe that the state, not the world community, will still be "the ultimate determiner of the use of physical force."[113]

As long as the two possibilities for world peace[114]--the conquest of the world by one power or the creation of an effective United Nations--remain beyond our reach, Japan, as any nation, is bound to seek its national interest. A series of international crises in recent years such as the "Nixon Shock," the oil crisis of 1973-1974, the United States' debacle in Vietnam, and the waning American influence, convinced the Japanese that they "can no longer go on living in their comfortable little Douglas MacArthur world."[115] Kase Hideaki claims that America "demonstrated all too clearly in Vietnam that when the national interest

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[112]For a detailed discussion, see Edmond O. Clubb, "The Perils of a Political Foreign Policy," The Nation, December 8, 1979, pp. 584-86; W. Stull Holt claims that every nation, including the United States, is engaged in power politics, trying to promote the national interest. See his, "Uncle Sam As Deer, Jackal, and Lion, or the United States in Power Politics," Pacific Spectator, III, No. 1 (Winter, 1949), 41-54.

[113]Lowell Juilliard Carr, "A Situational Approach to Conflict and War," Social Forces, XXIV, No. 3 (March, 1946), 302.

[114]Holt, op. cit., p. 53.

[115]Kase Hideaki, "Japan: Paradise Lost?" Newsweek, June 25, 1975, pp. 36, 41.

requires it, Washington is perfectly capable of abandoning an ally. As a result . . . we can trust the U. S. no longer."[116] What makes Kase's article notable is that it should surface at a time of resurgent Japanese nationalism.

Like liberalism in the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras,[117] the postwar liberalism is very much nationalistic, if not largely frowned upon.[118] Given the persistence of traditional values, it is small wonder that the nature of the postwar liberalism in Japan is quite similar to that of the pre-1945 days. As Table 28 shows,[119] two decades of democratization and liberalization since defeat have failed to make a large number of Japanese truly treasure liberalism. Only a quarter of the Japanese seem to positively favor liberalism.

Though not a few observers tend to exaggerate the negative aspects of industrial society, arguing that with the increasing achievement of economic growth, "the [Japanese] people gradually turned away from political and

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[116] Ibid., p. 36.

[117] "Japanese liberalism has obediently kept step with Japanese militarism since the first shot was fired in Manchuria in 1931. . . . To the Japanese, national unity is an end in itself." See Hugh Byas, "The Japanese Problem," Yale Review, XXXII, No. 3 (March, 1943), 456.

[118] Takahashi, op. cit., p. 81; Yoshida, The Yoshida Memoirs, p. 171.

[119] Tokei Suri Kenkyujo, Kokuminsei no Kenkyu (April, 1969), pp. 132-33.

TABLE 28

Opinion on Liberalism

Question: Is liberalism good?

| Year | Good | Depends on Time & Place | Not good | Others | Don't Know | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1963 | 24% | 43% | 12% | 1% | 20% | 100% (2698) |
| 1968 | 28% | 44% | 13% | 1% | 13% | 100% (1608) |
| By Sex (1968) | | | | | | |
| Male | 38% | 42% | 11% | 2% | 7% | 100% (1427) |
| Female | 21% | 45% | 14% | 1% | 18% | 100% (1608) |
| By Age | | | | | | |
| 20 to 24 | 33% | 52% | 9% | 1% | 5% | 100% ( 378) |
| 25 to 29 | 30% | 52% | 8% | 0% | 9% | 100% ( 398) |
| 30 to 34 | 28% | 51% | 12% | 1% | 8% | 100% ( 388) |
| 35 to 39 | 31% | 45% | 14% | 0% | 10% | 100% ( 389) |
| 40 to 44 | 27% | 46% | 15% | 1% | 11% | 100% ( 344) |
| 45 to 49 | 30% | 43% | 17% | 0% | 10% | 100% ( 243) |
| 50 to 54 | 27% | 40% | 15% | 1% | 17% | 100% ( 222) |
| 55 to 59 | 29% | 35% | 19% | 1% | 16% | 100% ( 205) |
| Over 60 | 26% | 28% | 13% | 4% | 29% | 100% ( 457) |
| By Level of Education | | | | | | |
| Primary School | 24% | 28% | 15% | 1% | 31% | 100% ( 494) |
| Middle School | 28% | 42% | 15% | 2% | 13% | 100% (1202) |
| High School | 30% | 51% | 11% | 1% | 7% | 100% (1019) |
| College | 38% | 51% | 7% | 0% | 3% | 100% ( 309) |

