JAPAN IN THE FASCIST ERA

EDITED BY E. BRUCE REYNOLDS

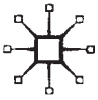
Japan in the Fascist Era

This page intentionally left blank

Japan in the Fascist Era

Edited by
E. Bruce Reynolds

palgrave
macmillan



First published 2004 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN™
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 and
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England RG21 6XS
Companies and representatives throughout the world

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN is the global academic imprint of the Palgrave Macmillan division of St. Martin's Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd. Macmillan® is a registered trademark in the United States, United Kingdom and other countries. Palgrave is a registered trademark in the European Union and other countries.

ISBN 1–4039–6338–X hardback

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Japan in the Fascist era / edited by E. Bruce Reynolds.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1–4039–6338–X
1. Japan—History—1926—1945. I. Reynolds, E. Bruce.

DS888.5.J36 2004
952.03'3—dc22 2003070737

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: July 2004
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America.

In Memory of
Henry P. Frei (1947–2002)
Gentleman, Scholar, and Loyal Friend

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgments

Joseph P. Sottile provided the initial inspiration for this volume with his excellent M.A. thesis "Axis Studies: A Critical Re-Evaluation of the Comparative Study of Fascism" (San Jose State University, 1999). His work reawakened my own interest in the issue of fascism in Japan, a subject that first caught my attention in graduate school at the University of Hawaii. Walter Skya joined us for a panel at the 2001 conference of Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast (ASPAC) in Monterey, CA and recruited Klaus Antoni for a subsequent panel at the 2002 Association of Asian Studies (AAS) in Washington, DC. Contact with Christopher W.A. Szpilman at this meeting brought him on board, and we were most fortunate to have Gerhard Krebs also join us.

We are grateful to Professor David A. Titus of Wesleyan University for insightful commentary at our AAS panel and for other helpful suggestions. Prof. Titus had planned to contribute an introduction to this volume, but illness prevented him from doing so. We send best wishes for his full recovery.

We also wish to thank Prof. Jeffrey A. Dym of California State University at Sacramento, who chaired our ASPAC panel, and Prof. Lela Noble, then dean of the College of Social Sciences at San Jose State University, who chaired our AAS panel.

We dedicate this volume to the memory of the late Henry P. Frei, a longtime friend to the editor, Walter Skya, and Gerhard Krebs, who had planned to contribute a chapter. His untimely death left a void in this volume and in our lives. May he rest in peace.

E. Bruce Reynolds
San Jose, California
September 2003

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Should we consider Japan in the late 1930s and early 1940s fascist?[1] The debate on this question has entered its eighth decade. Scholars who view the fascist phenomenon from a European perspective and focus particular attention on governmental and political structures have had little difficulty in separating Japan from its Axis allies. Japan specialists in the West, particularly in the United States, have generally supported this separation, which has served to obscure both the powerful global impact of fascism and Japan's role during the Fascist Era.[2]

Fascist ideology took shape amidst the chaos created by World War I and gained powerful momentum a decade later when the global Great Depression cast the flaws of the capitalist system in sharp relief. Even the Roman Catholic Church advocated a "third way" between capitalism and socialism in a 1931 encyclical,[3] a path that fascists sought to provide. The Fascist Era peaked with the aggressive expansionism of the three Axis powers between 1937 and 1942.

W.B. Ashton, writing in 1937, marveled at the "amazing force" by which fascism had "stirred the Old World out of its post-war political lethargy."[4] By early 1939, a year-and-a-half before the signing of the Tripartite Pact, fascism had gained such momentum that such an astute and unsympathetic observer as Peter F. Drucker could declare that "fascist totalitarianism has assumed the proportions of a major world revolution." In his book *The End of Economic Man*, published several months before the Hitler–Stalin pact stunned the world, Drucker concluded that communism was losing its global ideological conflict with fascism.[5]

Setting the case of Japan aside for the moment, there is ample evidence of fascism's far-flung influence elsewhere in Asia. Within Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party in China there emerged a strong faction promoting what Frederic Wakeman, Jr. labels "Confucian fascism" and Dooeum Chung calls "elitist fascism."[6] The memoir of Burmese politician Ba Maw eloquently testifies to fascism's powerful appeal to Asians generally,[7] an influence manifest in the leadership styles of Thailand's Field Marshal Phibun Songkhram and the head of the Indian independence movement during World War II, Subhas Chandra Bose. Grant K. Goodman has pointed out that even Manual Quezon, president of the emerging Philippine Commonwealth, came to admire the fascist dictators.[8]

In promoting fascism as the "third way" between communism and liberal democracy, its proponents portrayed it as a unifying antidote to both the class animosities promoted by Marxism and the social atomization of liberal-democratic societies.[9]

They viewed it as a spiritualist alternative to materialism and a nationalist alternative to Marxist internationalism and liberal-capitalist globalism.[10]

A scholar who has written extensively on fascism, Zeev Sternhell, describes it as "a synthesis of organic nationalism and anti-Marxism socialism, a revolutionary ideology based on a simultaneous rejection of liberalism, Marxism, and democracy." He adds:

> In its essential character, the fascist ideology was a rejection of "materialism" (liberalism, Marxism, and democracy being regarded as merely the three faces of one and the same materialist evil), and it aimed at bringing about a total spiritual revolution. Fascist activism, with its marked tendency to elitism, favored a strong political authority freed from the trammels of democracy and emanating from the nation, a state that represented the whole of society with all its different classes.[11]

Historian Tony Smith explains the ideological competition of the era quite succinctly, placing the rivalry between liberal democracy, communism, and fascism in the historical context of the emergence of mass politics in the early twentieth century. Smith aptly describes it as "a three-sided contest to overcome the crisis of modernity with a new form of government linking the state to the people in ways radically different from what had existed before." Smith notes that "because fascism exalted the tradition of the nation and because it was explicitly corporatist (that is it claimed to respect the rights of different sectors of the population so long as they respected their obligations to the state), it could appeal to a wide range of social forces from those that were established and traditional to those created by economic and social changes." He further points out that fascism's anticommunist stance attracted "that part of 'the masses' who were not working class, but instead who tended to be religious and who might find in chauvinistic appeals some relief from the strains of modern social and economic life." At the same time, fascism "appealed to traditional elites threatened by the rising tide of mass participation, promising to organize the populace—conceived of as a racially based nation—through a single party led by a charismatic figure."[12]

In this volume's first chapter Joseph P. Sottile surveys the long-running, contentious scholarly debate on how to define and categorize fascism, a debate much distorted by Cold War ideological struggles. He argues for a "fascist minimum" that allows for inclusion of Japan in the fascist camp, contending that comparative studies of the three states that created the Axis alliance are essential to a better understanding of the fascist phenomenon.

All scholars of comparative fascism acknowledge that European "third way" movements drew sustenance from deeply implanted local roots. Although the Italian Fascists were the first to claim power, Sternhell has argued that the ideological core of what came to be called "fascism" had developed in France prior to World War I.[13] Ideas central to the National Socialist movement in Germany also emerged there long before Mussolini came to power in Italy. The romantic glorification of the Germanic spirit and early culture at the heart of Nazi ideology is usually traced back to Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803).[14] Anti-Semitism, of course, had a much longer history.

In Japan, "third way" political activists also built their movements on preexisting foundations. They had no need simply to copy Italian or German models, because a

basis for fascism already existed in Japan. As Klaus Antoni details in the second chapter, the scholars of *kokugaku* (the National Learning School) constructed an indigenous antirationalist, ultranationalist ideology during the Tokugawa era (1600–1868) when the nation was largely isolated. They railed against the Chinese influences that they believed had corrupted and obscured the true Japanese character. By focusing on the unique nature of the "unbroken" line of Japanese monarchs as the characteristic that set Japan apart from other nations, they provided the critical ideological justification for the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868.

In the wake of the Meiji Restoration, ultranationalist heirs of the *kokugaku* tradition helped shape the nation's constitutional settlement and fought for influence in national politics. They redirected their fire from Japanese Sinophiles to pro-Western officials, characterizing them as "weak, decadent, and self-indulgent," charging that "accommodation to the West suggested effeminacy, while militarism signified strength and masculinity." In the wake of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) disaffected youth celebrated the "spirit of barbarism" and idealized violent, swashbuckling heroes.[15] Kita Ikki, often called the "father of Japanese fascism," wrote his famous proposal for reorganizing Japan in 1919, three years before Mussolini came to power. Kita, Richard Samuels declares, aimed at "squaring the circle of communism and capitalism with his Japanese-style national socialism."[16]

Christopher W.A. Szpilman points out in the third chapter that the less well-known Kanokogi Kazunobu preceded Kita by advocating totalitarianism during the latter stages of World War I. Szpilman goes on to demonstrate that Kanokogi and other ideologues of a clearly fascist type gained an increasingly wide following in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s, gaining sympathetic support from members of the Japanese political establishment and benefiting from the apparent success of fascist policies at home and abroad.

Economic recovery in Germany and Japan, fueled in large part through heavy spending on armaments, seemed to validate the efficacy of militarism.[17] Japan's unchecked expansionism in Manchuria from 1931 and its unpunished defiance of the League of Nations created an image of "dynamism" that favorably impressed the Nazis, encouraging them to act aggressively.[18] Hitler's subsequent successful expansionism and the Western powers' weak response in turn affected the decisions of Japanese leaders as they headed down the path to disastrous war with the United States and Great Britain in 1941.[19]

The Nazi use of the "Roman salute" and Mussolini's adoption of the German army's "goose step" and Nazi-style anti-Semitic policies are examples of mutual borrowing among the Axis allies. German anti-Semitism spread to Italy and Japan, too. Gerhard Krebs carefully analyzes this latter phenomenon in chapter four, demonstrating that despite the allure of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, Japan's leaders ultimately refused to participate in Hitler's "final solution" of the "Jewish problem."

Walter A. Skya, in chapter five, examines Adolf Hitler's view of Japan as reflected in his autobiographical book *Mein Kampf*. Although Hitler considered Japan a mere "culture bearing society," Skya points out that he nonetheless viewed Japan positively as a potential partner for Germany. The Führer's attitude inspired German initiatives that ultimately led the Axis alliance of 1940. Skya also examines efforts by Japan's Shintō ultranationalists to impress the Nazis with Japan's Volkish cultural tradition,

focusing on Miura Katsuichi's article "Yamato," published in a German SS journal in 1942.

In chapter six of the book, E. Bruce Reynolds further explores the historical parallels between Japan and its Axis allies, particularly Germany, and discusses the factors commonly cited as setting it apart during the Fascist Era. Granting that Japan's political system had peculiar characteristics, he contends that such divergence was natural given the ultranationalist basis of all fascist ideologies. He argues for including Japan in the fascist fold because the differences between Japan and its Axis partners were less important than the parallels.

Contributors to this volume have sought to clarify Japan's role in the "Fascist Era" by emphasizing the significance of its alliance with Italy and Germany. Although chauvinistic attitudes and divergent national interests ultimately made interstate relations within the Axis dysfunctional, the Tripartite Pact nonetheless represented a logical outcome that reflected ideological affinity, not simple opportunism. Further comparative study of fascism from a global perspective is needed to correct distortions created by Euro-centrism, obsession with Japan's uniqueness, and the ideological struggles of the Cold War. This approach promises to permit fuller understanding of the broad appeal of fascism, the course of events in Japan in the late 1930s, and the historical importance of the Axis alliance.