TABLE 28 (continued)

Opinion on Liberalism

Question: Is liberalism good?

| | Good | Depends on Time & Place | Not good | Others | Don't Know | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| By Political Party | | | | | | |
| Liberal Democratic | 35% | 41% | 12% | 1% | 11% | 100% [1257] |
| Democratic Socialist | 34% | 53% | 7% | 1% | 5% | 100% [ 117] |
| Socialist | 27% | 48% | 16% | 1% | 10% | 100% [ 854] |
| Communist | 23% | 45% | 26% | 2% | 4% | 100% [ 47] |
| Komeito | 23% | 48% | 18% | 1% | 9% | 100% [ 114] |
| Non-party | 23% | 48% | 9% | 1% | 19% | 100% [ 834] |

public affairs to devote themselves entirely to the pursuit of their own interests,"[120] the truer reality of Japan seems to be rather innocent of the social ills usually found in other industrial societies. If we are to find something that is still characteristic of Japan, we could easily point out that the Japanese have, as ever, a strong sense of loyalty to their country, enjoying a high degree of national solidarity.[121]

Since the given liberalism has had little corrosive effect on the Japanese traditional values, in Japan it was "patriotic fervour that supplied the impulse to achievement and at the same time made it possible for her to undergo massive material changes without the disruption of social unity . . . without a strong unifying purpose it may be difficult for an emotional people to resist corrosive influences from without and to maintain social unity unimpaired."[122]

Viewed objectively, the only hope for Japan to weather through the economic and political storms of the eighties and beyond lies in the solidarity of its people. As Frank Gibney has written,

The United States can protect a considerable

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[120]Takahashi, op. cit., p. 88.

[121]Newsweek, November 18, 1974, p. 15.

[122]Allen, op. cit., p. 189.

> amount of bickering and divisiveness among its citizens behind the mirror of its natural resources and its industrial and military power. Japan is the fragile superpower. Its huge economic wealth can continue to work and grow only if the consensus of the Japanese people is firmly behind it. . . . [Japanese] are the least alienated of peoples in a world where technological pressures make citizenship a demanding role and individualism an increasingly expensive luxury.[123]

We may add that Japan might be the only country where emotional warmth is not drained out of the workplace in the name of the cold dictates of efficiency and rationalization. Japan's constant feeling of insecurity is bound to further stimulate national solidarity. Japanese group conformity, together with the principle of competition, is one of the elements in Japanese society that are most important to an explanation of Japan's "miraculous" postwar economic development.[124]

That Japan is subjected to international jealousy surrounding international trade fans Japanese national consciousness. "The sudden sense of isolation forced on Japan seems fertile ground for a new nationalism and could, at its worst, produce full-scale xenophobia."[125] Based on his study of Japanese history, Hugh Byas stated in 1943 that

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[123]Gibney, The Fragile Superpower, pp. 65, 84.

[124]Ishida, Japanese Society, p. 40.

[125]"Japan: End of the Miracle," Newsweek, December 17, 1973, p. 49; Yomiuri Shimbun (evening edition), January 6, 1972.

"It may be said with much truth that Japan was 'liberal' only when she was weak."[126]

It is difficult not to agree with Kato Shuichi that the Japanese are likely to pursue a policy of "liberalism within and national interests abroad."[127]

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[126]Byas, op. cit., p. 472.

[127]Kato Shuichi, "Japanese Writers and Modernization," Changing Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 444.

## CHAPTER XIV

## SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

The misappraisal of Japan by the outside world, which persisted until she manifested her ambition in Manchuria in 1931, is not too hard to explain. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 did not put a clean end to her self-imposed seclusion. It was extended in practice into this century by geographical location, by the barrier presented to international understanding by the Japanese language, and by the Japanese insistence on their racial uniqueness and their reluctance to freely associate with the international community. Many of the Japanese who came into contact with the West were intent on making propaganda for their country, designed to promote her national interests and conceal her true intentions. The number of foreigners with sufficient knowledge of spoken and written Japanese to enable them to interpret Japanese psychology was so limited as to prevent the application of a disinterested corrective to the deliberate distortion of facts. The opinions of foreign observers were more often than not characterized by a lack of balance, and alternated between adulation and unreasoned

criticism.