Notes

1. Throughout this book Fascism (capitalized) is used in reference to Benito Mussolini's party in Italy, while fascism (non-capitalized) refers to the broader political phenomenon. The use of the name of the Italian party as the generic term for the latter is problematic, but the usage has become so widespread that attempting to coin a new term seems a futile exercise.
2. On the concept of a "Fascist Era," see Ernst Nolte, *The Three Faces of Fascism*, tr. Leila Vennewitz (New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1965), pp. 3–10.
3. Harold James, *The End of Globalization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 197.
4. W.B. Ashton, *The Fascist* (London: Putnam, 1937), p. 3.
5. Peter F. Drucker, *The End of Economic Man* (New York: John Day Co., 1939), p. 3.
6. Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "A Revisionist View of the Nanjing Decade: Confucian Fascism," in *Reappraising Republican China*, eds. Wakeman and R.L. Edmonds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 141–178 and Dooeum Chung, *Élistist Fascism: Chiang Kai-shek's Blueshirts in 1930s China* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000). Chung interestingly emphasizes the impact of Japanese-style fascism on Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters. On German influence in Nationalist China, also see Youwei Xu, "German Fascism in Chinese Eyes: An Investigation of the *Qiantu* Magazine (1933–1937)" and Danny S.L. Paau, "Survival and Nationalization of the People: The German Alternative in Republican China," in *Sino–German Relations Since 1800: Multidisciplinary Explanations*, eds. Ricardo K.S. Mak and Paau (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 235–275.
7. Ba Maw, *Breakthrough in Burma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 6, 23.
8. Grant K. Goodman, "Philippine Bushido," in *Nitobe Inazo: Japan's Bridge Across the Pacific*, ed. J.F. Howes (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), p. 130.
9. The author of one recent comparative study of Germany, Italy, and Japan, *Faces of Fraternalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), Paul Brooker, eschews the term "fascism," instead emphasizing this aspect which he calls "fraternalism." He argues that Japan was the most successful of the three "fraternalist" regimes in recreating what Émile Durkheim called the "mechanical solidarity" of a premodern society.

10. James (*The End of Globalization*, pp. 200–201) characterizes the Fascist Era as "built on a backlash against globalization that had been developing since the last third of the nineteenth century. That backlash identified globalism with change and sin, and held that moral regeneration required national cultures."
11. Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right Nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 27.
12. Tony Smith, "Making the World Safe for Democracy," *Diplomatic History*, 23 (Spring 1999): 180.
13. In *Neither Right Nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France*, p. 1, Sternhell declares: "It was in France that the radical right soonest acquired the essential characteristics of fascism, and it was in France, also, that this process was most rapidly completed—on the eve of the outbreak of the Great War."
14. For example, H.W. Koch, *The Hitler Youth* (London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1975), pp. 4–6.
15. Jason G. Karlin, "The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 28 (2002): 56, 70–71. Karlin quotes (p. 71) the editor of a magazine aimed at the male youth audience and launched in 1908 as saying its purpose was "to tell exciting stories from throughout the world that will not only inspire a spirit of daring, courage, and sincerity, but eliminate all those runts who are weak, corrupt, decadent." Karlin adds (p. 74) that the magazine and the editor's novels "celebrated feats of strength, national spirit, and heroism" and served to support "the struggle against Western imperialism."
16. Richard J. Samuels, *Machiavelli's Children* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 154; George M. Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883–1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 65; and Bernd Martin, *Japan and Germany in the Modern World* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1995), p. 87.
17. William Henry Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia* (London: Duckworth, 1938), p. 211, note 11.
18. John P. Fox, *Germany and the Far Eastern Crisis, 1931–1938* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 79. On Hitler following Japan's lead in leaving the League of Nations, see Ernst L. Presseisen, *Germany and Japan: A Study in Totalitarian Diplomacy* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), pp. 47–48. Presseisen notes (p. 65) that in the mid-1930s both Germany and Japan were anti-League "and as a consequence anti-democratic," as well as being "anti-communist and as a consequence anti-Russian." They were "anti-revolutionary, but in an aggressive activist sort of way . . . they both professed to be revisionist powers."
19. Guenther Stein wrote in *Far East in Ferment* (London: Methuen & Co., 1936), p. 218: "Any dilemma in the West has always proved to be Japan's opportunity. And the actions of the anti-status quo powers in Europe, i.e., Germany and Italy, are of great assistance to Japan; just as Japan's actions in recent years had furthered the ends of those two countries."

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 1

The Fascist Era: Imperial Japan and the Axis Alliance in Historical Perspective

Joseph P. Sottile

The Fascist Era began on October 28, 1922 in Italy when a former socialist agitator and journalist, Benito Mussolini, led the Black Shirts through the streets of Rome in a revolutionary act of defiance against Italy's liberal regime. The Fascist Era ended in Tokyo Harbor when Imperial Japan, having suffered many defeats and two devastating nuclear attacks, finally capitulated on September 2, 1945. These events framed a tumultuous period of bloody conflicts, social upheaval, racial philosophies, and the reconfiguration of the international order. Fueled by widespread disillusionment with the economics of liberal capitalism and fear of the social cleavages exploited by international socialism, fascism emerged as a "third way" ideology embraced by disparate nations with seemingly unique histories.

The best known ideological struggle of the twentieth century matched the opposing camps of philosophical materialism, liberal capitalism, and socialism/communism. Both sides in this struggle viewed fascism as a short-lived, negative detour from the upward path of man's sociopolitical evolution. Yet, from the end of World War I through the close of World War II, fascism and fascist ideology severely challenged the other two "isms," attempting to overturn the existing geopolitical order. Fascism briefly became, from the 1930s until the tide of war turned in 1943, the ascendant ideology. It offered a new political methodology, one that replaced the iron laws of economic determinism with deep-seated notions of nationality, race, mythos, and transcendent spirituality as unifying forces in modern society.

Fascism's dominant themes of nationalism and antiinternationalism held wide appeal and fascist-style movements surfaced in various countries, creating a global phenomenon. Strains of fascism emerged in France (Action Francaise), Great Britain (British Union of Fascists), and the United States (Father Coughlin, among others). Fascist and proto-fascist parties and political figures also surfaced in Spain, China, and even Thailand.

In 1939, Peter F. Drucker saw this phenomenon quite clearly. In *The End of Economic Man*, his self-described screed against the fascism "monster," he categorized Nazism and Fascism as "fundamental revolutions . . . characterized by their efforts to make the spiritual serve the material" that were overturning the trend of previous centuries.[1] The fundamentals of this sociopolitical revolution, according to Drucker,

included the search for a "third way," a socially based substitution of "economic satisfactions" with "non-economic satisfactions" and the failure of rationalism to explain massive changes in both science and the social order.[2] Although Drucker believed that fascism emerged as a "major world revolution" not isolated to Italy and Germany,[3] he did focus on Europe where he had recently studied in Vienna. Nonetheless, his rapier-sharp formulation applies perfectly to the third major Axis nation, Imperial Japan.

Drucker's cogent assessment of the underlying forces that drove fascism in the 1930s conspicuously fell out of favor after the end of World War II. Efforts to analyze the fascist phenomenon became entangled in the renewed ideological struggle between the "Left" and the "Right" that typified the Cold War. The Left revived prewar analyses that characterized fascism as a reactionary attempt by finance capital to forestall imminent socialist revolution. Conversely, theorists on the Right developed the totalitarianism doctrine, classifying both fascism and communism as a genus of repressive, antiliberal dictatorship. Both sides saw fascism as an historical aberration and a detour, from either the road to socialist revolution and utopia, or from the progressive path to liberal modernization.

The Left–Right political spectrum is an ironic framework within which to place fascism. Fascist ideology diametrically opposed materialism, while the Left–Right spectrum had developed from the competition between opposing materialist models. Fascism posited a "third way" *beyond* the constraints of materialism. Thus, it should be analyzed on its own terms—in this case, as an outgrowth of philosophical idealism.

Such an ironic turn is understandable, though, since the Cold War presented both liberalism and communism with the odd challenge of recasting former foes as steadfast allies and former allies as deadly enemies. The politically charged postwar geopolitical landscape provided the context for the rise of seduction theories, aberration theories, ambiguous definitions of fascism, and fascism's deployment as an ideological weapon. Fascism became a political football, punted back and forth between the Left and Right, with each side trying to tarnish the other with the "fascist" taint. Eventually some scholars endeavored to develop a typology or generic model of fascism (a "fascist minimum"),[4] an effort that continues today, nearly 60 years after the end of the Fascist Era.

Among historians of modern Japan, the battle lines also mirrored the larger ideological conflict of the Cold War. The rise of the Modernization School in the 1950s solidified the idea of Imperial Japan as representative of a peculiar instance of rapid modernization quite different from Italy and Germany and, therefore, not functionally a fascist regime.[5] Marxist scholars like Maruyama Masao continued to describe Imperial Japan as a fascist state, but the opposite view of the Modernization School, closely associated with Harvard scholar and ambassador to Japan Edwin O. Reischauer, became dominant among Western scholars, most of them American.[6]

For the next 20 years, as Carol Gluck has pointed out, progressive historians assailed, often futilely, the "Reischauer Line" with its rosy portrayal of the Meiji Restoration as "peaceful, pragmatic, and a nonrevolutionary revolution from above"[7] and its view that events in the 1930s represented an aberration in an otherwise steady march of progress. This interpretation of modern Japanese history had important ramifications beyond the field of Japanese studies, providing ammunition for

scholars of comparative fascism who, for their own reasons, were inclined to exclude Japan from the fascist category.

The Cold War, the Reischauer Line, and the historical imperatives of the Marxist critique are now subjects of study rather than tools of interpretation. Yet, although now freed from Cold War constraints, scholars still sidestep the issue of defining the era in a clear, substantive fashion.[8] More problematic is the persistent failure to include Imperial Japan in the equation, a proclivity that makes it impossible to develop a strong, truly comparative thesis.[9] Among Japan specialists the recent focus on cultural studies of the imperial period establishes a strong link between intellectuals in interwar Japan and their European counterparts. Yet, these substantial efforts entirely avoid the fundamental problem of defining fascism.[10]

When seen in its proper geopolitical context, the Axis alliance itself provides a conceptual framework for better understanding both the Fascist Era and the development of the nations that embodied it. The terms or structure of the Anti-Comintern Pact and the Tripartite Pact are not of primary concern here, although they remain an untapped source of insight into the geopolitical character of fascism. The primary focus here is on the simple fact of the alliance. Comparative studies of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Imperial Japan can reveal a heretofore ignored rationale for developing an understanding of generic fascist ideology. Although fascism developed in various ways in different places, it was among the Axis states—the three major signatories of the Tripartite Pact—that fascism transformed unrequited Great Powers into viable challengers for control of the globe. Italy, Germany, and Japan were quintessential fascist nations. To understand fascist ideology, one must first understand this fascist fraternity. To understand the fascist fraternity we must reunite Imperial Japan with its Axis partners. A comparative study of all three fascist nations is thus the key to fathoming the Fascist Era.

Toward that end, this chapter first focuses on the four-decade-long quest for a fascist minimum. Next, it examines the isolation of Imperial Japan as a "special case" and the reasons why Japan has not traditionally been considered a fascist nation. The debate around this issue starkly illustrates the role of Cold War politics in determining the terms and conditions for defining fascism. This leads to a comparison of Imperial Japan with Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and an examination of similar traits and common geopolitical circumstances. Finally, a conceptual framework is proposed, which integrates the characteristics shared by the Axis Powers into a simple fascist minimum that reflects the historical context within which this ideology developed, the Fascist Era.

Toward a Fascist Minimum

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language defines fascism as "a governmental system led by a dictator having complete power, forcibly suppressing opposition and criticism, regimenting all industry, commerce, etc., and emphasizing an aggressive nationalism and often racism."[11] The dictionary then further obscures this imprecise formulation by defining the word "fascist" as "anyone who believes in or sympathizes with fascism" and "anyone who is dictatorial."[12] Usually one can rely upon the venerable and authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary*

to unambiguously clarify etymological matters. However, its attempt at a definition mirrors Webster's generality.[13] Both "fascism" and the root word, "fasces,"[14] conspicuously appear in *The New York Times Everyday Reader's Dictionary of Misunderstood, Misused, Mispronounced Words*.[15]

Obviously, defining fascism is a difficult and unenviable task. The brutality and crimes associated with Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan quite understandably complicate the issue. From the outset, antifascist scholarship politicized the debate about the nature and meaning of fascism from the beginning.[16] During the Cold War, investigations of fascism became entangled in the fierce ideological conflict between the rival materialist camps, liberal capitalism, and socialism/communism, sides that could agree only on the point that fascism was a negative historical aberration and/or a systemic failure. Although intrepid scholars began challenging the orthodoxies of the Left and the Right as early as the 1960s, the residues of those strongly held views of historical progress still distort fascism's appearance in the prism of history.[17]

The definition of fascism continued to devolve throughout the 1970s, as the terms "fascism" and "fascist" were often misapplied or used as epithets in political attacks. They entered the vernacular as politically charged, but historically imprecise words used primarily against anyone with intensely held conservative beliefs. "Fascist pig" became the left-wing response to "Commie," "pinko," or recently in American politics, "liberal." Robert O. Paxton points to other usage that borders on the ridiculous, such as Rush Limbaugh's phrase "feminazis."[18]

Some historians, like A.J.P. Taylor and Dennis Mack Smith, simply dismissed fascism as nothing more than a set of lies perpetrated by opportunists driven by a lust for power.[19] Others, including George Mosse, Hans Kohn, and Hannah Arendt, emphasized the systemic cultural, moral, and political failures that led to fascism.[20] Ideas and interpretations have proliferated in the fertile field of fascist aesthetics, symbolism, and masculine values. Wilhelm Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*[21] and Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom*[22] were the two most influential works in this arena. They employed a Freudian interpretation of fascist society as a patient, or a "sick society."[23]

The traditional political debate centers on whether to consider fascism a right-wing capitalist counterrevolution meant to undermine socialist/communist revolution, or one specific type of totalitarianism within a larger typology of twentieth-century totalitarianisms, including Stalinist and Maoist dictatorships.[24] Over time the debate became ensconced in a competition between Marxists on the Left and purveyors of the totalitarianism and "aborted democracy" theories on the Right.[25] The question often centered on which side should inherit the ideological taint of association with fascism, with each side pointing at the other. The Left asserted that fascism's pedigree was rooted in capitalism's inherent militarism, imperialism, and oligarchic tendencies. The Right countered that fascism was an antidemocratic kinsman of repressive, centrally planned communist regimes. Once again, both sides of the materialist political spectrum attempted to define fascism without understanding its antimaterialist ideological roots. Eventually, many scholars debated over "Left fascism" versus "Right fascism," with each side promoting an implicit, if not overt, Cold War political agenda.[26]

Fascism remained a relevant topic throughout the Cold War and a massive body of work was produced during that period. Identifying a consensus, however, remains difficult. Renzo De Felice, A. James Gregor, and Roger Eatwell, in addition to their research on fascism, found it necessary to analyze and categorize the various identifiable schools, or interpretations of fascism. In *Interpretations of Fascism*, De Felice distinguishes nine interpretations, three of which are "classic," with an additional six of various types.[27] Gregor's *Interpretations of Fascism* discerns four "classic" interpretations that he folds into a grand total of six.[28] Eatwell's, "Towards a New Model of Generic Fascism," uncovers "four schema" that subdivide into "two main subcategories" or modes of interpretation.[29] Although interest in the topic waned in the 1980s, Eatwell's 1992 article marked the beginning of a resurgence of general histories and models of fascism.[30]

Many prominent scholars fall into the category of particularists—those who view fascism as a political phenomenon limited to a few isolated cases. Among them, De Felice, Mosse, Alexander De Grand, and Gilbert Allardyce stand out as strict adherents to particularistic interpretations of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Others, like Walter Laqueur, place Nazism and Fascism into a broader model of fascism, but are generally unwilling to stretch the term beyond those two regimes.[31]

These "particularists" define fascism by the one typology all scholars can agree upon, Fascist Italy. Therefore, Fascist Italy is both the minimum and maximum. Some scholars expand the typology by small gradations to encompass a few other examples, that is, Nazi Germany and Franco's Spain (although often not even those regimes), but generally eschew broad application of a generic model of fascism. Specialists on Germany and Japan also tend to view Nazism and Imperial Japan as special cases not comparable with Italy, let alone other regimes or movements.

Taken together, De Felice and Mosse represent the scholarly vanguard of particularism. Each emphasized the unique cultural, political, social, and historical features of his respective field of study. De Felice, while waging a war against antifascist domination of postwar scholarship, rejected outright both the theory of totalitarianism and Marxist analyses of fascism.[32] Totalitarianism, he states, is not an ideology as such, but merely a technique of power.[33] De Felice's exhaustive five-volume biography of Mussolini refutes Marxist assertions that fascism was a counterrevolutionary "praetorian guard" at the disposal of capitalist interests.[34] In fact, De Felice believes that Mussolini built an effective mass movement based on widespread popular support.[35]

He emphatically disputes the claim that one could extrapolate a generic model from Italian Fascism, comparing the search for a "minimum common denominator" with the "construction of skyscrapers out of a pile of embankments."[36] De Felice takes particular exception to the tendency to unite Fascism and Nazism under the same conceptual umbrella, arguing that the erroneous coupling of these two movements ignores a basic difference. He sees fascism as a full-fledged revolutionary movement, emphasizing the creative power of the New Man, and the creative power of the state to produce the New Man.[37] Fascism sought a transformation of the individual and society.[38]

Although Nazism's mass mobilization gives the appearance of revolution and transformation, it focused upon the "Liberated Aryan."[39] While Italian Fascism

integrated elements of Modernism and Futurism, Nazism sought emancipation from the restrictions Modernism imposed upon the historical Aryan character.[40] This analysis deftly accounts for the relative lack of anti-Semitism and racism in Italy, so virulent in Germany.

De Felice's praise for his particularist colleague George Mosse—he refers to Mosse's *The Nationalization of the Masses* as one of the three most important works of recent memory[41]—illustrates an affinity for his methods and focus, as well as their agreement about the unique natures of Fascism and Nazism. In his seminal work, *The Crisis of German Ideology*,[42] Mosse began building a strong case for viewing Nazism as a peculiar development based specifically on German cultural, political, and social circumstances. In the introduction Mosse writes: "What differentiated the Germany of this period from other nations was a profound mood, a peculiar view of man and society which seems alien and even demonic to the Western intellect."[43] He views the penetration of Volkism throughout German society, dislocations caused by rapid industrialization, and a tradition of German Romanticism as a synergistic, wholly German combination of factors.[44]

Mosse, in his zeal to find the fatal flaw exclusive to German culture, regards Nazism as "a repudiation of European heritage"[45] and, most significantly, terms the Nazi example "New Politics," an outgrowth of a secular political religion that responded to the German crisis of values.[46] While Mosse recognizes that many of the ideas found in Nazism circulated around Europe, he remains steadfastly behind his *sui generis* classification of Nazi Germany.[47] Like De Felice, he contrasts the influence of Futurism and Modernism on Italian Fascism with the severe traditionalism of Nazi Germany.[48] Unfortunately, he fumbles over what he calls a Nietzschean "call to action" in Nazism.[49] First, Nietzsche was nothing else if not antitraditionalist.[50] Second, the Nietzschean "call to action" was readily apparent in the Italian mythos of the New Man.[51]

De Felice and Mosse have not carried the particularist burden alone. Both De Grand and Allardyce agree with them that distinctions between Italy and Germany make generic fascism problematic. De Grand published a 1982 study of Italian Fascism, an "effort to set fascism in its Italian context as a movement quite distinct from German Nazism and current Third World developmental dictatorships."[52] De Grand, however, implicitly acknowledges a broader fascist typology, inclusive of Germany.

Although closer to the generalists than De Felice and Mosse, De Grand certainly agrees with a *sui generis* classification of Italy and Germany and attacks the idea that "developmental dictatorships" warrant association with fascism. However, after Gregor forced scholars to address his general model of fascism, De Grand inched closer to the generalists. In a comparison of Italy and Germany made in 1995, he identified a "Fascist Style" that typified their regimes: leader-driven, pseudo-utopian mass movements based on bourgeois resistance to the crisis of liberalism.[53] However, they were differentiated primarily by the extent to which traditional conservatives and their institutions held onto power. Italy compromised far more than Germany and, as such, was still qualitatively different.

In 1979, Allardyce asserted himself as one of the most tenacious opponents of generic fascism, attacking the amorphous meaning and uses of the word. He, like

De Grand, reacted against the growing trend to develop a widely applicable model. Allardyce postulated that the deceptive nature of Fascist rhetoric rendered generic models of fascism implausible. Roberto Vivarelli agrees with Allardyce, viewing fascism as historically locked into the context of interwar Italian politics. Thus, Vivarelli proposed that the origins of Fascism could only "be studied *in situ*, namely, in Italy, and they must be understood first of all within the context of Italian history."[54] A fundamental attractiveness of particularism is that it isolates fascism as an historical virus that, since stamped out, does not portend further infection.[55]

The impetus toward a generic model clearly comes from a desire to make sense of historically complex interactions throughout the twentieth century. If fascism cannot be postulated outside of Italy, it certainly undercuts the ability of historians, political scientists, and sociologists to make comparisons. Comparative studies, particularly historical and political comparisons, provide context and identify larger processes. The comparative perspective becomes more appropriate in an ever-shrinking world, the result of greater communication among nations, cross-pollination of ideas, economic competition and interdependence, and the spread of technology. In the twentieth century, noncomparative studies grow ever more problematic.

The most visible and successful generalists of the last 30 years—Stanley Payne, Juan J. Linz, and Gregor—share a common progenitor in Ernst Nolte. Also, as Nolte's landmark book *Three Faces of Fascism* spawned three decades of reevaluations, so too have the works of Payne, Linz, and Gregor, among others, paved the way for the most recent generation of generalists: Eatwell, Roger Griffin, and Paxton. As the search for a fascist minimum continues, the gaps between interpretations and schools seem to be narrowing, although consensus still eludes mainstream scholarship.[56]

The idea of a fascist minimum comes directly from Nolte. He began his search for it in the early 1960s, although his metapolitical theory of fascism inspired few true converts.[57] More importantly, he validated the idea that a fascist minimum was possible and established an intellectual, philosophical, and ideological genealogy of fascism in three cases: France, Italy, and Germany. In so doing, he dealt with one of the most significant problems facing any generalist, the question of ideological continuity. The establishment of an ideological genealogy makes it possible to view fascism as historically congruous and, potentially, ideologically universal. Rather than the peculiarity of an historical aberration, behavioral flaw, or cultural psychosis, an intellectual genealogy allows international applicability, in much the same way as the American and French Revolutions, though different in many ways, can be traced to the Enlightenment.

The battle over the efficacy of a fascist minimum continued throughout the decade and into the next, but Gregor significantly changed some of the terms and tactics of the war.[58] In 1969, he refocused the attention of scholars on key questions that had been essentially unchallenged by all sides since the end of World War II: "Does fascism constitute a coherent, progressive ideology and, if so, is that ideology in any way congruent with the Western intellectual tradition?"[59] Moreover, Gregor not only placed fascism within the context of revolution,[60] he characterized it as a modernizing revolution. Thus Gregor went beyond the first attempts to shift the governing paradigm from its antifascist foundations, challenging the necessity to treat fascism merely as an historical scourge.