It was rather natural that Western powers, absorbed during the first few decades of the present century in coping with the increasing gravity of their own problems, should have been only too willing to accept a distant and baffling people at their own valuation. The material success of the Japanese in peace and war, their highly developed aesthetic taste, and their engaging personalities have been conducive to the usual misappraisal of Japan. Perfervid nationalism and Emperor worship were either ignored or identified with patriotism in its Western sense.

As a matter of fact, it was assumed that Japan had achieved the impossible, and had overcome in a matter of a few decades the debilitating legacies of the recent feudal past, which had actually been perpetuated both by restricted international associations and by calculated official policy.

Improper understanding of the unique nature of Japanese national consciousness and their extreme patriotism left Western nations ill-prepared to deal with Japan when the latter became a disturber of peace in Asia. The racial pride of the Japanese as "a divinely descended people," offered the Japanese "a sense of national mission" which could be likened to "white man's burden" or "civilizing mission." Japan's national mission was accompanied by her claim of "special interests" in Asia--the Japanese version

of the "Monroe Doctrine."

Having tasted the benefits of technical civilization for national aggrandizement since the closing decades of the last century, Japan became obsessed with conquering one country after another in Asia. We noted that the Japanese national consciousness has always been influenced or stimulated by such concerns as national security, economy, and "national mission." Overwhelmed by the superiority of Chinese civilization for many centuries, deeply enamored of their national pride revolving around the much lauded idea of "a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal," and intoxicated by their successful history of coping with foreign threats, the Japanese national consciousness has developed into a unique nature, which is a peculiar combination of inferiority complex toward the West and nationalistic narcissism of sorts, harboring a superiority complex toward Asian neighbors.

The Japanese national consciousness has further been solidified by the fact that the scarcity of natural resources conditioned Japan to turn to foreign trade out of desperate need for national survival. Japanese national consciousness came to be confronted by threats from the colonial and expansionist activities of Western powers. Convinced that she was no match for the powerful West, Japan realized that she would be able to maintain her independence only through learning from the West.

Despite the urgent need for modernization to catch up with the West, the Japanese were careful enough to be selective in their importation of foreign cultures lest they be overwhelmed by alien cultures. They were mainly interested in Western science and technique, not in Western ideas, in order to build a strong army and to industrialize their country.

The Japanese experience in culture contact bears out the widely accepted principle in acculturation theory that the first and easiest transfers between societies are in the realm of material culture, that transfers of forms of social organization are slower and more difficult, and that the transfers of values and beliefs are slowest and face the greatest obstacles. Japan has eagerly accepted materials and institutions which could be fitted to Japanese requirements, but has not allowed the entry of ideas and values that would undermine the basic attitudes of the people toward the Japanese political, economic and social system. This selectivity has been possible because alien influences have entered the country only on Japan's terms at least until Japan's defeat in 1945. Foreign invasion has never flooded Japan with unwanted ideas, customs, and institutions which have left their mark on Japanese society. Even though a completely new form of government administration has been set up, the people who control and who operate it have basically the same political philosophy

that motivated the feudal Tokugawa regime. New and foreign ideas made entry into Japan, but they were never allowed to get out of hand.

Unprecedented military defeat, humiliating surrender, and seven years of Allied Occupation confronted established Japanese forces and ideals with challenges as great as, and in many respects even greater than, those that had faced the country at the time of the demise of the Tokugawa regime. Total defeat is bound to have the most profound effects on any modern nation-state, in which virtually the entire population is identified with the war effort. For a host of reasons it was particularly overpowering in the case of Japan, where the myth of politico-military superiority had been so carefully fostered. Surrender dealt a sledge-hammer blow to the "divine country myth," the integral national ideal, comprising the structure of the absolute Emperor system and the all-encompassing concept of Kokutai, which the country's leaders had instilled into themselves and into the people since the Meiji Restoration.

The Occupation, with its initial objectives of rebuilding Japanese society on modern, democratic lines, dealt severe blows to certain influential elements in the country. Through a series of political, economic, and ideological measures, it undermined much of the structure upon which Japanese ultranationalism and militarism had been

based. By placing emphasis on individual human rights, instead of on loyalty and obligations, it attempted to weaken traditional values supportive of loyalty and patriotism, which, the Occupation believed, had been responsible for Japanese ultranationalism.

The dislocation of the old order was accompanied by the strengthening of certain forces and ideals that had been incompatible with nationalism. At least during the hectic days of Occupation reforms, the individual's desire for material improvement in his everyday life replaced the earlier goals of national aggrandizement. May of the new forces that come into being after 1945 were aimed at securing such improvement. These forces, including the Socialist Party, which has never achieved the status of a majority party, have been very effective in preventing the government from scrapping the postwar reforms on a wholesale basis.