Gregor proposed that both Italian Fascism and generic fascism were, and are, revolutionary movements born of a Marxist heresy. He saw fascist regimes as a type of "developmental dictatorship"[61] with modernizing goals, and contended that Mussolini developed a "paradigmatic fascism" out of an ideological and philosophical tradition.

Gregor based his assertion that fascism emerged out of a Marxist heresy, or the inversion of international socialism into national socialism, on his interpretation of Mussolini's radicalism and revolutionary program. Mussolini, the socialist agitator, is the nationalist, antimaterialist corollary to V.I. Lenin. Fascism's "heresy" is, in fact, a reassertion of the Hegelian Idealism Marx had discarded in favor of a materialistic historical dialectic. In short, fascism is a revolutionary ideology, not a reactionary response to revolution. Marxist historians, though, have rarely dealt with fascism within this historical context, despite Mussolini's socialist roots and Italy's neo-Hegelian tradition.[62]

Traditional Marxists, building on Karl Marx's critique of history and fundamental determinism, place historical phenomena within a materialistic dialectical structure that is unable to account for this revolutionary heresy. Of course, there is a great deal of variation on the Marxist theme, both in general theory and in the specific analysis of fascism. In regard to fascism, Marxists might haggle over "petty bourgeois versus bourgeois" dominance within fascism, the reaction of industrial or preindustrial capital, or the extent to which fascist ideology penetrated the proletariat's consciousness, but rarely wavered in their belief in the counterrevolutionary nature of fascism.

Leon Trotsky's analysis in the 1930s, although nuanced, held to a "dogmatic insistence on organically identifying fascism with the last ditch struggle of moribund capitalism."[63] Since the 1930s, Marxists have formulated variations on that theme, but the baseline remained constant. From Herbert Marcuse's fascism as "a classless society within the framework of the existing class society" to Mihaly Vadja's fascism as a compromise between the proletariat and bourgeoisie, brokered by the petty bourgeoisie in a time of capitalist crisis, all Marxists emphatically argue that fascism was not revolutionary.[64] Michael Parenti's 1997 analysis typifies the Marxist consensus that "fascism is nothing more than a final solution to the class struggle, the totalistic submergence and exploitation of democratic forces for the benefit and profit of higher financial circles."[65] For Marxists, the real conundrum is the apparent *revolutionary* appeal of fascism.

Matters are not quite so simple for non-Marxist generalists, who struggle with the implications of a fascism with deep intellectual roots. The idea of a Mussolini or Hitler emerging out of the same traditions as the great nineteenth-century ideologies—liberalism and communism/socialism—makes many uncomfortable, yet Nolte's work made it impossible to regard fascism as mere political thuggery. Many responded with an alternative theory of the intellectual roots of fascism: irrationalism. The idea that fascist thought was merely an expedient outgrowth of nineteenth-century irrationalisms, Nietzschean proto-existentialism, Bergsonian vitalism, and Sorelian anarcho-syndicalism, for example, allowed a general ideology of sorts, while delineating fascism from a longer Western tradition.[66] However, the ties to Nietzsche, the most often-cited irrationalist culprit, are among the most overstated.

Moreover, fascist ideology demonstrates significant links to Hegelian Idealism and nineteenth-century neo-Idealism.

Generalists who concern themselves specifically with understanding the core of fascist ideology understand the deep philosophical roots of fascism, which, as Nolte so indelibly established, date back to Jean Jacques Rousseau's idea of the General Will. Roger Eatwell, referring to the intellectual sources of fascist ideology, writes:

> The result was not an irrationalist philosophy, or a "non-intellectual, even anti-intellectual" position, as many critics have argued. It was more an anti-rationalist philosophy in the sense of its hostility to liberalism and Marxism. There was nothing irrational in believing that history taught certain lessons. Nor was there anything irrational in believing that an individual, or group of dedicated individuals, might change the course of history—though clearly the possibilities of such vitalist views are open to debate.[67]

Others, including Gregor, have made irrefutable links to neo-Idealism and Hegel, particularly through the neo-Hegelian Italian philosopher and eventual Official Philosopher of Italian Fascism, Giovanni Gentile.[68]

Upon first look, fascist ideology seems rife with contradictions. These contradictions—what Payne calls the fascist negations—were identified first by Nolte: anti-Marxism, antiliberalism, anti-conservatism, the anti-democratic leadership principle, the party army, and the objective of totalitarianism.[69] Certain principles of Nolte's minimum theoretically cancel out others, although in practice they comport with the "third way" idea so central to the ideology. Many have regarded the contradictions and negations as proof of the "irrationalism thesis," thus fascism was not truly an ideology, but rather a particular political–cultural response of a given polity. Fascism as the "anti" ideology depicts an essentially reactionary, irrational expression of non-dialectic populism. If, therefore, fascism lacked a positive program for change it undercuts the assertion that fascism was revolutionary or even ideological.

Building upon Nolte's negations, Payne constructs a typology that provides both an ideology and a set of goals. The ideology includes idealism, vitalism, secularism, nationalistic authoritarianism, and the goal of imperial expansion. Further, Payne outlines a fascist style and organizational structure including: mass mobilization, militarization of politics, glorification of masculinity and youth, personal style of command, aesthetically oriented meetings, and symbols often based on historical romanticism and mysticism.[70] Payne's massive typology stands in stark contrast to Griffin's single sentence definition of fascism as "a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism."[71]

Eatwell, in contrast, employs a device—fascism as a "spectral-syncretic ideology"—to understand fascism and its contradictions while also giving it an ideological structure.[72] Rather than breaking down fascism into constituent parts, like Payne, or providing an all-encompassing definition, like Griffin, Eatwell creates a simple model that absorbs the various ideological streams of thought that flow into fascist ideology. Eatwell utilizes spectral-syncretism to understand the "third way" thrust of fascism away from Left–Right conflict and toward Left–Right integration.

Gregor significantly challenged the idea that fascism was only a European phenomenon, applying his developmental dictatorship concept throughout the Third World and beyond the context of World War II. The prevalent Eurocentrism objections to Gregor's thesis explains the almost unanimous lack of attention paid to Italy and Germany's Axis ally, Japan. Generalists like Payne, Griffin, Eatwell, Eugen Weber, and Nolte find common ground with particularists on one key point: fascism was possible only in Europe. Ironically, Gregor never applied his model to Japan.

In 1966, Barrington Moore challenged his colleagues to take a closer look at two of the Axis partners, Germany and Japan. In *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Moore compared and contrasted the sociopolitical development of these two nations and, to a lesser extent, Italy, setting a useful standard for understanding concomitant developments that led to fascism.[73] Unfortunately, few scholars of fascism have regarded this obvious comparison as a viable course of study, with most preferring to view their subject as a wholly Western phenomenon. However, the question of Japanese fascism sparked an intense debate throughout the Cold War among Japan specialists and the inconclusive outcome of this debate highlights the need to engage in a comprehensive, comparative analysis of Italy, Germany, and Japan.

The Problem of Japanese Fascism During the Cold War

Since the end of World War II, historians have tended to divorce Imperial Japan from its Axis partners. This division and the highly politicized debates of the Cold War have created widespread ambiguity about the character of fascism. While Imperial Japan might not be the "Rosetta Stone" of fascism, including it in a comparative model of generic fascism can clarify the basic characteristics of both the Fascist Era and fascism in general.[74]

As previously noted, during the Cold War some questioned the very possibility of establishing a minimum set of fascist characteristics,[75] with scholars debating whether even Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany could both be considered fascist. Japan specialists, meanwhile, haggled about the viability of fascism as a concept in modern Japanese history. While the end of the Cold War inspired renewed efforts to define fascism,[76] the old debate about the comparability of Italy and Germany continued, and the new models that emerged after the fall of the Berlin Wall without fail excluded Imperial Japan.

The meaning of Japan's role in World War II, the assessment of the domestic political factors that led it into the conflagration, and the postwar implications of both have divided Japan specialists since the end of the war. By the beginning of the Cold War, a curious division developed between scholars in Japan and those in the West. Marxist-influenced scholars in Japan forged a striking unanimity around the idea that Japan was, indeed, in some significant way, fascist.[77] This Marxist tradition is highly critical of the political and economic structures that produced Japanese fascism and imperialism. Conversely, from the beginning of the 1950s, Western scholars of Japan (primarily American) almost uniformly rejected the notion that Japan had been fascist.[78] This rejection hinges on the notion of Imperial Japan as a "special case," unique in both its historical development and in comparison to other Axis Powers. This idea is attractive because Japan did not have a party-based mass

movement comparable to those in Italy or Germany, or a charismatic leader like Mussolini or Hitler. Also, the Meiji Constitution and its parliamentary political structure persisted through the end of the war.[79] Although this does not account for the many similarities the Axis Powers shared, it does preserve academic boundaries between "Western" and "Non-Western" history. Further, it reflects the ideological battles of the Cold War and the divisions these engendered.

For the most part, the study of Japanese fascism has been under the sole proprietorship of a select group of Japan specialists. Since most scholars of European fascism exclude Japan as a special case, inappropriate for comparison, the debate over Japanese fascism has remained largely contained within this community of Japan-focused historians, sociologists, and political scientists.[80] The cultural and historical differences between Japan and Europe, real and perceived, led to this demarcation between Japan and other areas of focus.[81] Thus, Japan scholars, like Sinologists, preside over a distinct bailiwick, and nonspecialists have generally respected the integrity of that academic border.

However, Japan's twentieth-century engagement with the Western world calls into question the viability of this academic isolation.[82] The absorption of various Western ideas about military structure, political institutions, scientific knowledge, and social institutions, typified Meiji Era Japan (1868–1912) and significantly influenced the subsequent decades.[83] By the 1920s, such Western ideologies as liberalism and Marxism had undeniably impacted the new Japanese nation-state.[84] During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Western ideas strikingly penetrated Japan, indeed Asia generally. The Fascist Era began within this historical context, with Western ideas of philosophical idealism spurring the search for a "third way" capable of meeting the challenges of an increasingly Darwinian world. [85] Imperial Japan participated in this globalized intellectual milieu.

Indeed, the historical landscape of the last two centuries makes the traditional East–West, or East versus West, cultural schism seem overdrawn. The student of modern Asian history familiar with the Opium and Arrow wars, unequal treaties, and colonization knows that the much-ballyhooed process of globalization did not begin in the twentieth century. In light of the late nineteenth-century struggle of China and Japan to meet the challenge of the West, strict lines of demarcation are unwarranted.

This unfortunate disjunction is particularly anomalous since many of the debates within the fraternity of Japan scholars mirror those among scholars of comparative fascism. Students of interwar Japan have operated within the same Right-versus-Left framework as those studying the rise of Nazism and Fascism, and their developmental and modernization theories sound familiar.[86] Moreover, the division that developed between Japanese-language and English-language scholarship over the question of Japanese fascism reflected both the exigencies of the Cold War and the issues raised by the sudden alliance between a victorious power and a defeated one.

Examination of the cleavage between Western Japan specialists and their Japanese counterparts offers a unique insight into the role of politics and semantics in post–World War II scholarship. The fact that the Western scholars retreated from application of the term "fascism" while Japanese scholars embraced it reflected their differing political needs and the extent to which the term became politically charged.

Mark Peattie confronted these issues in his book about the fascinating Japanese right-wing ideologue, Ishiwara Kanji. In the preface, Peattie wrote:

> For many years following the Japanese defeat in World War II, the most popular manner of historical judgment on Japan's turbulent decade prior to Pearl Harbor has been shaped by the "praise and blame" approach to history—a perspective from which evil forces of militarism, ultranationalism, and fascism were seen as crushing beleaguered elements of progress and democracy (liberal, socialist, or communist depending on the viewer's point of departure). Emotionally satisfying to both the victors of the war (in terms of self-gratification) and to the losers (in terms of now discredited systems and ideologies), this manner of history, although clear in the harshness of its judgment, has served to lay a blanket of vaporous stereotypes that have befogged our view of the political landscape of 1930s Japan.[87]

Peattie accurately diagnosed the two politically loaded tendencies—"praise and blame"—found in much of the scholarship concerning fascism. While he is concerned only with Japan, these same issues color both Italy's and Germany's historiography.

Faced with a complex Cold War paradigm and the difficult problems of war guilt, other Western scholars have embraced Japan as different to avoid attaching to it the ugly word "fascism." A popular alternative to "Japanese fascism" is "Japanism."[88] Paul Brooker attempted to avert the semantic pitfalls by substituting the term "fraternalism"[89] for "fascism" in his comparative study of the three Axis Powers.

Conversely, many Japanese scholars readily identified Imperial Japan as fascist to delineate prewar Japan from postwar Japan. Like their Italian and German counterparts, the Japanese could assuage their war guilt by totally rejecting a failed ideology. This was the crux of Maruyama Masao's theory of Japanese fascism.

In the crucible of the Cold War, the three former enemies of Western civilization and democracy soon became the steadfast allies of their conquerors. This turnabout, coupled with a palpable loss of sovereignty under a newly instituted American protectorate, demanded stern rejection of the immediate past. Generations had to turn their backs on the years of socialization that had guided them through great imperial successes and bleak wartime tribulations. The military might that destroyed Dresden and Hiroshima became, almost overnight, a security blanket against the evil threat of communism.

In these circumstances, the Japanese, like the Italians and Germans, faced historic challenges in reconstructing both their nations and their national identities. How could once-proud, now defeated powers cope with occupation, reintegrate disparate political factions, and address the causes of the war? Postwar Japan revealed tumultuous political and social divisions as the Right and Left jockeyed for power. The Left benefited initially from the reform policies of the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP), headed by General Douglas MacArthur, but conservative voices eventually rose above the din, in no small measure due to the growing influence of anticommunism and the Cold War in SCAP's decision making.[90]

This shift in occupation policy, known as the "Reverse Course," became evident after 1947. SCAP's immediate postwar "progressive" changes in labor policy and promotion of socialists, communists, and left-wing intellectuals gave way to the

blacklisting of leftists, purging of communists, sudden rehabilitation of certain rightists (particularly those close to Yoshida Shigeru), alteration of previous labor policy, and concurrent promotion of corporate interests.[91] The Reverse Course complicated the problems associated with placing blame, identifying culprits, and explaining causes.

Matters were further complicated in Japan because the nation was still led, if only symbolically, by Emperor Hirohito.[92] Mussolini and Hitler died, and fascism's historical resonance could, with vigorous institutional and academic attacks, die with them in Italy and Germany. Yet, because SCAP had decided to exempt the Emperor not only from prosecution but even from testimony at the war crimes trials, Japan's national human symbol remained in place, literally and symbolically alive, but constitutionally impotent.

The issue of what kind of political structure Imperial Japan had and who had controlled it remained subjects of debate,[93] but Marxist-influenced scholars, who were the least likely to have been associated with the prewar order, fascism and antifascism offered, both politically and semantically, excellent models for explaining the causes of the war in the Pacific and a means of breaking with the past. After Japan's surrender, the left-wing intellectuals who had spent the previous two decades defying their government, eluding persecution or hiding behind tacit cooperation, emerged as a vocal, ethically empowered force within the academy.[94] The immediate postwar atmosphere enabled them to firmly entrench themselves and gave them a relatively unobstructed opportunity to interpret the imperial era. Their ideology facilitated an acute diagnosis of the socioeconomic conditions that led to political repression, imperialism, and social injustice.

Maruyama, one of the leading intellectuals of the postwar period, regarded as the progenitor of modern political science in Japan, developed a highly influential theory of Japanese fascism.[95] Although a Marxist, Maruyama eschewed radicalism and pure economic determinism in favor of a neo-idealistic reform of Marx's materialism.[96] His neo-idealism and his absolute insistence on the sacrosanct nature of individual autonomy in society and politics spawned what came to be known as the "Modernist" school.[97] That traditional and radical Marxists attacked it as "elitist"[98] testifies to differences of opinion and methodology among Japanese leftist thinkers.[99]

Nevertheless, Maruyama's theory of Japanese fascism greatly influenced the scholarship of his time and demands attention. His thesis relies upon Marxist principles and the idea that Japan represents a special case, or variant, of generic fascism. Maruyama notes that Japan failed to have a bourgeois revolution and thus differed from its Axis partners. The failure of bourgeois sociopolitical ascendancy, coupled with rapid modernization, stunted Japan's overall political development. Therefore, Japanese fascism had an essentially authoritarian structure already in place, one that was transformed into an emperor-system or military-bureaucratic form of fascism.[100]

This stunted political structure offered a framework that eventually united "semi-feudal" bureaucratic power, "senior retainers," monopoly capital and the fascistic political parties, and in doing so initiated full-fledged Japanese fascism.[101] When fascist revolutionaries from below failed to mobilize the masses, the authoritarian power structure adopted the fascist ideology of their critics and began a period of

"fascism from above." He divides this process into three distinct periods of development: the "preparatory period," from 1919 to the Manchurian Incident; the "period of maturity," 1931–1936, and the "consummation period," 1936–1945.[102]

Further, Japan's special status reflected the substantial structural differences from European fascist regimes, notably the failure of a significant mass movement to develop in Japan, the lack of a charismatic leader, and the constitutional continuity of the political structure. Maruyama dealt with these anomalies by proposing that Japanese fascism was "fascism from above," later referred to as "bureaucratic fascism." In his model, the ideology and programs of "fascism from below," promoted by an amorphous conglomeration of right-wing dissenters of the late 1920s and early 1930s, were adopted by the ruling institutional structures shortly after the government crushed the movements by supressing the February 26, 1936 Incident and executing Kita Ikki.[103] Maruyama, much like other Marxist interpreters, asserts that the failure of a charismatic leader to foment a revolutionary movement to overturn institutions does not necessarily prelude a fascist outcome. Two non-Marxist English language scholars, Richard Storry and Robert Scalapino, reflecting views popular in the immediate postwar period, agreed with the idea that Japan constituted a fascist regime, believing that the ruling structure effectively adopted the insurgent ideologies of nationalists and disgruntled soldiers.[104]

Within Maruyama's typology, "fascism from above" is merely one type of fascism found in the particular circumstances of prewar Japan. This idea that peculiar types of fascism emerge within a larger category of fascism occurs throughout models of generic fascism. Payne, among others, allows for variation within the typology, an explicit recognition that ideas affect societies differently. However, this has not led Payne or his colleagues to explain the case of Japan as a variant of fascism. Yet for a Marxist-influenced scholar like Maruyama this variation allows categorization of Japan with its Axis allies.

Most importantly, Maruyama established a semantically flexible concept of Japanese fascism able to take on different characteristics, including bureaucratic fascism, fascism from above, or Emperor-system fascism.[105] While Maruyama had a profound effect on scholarship in Japan by providing a useful model for explaining Imperial Japan's fascist associations and affinities, he had little long-term success in convincing his Western colleagues.[106] Indeed, Maruyama even faced criticism from a Western Marxist historian, Gavan McCormack, who cited his undialectical analysis of the interaction between "fascism from below" and "fascism from above," his cloudy definitions of fascist characteristics, and his imprecise categorization of petty bourgeois pseudo-intellectuals, various tradesmen and low-level bureaucrats in the same social stratum.[107] However, the strongest challenge to the Japanese fascism thesis did not come from other Marxists.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, several factors encouraged the burgeoning community of non-Marxist American scholars of Japan to reject Maruyama's theory. To start with, the American scholars had a different perspective because, unlike Maruyama, they had not directly experienced the police state tactics often used by Japan's prewar government to persecute intellectual enemies. Antifascism, such an important influence on studies of European fascism, did not much affect the works of non-Marxist Japan scholars since the only real antifascists in Japan were those on

the Left for whom, in the midst of the Cold War, they lacked ideological empathy. Additionally, a particularistic tradition among Japan scholars, a trait almost certainly influenced by the tradition of Western "Orientalism"[108] and their own personal absorption in studies of Japanese culture, encouraged most to adopt the view that Japan's uniqueness made it a special case. They therefore rejected Maruyama's suggestion that "Japanese fascism" was essentially a variation of fascism.

The divide between Japanese scholars and their American counterparts became apparent with the emergence of the "Modernization School," which, as noted earlier, became irrevocably associated with Reischauer, the Harvard scholar who served as ambassador to Japan during the Kennedy administration.[109] "Modernization theory" drew support from a host of Western scholars in attempting to undercut the Marxist analyses so popular in Japanese intellectual circles. In short, the underlying idea was to link economic output, growth, and technological advances with capitalism without explicitly using the term capitalism.[110] The process of "modernization" in Japan is characterized as one of great progress, dating from the late Tokugawa period up to the beginning of World War II.[111]

This new interpretation of Japanese history and efforts to promote Japan as a developmental model seemed to critics specifically aimed in part at countering the influence of an influential English-language Marxist interpretation of Japanese history written by E.H. Norman, a Canadian diplomat who had committed suicide in Cairo in 1957. Norman's assessment of the Late Tokugawa period and subsequent Meiji Restoration rejected the common *sui generis* classification of Japan, and he regarded the transition from the former to the latter as a preservation of the oppressive autocracy.[112] Up to and throughout the Occupation, Norman was, both in Japan and in the West, one of the most influential Western historians of Japan.[113] He popularized a Marxist analysis of the Meiji Restoration as an incomplete revolution that preserved aspects of the feudal structure.[114] This analysis provided a logical explanation for the political problems of 1930's Japan.

In contrast, Reischauer utilized the idea of Japanese uniqueness as the foundation for an anti-Marxist theory of development. Marxism emerged within the context of industrialized Europe and European development provided the economic model best suited to a Marxist analysis. The persistence of feudalism in Asia highlighted an obvious difference from industrialized Europe. He believed that this difference could, as John W. Dower states, "contribute to a new and counter-Marxist theory of development."[115] Japan's "unique" history of feudalism and postwar economic success offered a non-European, non-Marxist model of development. However, the infamous "loss of China" to communism forced Reischauer to alter his argument and his model. He excluded "feudal" China from the larger Asian model and emphasized the need to propagate an ideology of development in Japan that would lead Japan into the "right system."[116]

Reischauer's influence on his fellow Western scholars was as strong and lasting as it was ideological. In an initial response to Reischauer's efforts, Marius Jansen sought to promote a "more positive" view of the last century of Japanese history.[117] He avoided politically loaded terms like "autocracy" or "absolutism," de-emphasized Japan's role in the war by explaining the 1930s as a "detour" along the path to modernization, and focused intensely on the vast technological change initiated by Japan's contact with the West.[118]

In one of the early articles distancing Japan from fascism, George M. Wilson found comparisons of prewar Japan to European models misguided, preferring instead to compare Japan to other non-Western examples in Asia and Africa.[119] Wilson saw Japan as a forerunner of late modernization throughout the Third World, an idea similar to that of developmental dictatorship.[120] Peattie, for one, echoed Wilson's opinion that fascism is not a conceptually viable model for understanding prewar Japan.[121]

An article written by Robert M. Spaulding and published in the early 1980s epitomized both the crux of modernization theory and its persistence over the years.[122] Spaulding refers to Japan during the 1930s as a "unique" period of "ultranationalism" (*not* "fascism") in which the "vagueness of State Shinto" offered an ideological rationale for any policy the government might adopt.[123] This flaw in the political system produced the pseudo-imperialist actions in Manchuria (1931) and beyond. He argues that this was quite unlike the "partly defensive" wars prior to the 1930s—with China (1894–1895) and Russia (1904–1905)—in which Japan was not "asserting a claim to hegemony but imitating her European competitors in an age of imperialism."[124]

Further, Spaulding asserts that Japan's military campaigns in China were spurred by a perceived duty to rescue China from itself, Japan's fear of communism and its sense of Asian pride. Spaulding concludes by pointing to the post–World War II success of democracy and capitalism in Japan, its pacifism (although he points out that the aggressive stance of the 1930s is "irrelevant in today's greatly altered world"), and its preservation of traditional values as further proof that the ultranationalism of the 1930s was an "aberration."[125] Throughout, Spaulding relentlessly compared the progress of Japan with the "totalitarian" tendencies of Maoist China in order to draw a clear distinction between the two models of development.