The growing power of an independent public opinion has been playing an important role in preserving Occupation induced reforms. We may note that the Meiji leaders had quickly realized the importance of making use of education and propaganda to mobilize public opinion in support of the official national goals. With the breakdown of the "national mission" in 1945, however, and with the advent of a relatively free society supported by many democratic liberties, public opinion was no longer a tool to be

exploited by the government on behalf of conformity at home and aggression abroad.

But the individual's desires for improvement mentioned above belong to the area of "product affect." It would be a grave mistake to regard the individual's strong desires for improvement as the Japanese abandonment of their traditional love of their country. Even at the time of surrender, unification of the national will was clearly manifested. The reforms many of the Japanese gladly embraced were the ones that did away with elements of conformity and regimentation that were repugnant to essential human nature. Actually, the acceptance of reforms for material improvement was nothing more than rational behavior encouraged by the logic of the situation. Historically, Japan was willing to accept industrialization, but not the developments toward a mass society which industrialization implies. The call for the adoption of "the religion of patriotism and of loyalty" was an attempt to keep Japan from developments toward a mass society.

This study has been concerned with Occupation reforms that concerned the subjective, or psychological, areas, for hardly anyone ever questioned the Occupation's capability to destroy what could be physically destroyed. The focus of this study has been on whether or not the Occupation was successful in its attempt to deprive the Japanese of their uniquely strong national consciousness.

We see a nation as a community knit together by a common experience over a reasonably long past, shaping a common tradition and culture. It is obvious that a national consciousness is not, and by its nature cannot be, any sudden or even speedy process. Over long periods of time there must be a storing up in the minds of men a folk sense of shared memories, of common patterns of life, which gives this particular people a deep and profoundly significant sense of sharing a common destiny from which all the rest of mankind is excluded. Put differently, nationalism is in part necessarily a return to the past, to those things which distinguished this nation from the rest of the world.

The disestablishment of Shintoism and the discrediting of the Emperor system in an attempt to de-nationalize the Japanese spirit were rendered very noisy with little result of substance. Despite the changed status of the Emperor, the people's affective sentiments toward the Emperor as a national rallying point remain basically unchanged. Trying to alter the affective bond between the people and the Emperor through the "humanization" of the latter proved to be ineffective at best, for the Japanese attachment to the Throne is of cultural significance, not of political make-shift.

It is rather unreasonable to try to rid the Japanese of the focus of their nationalism while the world is divided into nation-states, all of which are in need of a strong

sense of nationality. Reform of a society is always carried out in the midst of international polarization which is increasing antagonism among nations, and in domestic atmosphere of underlying unrest, confusion and crisis. As citizens of a crowded country, bereft of resources, vulnerable to economic disruption, and subject to jealousy from without, Japanese nationalism is bound to intensify in crisis and challenges.

Given the division of the world into nationalities, each nation is perforce conditioned to seek its own national interest. And thus, the need for nationalism is likely to further stimulate and foster existent national consciousness. From this study emerges the following conclusions. Japanese national consciousness is a unique one, wrought by Japan's history and tradition. Such major factors as Japan's "national mission," national economy and national security that bear on the fortification of the Japanese national consciousness have in general remained unchanged. National consciousness is something that can neither be wrought for political expedience on short order, nor can that be done away with by fiat.

Japanese experience seems to confirm the generally accepted principle in the theories of acculturation that transfer of ideas and values is most difficult. So the Occupation's attempt to make Japanese less Japanese by trying to deprive the Japanese of their strong national

consciousness was from the outset an "impossible possibility" at best. Hence, the Japanese have been resistent to reform over spiritual and etiological areas, while they have been very receptive to reform involving material matters and institutions. In other words, Japanese system affect can remain unchanged, while the promotion of product affect is pursued. The study seems to bolster the argument advanced by many, including Almond and Verba, that the political system needs a reasonable degree of system affect for its stability and survival. Given the nature of the prevailing international politics, the stability and prosperity of Japan will, as in the past, depend on unification of national will stemming from the "religion of loyalty."

Japan will be less than a "fragile superpower" without loyalty and patriotism for which the Japanese have long been reputed. Blind liberalization and unrestrained maximization of product affect at the expense of system affect in Japan will only court political instability at best and a crisis situation that might endanger the future of Japan at worst.

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