When the modernization theory first reached Japan, academics did not readily embrace it, but their American counterparts went on the offensive in advocating this new interpretation. Ronald Dore, among others, attacked Japanese scholars unwilling to adopt modernization theory as "backward," criticizing them for clinging to ideas of the past.[126] Indeed, over time some Japanese scholars began to adopt modernization theory as a model for understanding the history of modern Japan, but many like Maruyama continued to reject it as a tacit approval of the prewar order and its excesses, and ultimately a threat to future political progress.[127] For two decades thereafter, the Modernization School opposed historians critical of Japan's developmental path, gaining wide acceptance for the concept of post-Meiji Restoration progress culminating in post–World War II prosperity after the inconvenient 1930s detour into the "dark valley."

Maruyama viewed these developments with a critical eye, ever wary of the possibility that the prewar order would be resurrected and the issue of responsibility for the war would fade as the Reverse Course reinstituted much of the system that the victorious Allies had supposedly smashed.[128] He regarded the Cold War antireform agenda as preservation of the prewar system, which further convinced him that Japan's brand of fascism was dynamic and adaptable to changing circumstances.[129] Essentially, the Modernization School developed into an historiographical adjunct to the Cold War policies that shaped postwar Japan, particularly after the coming of the

Korean War.[130] An ivory curtain descended between Japan's left-wing academics and most of their Western counterparts, and only one theme of Maruyama's theory of Japanese fascism—that Japanese history was unique—remained popular among Western scholars. Ultimately, his formulation of fascism failed to create any significant consensus.[131]

Most Western Japan scholars have consistently approached the problem of Japanese fascism within the parameters established by their colleagues in the field of generic fascism. The peculiarity of the Japanese case united them in support of the only point of fundamental agreement found in nearly all models of generic fascism: that Japan should not be compared to its Axis allies.[132] Nonetheless, scholars of prewar Japan did tend to examine Japan's relationship with its Axis allies (particularly the influence of Italy and Germany on Japan) more closely than scholars focused on Italy, Germany, or generic fascism. An examination of the indexes of many works concerning the rise of fascism, both general and nation-specific, yielded a surprising result. The vast majority of works on European fascism have not a single reference to "the Axis," nor do they mention the Tripartite Pact.[133]

The association of Japan with Italy and Germany does suffer from some basic problems: the lack of a Japanese fascist-style party, the absence of a Japanese charismatic leader, and the overall constitutional continuity of prewar Japan. These are all important arguments against the concept of Japanese fascism. However, there are also many similarities among the three Axis Powers. The same crises, the same longing for Great Power status, the drive to imperialism, and the same spiritual collectivism is found in all three nations. Obviously, something brought these three nations together. It is easy to claim it was merely convenience, but that is a superficial assessment applicable to all military, political, or economic alliances. Militaristic Japan experienced a period of mass mobilization and social coordination led by an elite group, propagated an idealized national consciousness, and aligned itself with two nations of similar orientation. The degree of continuity Japan shared with its Axis partners implies a need for a conceptual framework that accounts for this phenomenon. While the differences are clear, the similarities are striking. Studying the commonalities may provide a key to understanding the history of all three of the Axis Powers.

Italy, Germany, and Japan entered into the community of nation-states at approximately the same time (1868–1871) and as latecomers to the great geopolitical game they shared many of the same challenges. These challenges included the need to create a coherent national identity after a prolonged period of particularism, to acquire the accoutrements of Great Power status such as colonies and a navy, and to develop a viable political culture during a period of crisis for liberalism and capitalism. All three began as constitutional monarchies, but over time liberalism failed, both economically and politically, to meet the challenges that preoccupied these young nations. By the end of World War I, Italy, Germany, and Japan were, to varying degrees, proletarian nations without either the Great Power status or the functional sociopolitical cohesion that was liberalism's initial promise.

A comparative analysis reveals that, in spite of obvious culturally based variations, the core similarities shared by the Axis allies establishes a solid fascist minimum capable of encapsulating the essence of the Fascist Era. These key characteristics

include the search for a "third way" beyond liberalism and communism; development of a broadly based mass-oriented national identity in an era of "static imperialism"; a broad cultural and political expression of idealism against materialism, positivism, and rational science; and the development of a national mythos that functions as a religion of nationality. The characteristics of the Fascist Era yield a solid, historically based model that includes all three Axis Powers. By accepting the importance of the Axis as a geopolitical bloc, and examining the similar developmental patterns its members shared, the special case of Japan can be finally resolved and its fascist interlude better understood as exemplary of an international political phenomenon.

Axis Studies: A Conceptual Framework

The end of the Cold War over a decade ago brought down many walls and provided an opportunity for scholars to move beyond the entrenched habit of examining fascism from the perspective of Left-versus-Right ideological competition. This opened the way for more objective analyses of both historical fascism and the vast body of post–World War II scholarship on the subject. The search for a fascist minimum once again came to the fore now that the term "fascism" had itself become less politicized. Yet the exclusion of Imperial Japan from the fascist fold reflects a continued blind spot that requires a new approach. Toward that end, a comparative approach to study of *all three* Axis Powers can yield a clear picture of fascist ideology and the Fascist Era.

Imperial Japan should be included with its Axis partners as one of three vanguard nations leading the Fascist Era, each aligned with the others based on an organic continuity of interests and a strikingly similar evolution of their respective sociopolitical cultures. This organic continuity arose as an outgrowth of each nation's place in the geopolitical landscape and a sociopolitical need to create a national identity that united the masses under the banner of a culturally oriented nation-state.

This explanation of fascism does not hinge on new discoveries or startling revelations. The focus on the Axis is simply an attempt to reunite studies of Imperial Japan with studies of its allies in name and deed. Moreover, it places both the Fascist Era and the Axis Powers within a broader historical context. Ultimately it is important for scholars of fascism to break down the barriers isolating Imperial Japan as a "special case." Imperial Japan, rather than being special, was actually rather typical. As the historiography of fascism turns yet again to the issue of generic fascism, reexamining the case of Imperial Japan within the historical context of the Axis alliance adds to the varied, yet coherent picture of the Fascist Era.

The search for a comparative model of fascism owes much to Moore, Nolte, and Gregor. Griffin, in a recent survey of comparative fascism, expressed considerable optimism about the development of fascist historiography over the last one-and-a-half decades, citing the work of Payne, Eatwell, and Paxton as examples.[134] The reason for this movement is clear. No longer does one need to prove antifascist credentials by incriminating all ideas associated with fascism. Thus Griffin writes that "contributors to fascist studies are finally in a position to treat fascism like any other political ideology rather than as a 'special case' in which its negations or the

apparatus and style of exercising power when it is implemented become paramount."[135] Griffin is less convincing, however, when it comes to proposing the structure of the new paradigm. He points to the horizon, a consensus that fascism constituted a viable, fully recognizable ideology, but does not speculate on the implications of this new vista. So now that studies of fascism are clearly moving out of Cold War paradigms, what fascist minimum will emerge?

The Axis alliance itself has yet to appear on the "new vista." Most theories of generic fascism and studies on the rise of fascism exhibit a blind spot in regard to the *meaning* of the Axis alliance. For example, Gregor's comparative model, although expansive, excludes Nazi Germany, embraces Fascist Italy, Communist China, Communist Cuba, African socialism, and Communist Vietnam, but never once considers Imperial Japan. Payne's survey of fascism, published in 1995, also excludes Japan, or any non-European nation, from its 15-nation categorization of various types of authoritarian nationalism.[136]

The Fascist Era, as postulated here, is not simply a European phenomenon, or the outgrowth of a peculiar national character found only in Italy or Germany. As Peter Drucker noted in 1939, fascism had international revolutionary appeal. The global reach of neo-Idealism, social Darwinism, and radical antimaterialism made fascism's ideology widely applicable. Viewing these concepts within their historical context opens up a wide range of comparative studies—historical, cultural, sociological—and by narrowing those comparisons to Italy, Germany, and Japan, it is possible to develop a clearer picture of the baseline characteristics of fascist ideology. Nowhere did fascism have the currency or the potent ability to make war and unite a people the way it did in the three leading Axis nations. The Axis alliance, its importance, heretofore underestimated, remains a largely unexplored framework through which to seek new understanding of the twentieth century.

A few have looked at this curious, immensely powerful alliance of three seemingly dissimilar nations, Italy, Germany, and Japan, to find a fascist minimum of sorts. Politics and semantics exerted their usual influence, keeping most from using the term "fascist" to describe these three nations. Only Heinz Lubasz dared to bring all three under the umbrella of "fascism."[137] Others preferred to create new terminology in an effort to avoid the conundrums of the day. In their efforts to engage the similarities between these three nations and offer fully developed models and explanations for the basic ideological affinities and historical phenomena the three states shared, Brooker, as noted previously, employed the term "fraternalism," Howard Wiarda used "corporatism," and Walter Connor deployed "ethnonationalism."

These scholars understood the remarkable similarities of circumstance and purpose that bound the Axis. While it is axiomatic that military alliances tend to be marriages of convenience and Machiavellian in their conception and execution, that axiom does not adequately explain the Axis. True, the leaders of Italy, Germany, and Japan saw an alliance as a mechanism by which they could gain land, resources, and power. However, the context of their convergence implies something more complex: an important rationale that explains the affinities and goals they shared. The Axis itself may, therefore, be the best mechanism and historical model for understanding generic fascism within its historical context. The model of generic fascism proposed here is "Axis studies." The basis of Axis studies is a new fascist minimum born out of

a comparison of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Imperial Japan. In this context, fascism is a philosophically based, aesthetically oriented mass movement that adapted cultural and social characteristics to meet political and geopolitical aims. The essential characteristics of this fascist minimum are the creation of a national identity in an age of static imperialism, the spiritualization of materialism, and the declaration of a mythos of nationality.

The main issue resolved by the "Axis studies" approach is the inclusion of Japan. Japan, almost universally left out of generic models of fascism, must be included to make any sense of the era and the fascist phenomenon. Quite simply, Imperial Japan exhibits many of the same characteristics as its Axis allies. Japan, imbued with a desire to preserve itself in a Darwinian competition among nations and achieve Great Power status, participated in a revolution against an international system. Like Italy and Germany, Japan organized its population for conquest by pursing a policy of spiritual collectivism. Although Japan did not produce a viable fascist party, the fractured, explosive, and often violent political environment of the early 1930s led to the acceptance of ideological fascism within the power structure. And like the dictators central to Italian and German fascism, the emperor of Japan provided a powerful, living national symbol that most, if not all, could identify with. This situation afforded little opportunity for the emergence of a charismatic leader, which in any case was a rare occurrence in Japan's history. In Japan, the ruling structure freely used the emperor as a symbol of national unity.

Unlike their liberal and socialist counterparts, fascist thinkers and activists did not make the actual structure of politics and political institutions their primary concern. Fascist ideology emphasized the underlying rationale for action, the vitality and cohesiveness of group identity, and the actualization of the individual within the larger context of the group. A neo-idealistic yearning to overcome materialism and create new forms of social value based upon national myths generally guided the fascist enterprise. The value of the individual is *redefined*, not, as so many have claimed, *negated*. Giovanni Gentile, the neo-idealist, neo-Hegelian official philosopher of Italian Fascism, steadfastly asserted that only within the context of a larger paradigm—the nation-state—could the individual achieve freedom of action and full actualization.[138] This is the nexus of fascist thought and practice: the idea that individuals are actualized and liberated by an overarching identification with a sociopolitical superstructure, specifically the nation-state.

Although this concept of individual liberty contradicted a long-standing Anglo-American tradition that emphasized the freedom of the individual *against* the state, it emerged out of the same historical era—the Enlightenment. We can trace its lineage from Rousseau's "General Will" and the French Revolution, through Hegel and the idealists, on through German Romanticism and into the neo-Hegelian movement in nineteenth-century Italy. The flame of this mainly continental concept of philosophical idealism burned faintly, however, during the brilliant ascent of Anglo-American liberalism, positivism, and empiricism.[139]

Karl Marx's attempt to undo what he regarded as Hegel's philosophical headstand epitomizes the nineteenth-century conflict between these two strains of the Enlightenment. Marx, working within the context of positivism and British

utilitarianism, reevaluated Hegelian Idealism and reinvented the dialectic as a modality of materialism. During the Fascist Era the pendulum swung toward idealism and fascist nations revolted against materialist valuation of social structures. From a purely philosophical point of view, World War II can be seen as an epistemological battle between idealism and materialism.

This is, however, a theoretical interpretation of events. To see fascism in action, as it played out in Italy, Germany, and Japan, one's attention must turn to the expressions of these principles within their historical context. Beginning immediately after World War I, and lasting through the 1920s in Japan and Germany, all three nations experienced, to varying degrees, political and economic crises that called into question the value of liberal democracy. The instability brought on by these crises threatened to thrust socialists and communists into political power. Even Japan experienced a series of strikes and socialist activity in the 1920s. In the view of many, the crisis of liberalism and the threat of Bolshevism imperiled national solidarity. Throughout the period in question the critics of both in Italy, Germany, and Japan struggled against internationalism and the class divisions that universalistic ideologies promoted in their attempts to build a collectivist nationalism.[140]

This key issue regularly confuses scholars. Generic fascism espouses a virulent anticommunism, but is based primarily on an overarching antiinternationalism. Communism divided nations into competing classes, emasculating the national collectivity. But liberal capitalism, too, divided nations into competing economic interests and classes. This explains fascism's simultaneous antiliberalism and anticommunism. The desire to preserve, indeed to build, the collective spirit and national solidarity threatened by the fractionalization of liberalism and communism inspired Fascist Italy's New Man and his task of building a New Rome, Nazi Germany's Volkism and spiritual Aryanism, and Japan's promotion of *kokutai* and State Shintō.[141]

True, Germany and Japan's collectivist ideologies were more blatantly racial than Italy's amorphous ethnic-historical concept, but Italy's diverse population made racial propaganda very difficult.[142] However, Fascist Italy did not shy away from grandiose claims about the spirit of its people and the collectivist rationale that bound their fates together. Like so many other examples, the essence of the idea must conform to the limitation of the particular situation, with moderate Italy on one end and racially extreme Germany on the other. Collectivist nationalism is best understood not just vis-à-vis Bolshevism and liberalism, but within the geopolitical circumstances of the day.

The nineteenth century is well known as the Age of Imperialism. The British, Dutch, French, Belgians, and others divided up a large portion of the globe and the United States expanded its borders into American Indian, Mexican, and Spanish territories. This was also a time when the nation-state came of age, drawing upon nationalism to define peoples by their governments and collective identities. By the 1880s, the Europeans had carved up Africa, Britain had control of millions of Asians, and Latin America fell under the hegemony of the United States. It was the age of Herbert Spencer and social Darwinism, the White Man's Burden, and Manifest Destiny. Colonies were, much like nuclear weapons would become at the end of the twentieth century, powerful symbols of Great Power status.

In 1868 Japan broke through regionalism and particularism to become a unified nation-state, a constitutional monarchy dominated by men from two former feudal domains, Chōshū and Satsuma. Shortly thereafter, in 1871, Germany and Italy emerged. Numerous German states and principalities united behind Bismarck's Prussia, while the diverse regions of the Italian Peninsula came together under the guidance of Count Cavour's Piedmontese–Sardinian alliance. All three were constitutional monarchies and latecomers to the international scene. All three faced the distinct challenge of developing a national identity strong enough to create social cohesion and sustain the power of the state.

At the time Italy, Germany, and Japan arrived on the international stage, the Great Powers held the lion's share of prosperous, strategically located, and natural resource-rich colonies.[143] Although the future Axis partners set out to acquire colonies, the remainders fell far short of their imperial aspirations. This was the age of "static imperialism," a time when the spoils of imperialism were already largely claimed and the geopolitical system became inflexible and intolerant of change.[144] Italy, Germany, and Japan found nothing comparable to the Belgian Congo or the Dutch East Indies, let alone the vast resources held by Great Britain, France, and the United States.

In Harry Harootunian's preface to *Overcome by Modernity*, he states that, during the first half of the twentieth century, fascist ideology permeated most, if not all, Western nations.[145] This begs the question of why so few nations became truly fascist. Why wasn't Aryan racial theorist Houston Stewart Chamberlain able to motivate his fellow Englishmen to take up the cause of fascism? Why did "Action Francaise" fail to ignite the passions of the French people? What kept Father Coughlin's vitriolic populism from sparking an American fascist movement, particularly during the ultimate liberal crisis, the Great Depression? The answer is, quite simply, that these nation-states did not face the challenge of molding a new national identity during an age of "static imperialism." Great Britain, France, and the United States could point to long-standing historical identities created during crucial defining moments, political revolutions, and military successes. These well-established nation-states held the accoutrements of national identity and Great Power status—colonies, a powerful navy, and a long history of national achievement. For many in Italy, Germany, and Japan, aspirations for "Great Power" status became a struggle for national identity and, for many within each of those countries, national survival, after World War I and the Treaty of Versailles.[146]

It is commonly held that Germany's experience at the Paris Peace Conference and the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles sowed the seeds of fascism among its economically battered and humiliated population. Not so widely acknowledged is that Germany's future Axis partners, despite being on the winning side, also found their Paris sojourn unfulfilling. A somewhat less severe sense of collective humiliation festered in both Italy and Japan, thus creating a natural affinity with Germany and helping to set the stage for fascist ideology's broad-based appeal.[147]

Prior to the war, Italy's military successes had been minor compared to those of Japan and Germany. Despite Liberal Italy's endless attempts to gain colonies and maneuver like a Great Power, Italy captured few resources in the Libyan War and on

the Horn of Africa. Italy remained a minor player despite its great aspirations.[148] Italy entered World War I with great hopes and territorial ambitions.[149] In the Treaty of London (1915), Italy's backing of the Entente against the Central Powers came with the promise of territories in the Balkans and part of Germany's colonial holdings in Africa. Yet, in what was widely known as the "Mutilated Victory," Italy's claims in the Balkans were ignored and France and Britain absorbed Germany's African colonial possessions.[150] This, coupled with the fact that the Italian delegation was often left out of key negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference, explains much of the foreign policy of the Fascist Era in postwar Italy.[151]

In the immediate aftermath of Italy's World War I debacle, the government came under fire from both the Right and the Left. Out of a milieu of disillusionment and humiliation and with the re-invigoration of the prewar cultural crises, Italy tumbled down a path toward fascism. Mussolini, reflecting the thinking of his generation, blamed both the Great Powers and the weakness of Italy's liberal government for the postwar debacle. He appealed to a mass sense of betrayal, practicing the "politics of vengeance" against Italy's former Allies with "credibility and public approbation."[152]

On Mussolini's effective propagandizing of Italy's experience during World War I into an eventual alliance with Germany, H. James Burgywn writes:

> Aligning with the losers of the Great War, Mussolini introduced into Italian policy a strong German orientation, which Italy used throughout the 1920s to challenge, however ineffectively, the European status quo. [Mussolini's]... collaboration with Hitler [was] to overthrow the balance of power in the illusory hope of becoming an equal partner in a Fascist-dominated Europe.[153]

Italy's experience and the overall conduct of the Paris Peace Conference must have been an object lesson for members of the Japanese delegation, some of whom came home dissatisfied and with a sense that the international system was rigged.[154] Although Japan's humiliation was not as deep as Italy's, nor had Japan been subjected to the economically devastating terms forced on Germany, the young island nation-state found that it, too, had been rebuked at the conference table and the experience left a bitter taste in the mouths of those who would speak forcefully about the need for Japan to brace for international struggle. Sharon Minichiello identified a group of activists, including Nagai Ryutarō, Kita Ikki, Nakano Seigō, and Suzuki Umeshirō, who reacted to Japan's "humiliation" at Versailles where the racial equality clause was rejected and the Anglo-American powers succeeded in maintaining the status quo. Throughout the 1920s, these activists criticized Japan's politicians and bureaucrats as responsible for the country's diplomatic weakness.[155] James William Morley, characterized this more generally in a comparison of Germany and Japan:

> ...both nations suffered from a feeling of frustration. Germany, of course, was humiliated by the Treaty of Versailles, which became the keynote in German politics throughout the interwar period. Japan, too, felt a sense of frustration, induced by the refusal of her fellow victors to recognize racial equality in the preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and by their insistence at the Washington Conference that Japan evacuate Shantung.[156]

While it is possible to overestimate the impact of the rejection of the racial equality clause, it is likely that its importance has been underestimated.

Japanese sensitivity to racial ideas resulted from the racism of the Europeans in Asia and the discrimination suffered by Japanese living in the United States, particularly in California.[157] A century of unequal treaties in Asia, colonial expansion by European powers, and the capture of the Philippines by an ever more powerful United States certainly convinced many Japanese that the "White Man's Burden" of the British and Manifest Destiny of the Americans were threats to Japan's long-term survival.

Nagai wrote in 1919 from the Paris Peace Conference that Japan was "threatened by two worlds," the Anglo-Saxon alliance bent on dominating the world's culture and internationalist socialism.[158] Nagai believed, as did many others, that these "two worlds" could destroy unique Japanese culture.[159] This view was similar to the cultural Volkism of Nazi Germany and the New Man culture of Fascist Italy. Advocates of these ideas viewed their position as one of struggle for collective survival in a hostile, Darwinian world. As such, in Japan, as in Italy and Germany, the nation's post-Versailles orientation "was projected against global trends."[160] Japan, like Germany, was regarded as a "have-not nation."[161] Over time all three came to see themselves as have-not nations. These embittered nations increasingly found themselves on common ground.

During the postwar crisis in Italy, Mussolini elaborated what would be a major part of the fascist psychology, the idea of the "proletarian nation." Taken from the widely read Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, Mussolini utilized the proletarian nation idea as a call for national unity and social cohesion.[162] He transposed the war among the classes within society, into a grand, geopolitical war among classes of nations. Unlike Gramsci, he emphasized the need for a new national spirit and collective identity capable of heroism in geopolitical battles, be they diplomatic or martial. These battles would, eventually, overturn the international system of materialistic liberalism.[163]

Indeed, fascism attacked both the social atomism of liberal individualism and socialist class warfare. Multiparty liberalism and class-based organizations are anathema to fascism. While nations with long-standing national identities and well-developed political institutions might be able to overcome the effects of such atomization, in young nation-states building, almost *a priori*, a mass-based national identity, these problems threatened to derail the entire society. This is where fascism transcends simple nationalism or patriotism. Fascism seeks to create a national identity that *eliminates* differences, uniting all sectors of the population under the rubric and patronage of the state.

The ultimate personification of this mass-based movement is the charismatic leader. As a symbol of the nation, the people, and the national mythos, the charismatic leader unifies all sectors of society. All are equally Italian, German, or Japanese when placed under the defining image of the leader. Of course, this process also produces scapegoats (dissenters and subversives), thereby providing another possible rallying point. Although many argue that Japan failed to produce a Mussolini or a Hitler, the emperor played the same role as a powerful national symbol. In Japan's case, the dictator is superfluous. As the ultimate example of the personification of

the state, the emperor allowed individuals to identify with the state through his quasi-religious personage. The post–Meiji Restoration ruling structure freely used the emperor as a symbol of national unity. "Japan," wrote Anthony James Joes in 1978, "was fascist before the word was invented."[164]

The fact that the Emperor was not the ultimate and unquestioned "decision maker" is really not important. Throughout his dictatorship, Mussolini made numerous concessions to ruling elites, and, despite his atheism, to the Catholic Church. During the late 1920s, some in the Fascist Party accused "the state"—meaning Mussolini—of ideological weakness and forced him to remove the architect of Fascist Italy's sweeping educational reform. In Germany, Nazi Party leadership was essentially divided until 1934 when Hitler's forces murdered Ernst Röhm, the popular leader of the "Brown Shirts." Hitler's control of the German state was predicated on assurances given to the military and industry. And, despite common perceptions, Hitler relied heavily on his coterie of advisors and propagandists—Herman Goering, Joseph Goebbels, Rudolf Hess, Heinrich Himmler, Alfred Rosenberg, Martin Bormann, and others. Hitler was the dictator and they, in turn, used him as a symbol to achieve their own ends and wield power.[165] Although Emperor Hirohito did not exercise dictatorial power, he was a potent symbol of absolute control of the state. Again, fascism does not propose a specific structure for governance (for example, a constitution) but focuses on the unification of the masses to express the will of the state. The emperor, like Hitler and Mussolini, provided a living symbol of that unification.

During the Fascist Era, all three nations embraced Mussolini's particular formulation of the proletarian nation, viewing themselves as victims of an international system run solely for the benefit of the plutocratic nations. The post-Versailles world system limited the pursuit of colonies and riches so voraciously exploited throughout the Age of Imperialism. The end of the war froze the colonial system and thwarted colonial desires of Italy, Germany, and Japan. Further, a generation of thinkers and activists were politicized by the perception that the international system was, in some vague Darwinian sense, creating a desperate outlook for the future. The solution, according to fascist ideology, comes in part from creating a powerful, symbolically rich national identity that generates national élan, and organizes and integrates all sectors of society into a coherent national unit capable of competing on the world stage.

Spiritualization of Materialism

The arrival of these new nation-states came at a time of intense change, important philosophical developments, and cultural and social upheavals. After the revolutions of 1848, communism and socialism were transformed from theory into political action practiced by revolutionary parties and organizations throughout the Western world. These emerging political blocs threatened to destabilize the existing order throughout Europe, and the radicalism and Jacobinism they harbored would eventually be shipped around the globe. In addition, the end of the nineteenth century saw escalating philosophical and political struggles between materialism and idealism, between liberalism and socialism, and between "economic man" and "spiritual man," crises often termed "Western crises" despite the spread of European ideas to Asia, particularly Japan and China.[166]

The main scientific development of the period, the theory of evolution, further complicated matters by encouraging the use of biological determinism to explain social and cultural phenomena. Herbert Spencer's use of "Darwinian" science to explain society (social Darwinism) reframed debates over poverty, power, and statecraft within a deterministic paradigm. In this framework, the existing international order with its rampant imperialism could be justified as an outgrowth of a natural, scientific process.

Philosophy developed into a powerful force for explaining the uncertainties of the nineteenth century. Hegel, the ideological progenitor of the age, inspired Marxism on the Left and neo-Hegelianism on the Right. Hegel's influential theory of "History" and of historical consciousness—which invested intelligence and direction into the chronological march of human events—empowered generations of thinkers to find rational outcomes for seemingly irrational circumstances. Hegel imbued history with purpose. Marxist thinking dominated the intellectual debates of the last half of the nineteenth century, spawning movements and "schools" around Europe. During that time, their idealist cousins (also called neo-Hegelians) worked more quietly but would soon come to the fore in the first half of the twentieth century. In Italy and Germany, however, Idealism remained an influential school of thought throughout the period. In fact, early German idealists Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling laid the philosophical groundwork for the Italian neo-Hegelians—Bertrando Spaventa, Benedetto Croce, and Gentile—who emerged at the end of the nineteenth century.

In France, Rousseau's concept of the General Will informed a generation of vitalists such as Henri Bergson and Georges Sorel, and eventually merged with neo-Hegelian historicism into a proto-fascist ideology and party (Action Francaise). In Italy, the neo-Hegelians ruled the academy. Giambattista Vico created modern Italian philosophy, and his disciples would in turn train Gentile and Croce. Neo-Hegelianism informed Mussolini's socialism and Antonio Gramsci's communism. At the end of World War I, Mussolini made a seamless transition from international socialism to his brand of national socialism, Italian Fascism. Mussolini and Gentile, among others in Italy, diagnosed the post-Versailles crisis as a consequence of a failed national spirit. The nation had been atomized by liberalism and was thus unable to compete as a cohesive unit in the great global game.

Fascism, the twentieth-century stepchild of Hegelian Idealism, emphasized spirit as the active force in history. neo-Hegelians like Gentile, who eventually became the Official Philosopher of Italian Fascism, saw in fascist ideology the first significant challenge to the hegemony of positivism and materialism in the West.[167] Fascists appealed to collective, spiritual vitalism as a means to overcome trivial materialism and the class conflict and social disruption it caused. The concept of fascism as a "third way" between the two great, nineteenth-century materialist ideologies captivated those who were disillusioned with the state of the West.[168]

An idea of such a collective spirit permeates Mussolini's call for a society of New Men and Hitler's Thousand-Year Reich. Fascist Italy used pseudo-religious political rituals and propagandistic appeals to create an aura of sacred politics around the regime.[169] Many of Nazism's rites and symbols were based on a thriving Aryan occultism that developed in the German-speaking world and, specifically, in Vienna throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century.[170] Meiji Japan's emphasis on the

kokutai ideal, a catch-all term for collective Japanese identity, was even more emphatically collectivist and spiritual.[171] During the 1920s and 1930s, *kokutai* became an oft-used nationalistic slogan and provocative symbol of a mystical collective unity and destiny binding all Japanese.[172] In all three cases fascist ideology evoked the spiritual in an effort to explain the material world. Hitler's unbending belief in the German Will, even in the face of pending defeat, Japanese resistance to surrender of Saipan and Okinawa, and the suicidal attacks by *kamikaze* airmen and *kaiten* sailors reflected this ideal of the collective spirit.

Finally, it is the rise of nihilism and proto-existentialism during the second half of the nineteenth century that best defines the turbulence of the age. The political revolutions of 1848, the impact of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) on science and religion, and the rise of post-Impressionism and abstraction in the arts called into question Western values and mores while also agitating the imagination of thinkers and activists. For many, Friedrich Nietzsche is the pivotal intellectual figure of the period, misunderstood and misappropriated, but crucial.[173] His virulent negation of Western values and morality in works like *Untimely Reflections* (1872), *Thus Spoke Zarathrustra* (1885), and *Beyond Good and Evil* (1886) mirrored the radical reevaluations of politics and art, but went further in establishing a wholesale critique of the decadence of Western man. Unfortunately, his antinationalism—expressed in his denunciations of Richard Wagner, the nation-state, and German chauvinism—did not have a similar impact to his ideas of the "Übermensch" and "will to power."

In the 1890s, Italian nationalist and proto-fascist activist Gabriele D'Annunzio declared himself a Nietzschean "Superman" and attempted to incite Italian nationalism and imperialism. Later, Nietzsche's sister Elizabeth used her late brother's works to ingratiate herself with the Nazi regime. The Nazis freely, and quite uncritically, used this Nietzschean connection to help justify their "triumph of the will" and German exceptionalism. More generally, though, the tone and tenor of nihilism shaped the outlook of a generation and would, in the aftermath of World War I, propel the rise of existentialism and a general sense of crisis and despair.

During the Age of Imperialism, however, it was a nation's success or failure at colonial expansion that defined peoples and generations. For the latecomers, Japan, Italy, and Germany, their aspirations for national identity collided with an international order that sought to contain their expansionist ambitions. By the turn of the century a situation of static imperialism developed. Those frustrated by the inability of these new powers to gain what they considered their just deserts blamed the situation on the corruption of international liberalism, on one hand, and the weakness of their own governments on the other.

Throughout this period, escalating philosophical and political struggles fostered the idea of civilization gripped by crises.[174] At the outset of the twentieth century, many viewed philosophical materialism as bankrupt, decadent, and, due to its Humean atomism, destructive.[175] Fascism's mass appeal was predicated on finding a "third way" beyond materialism.

World War I plunged Europe into a horrific period of destruction and mayhem. The disfigured landscape at war's end and the shortsighted solutions of the Treaty of Versailles reignited the flames of crisis, particularly in the three nations that would eventually become the Axis. They saw the world as dominated by the powers of

liberalism on one side, but increasingly under assault from socialism on the other. Materialist forces seemed to many engaged in a pincer action destined to break apart weak nations. In all three nations, voices began to question the resolve of their leaders and national cohesion, with much of the criticism focusing on a failure of collective spirit and national will. Throughout this period, Italy, Germany, and Japan struggled against political and economic divisions. Fascism promised a cure to Modernism's ills. It emphasized the creative forces of the collective spirit and offered people lost in mass society a way to coalesce and participate as an actor in history. The individual was not merely a means of production or a politically feeble cog. Rather, the individual became a spiritual component of a larger, heroic corporate entity, the state. The "third way," as Peter F. Drucker aptly put it, emerged out of a desire to assert man's heroic nature.[176]

Beyond Science and Politics: The Mythos of Nationality

Since the late eighteenth century, economics, the dismal science, has influenced history like no other discipline, save biology. Beginning with the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), and through the works of Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo, political economy became the basis of scientific interpretations of human history. By the middle of the nineteenth century, contrarian thinkers like Robert Owen, Karl Marx, Charles Fourier, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill had mounted a powerful challenge to political economy and contributed the ideology of socialism. Each had adopted scientific terminology and methodologies, as had their political economist counterparts, in an effort to clarify the course of human history.

By the time Charles Darwin published *Origin of Species* (1859), many already regarded history as a function of scientific knowledge. However, the theory of evolution expanded that notion, flavoring historical studies with the biological determinism that would dominate the next century. Some, like Herbert Spencer, applied the newly current theory to whole populations of people (the so-called races) and nations. Social Darwinism became a ready-made explanation and rationale for the historical dominance of one people over another.

Economic determinism and biological determinism came to dominate history and the writing of history. Economics and biology worked simultaneously to effect a paradigm shift that shaped the historical enterprise in the latter half of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, making it nearly impossible to write history without referring to these two scientific interlopers. As a result, science and history became so inexorably intertwined that it is common to find history classified as a subdiscipline of social sciences.

The quest to reawaken man's heroic nature occurred in a Darwinian world characterized by scientifically charged political theories and the challenge to human exceptionalism posed by the dominance of positivism and science. Many saw the iron laws of biological certainty determining the outcome of the increased competition between nations. These laws became often-unwelcome harbingers of the destiny of a race or a nation. The impact of social Darwinism cannot be underestimated. Italy, Germany, and Japan unified at a time when social Darwinism was evolving into a *raison d'être* for American expansionism and British imperialism.[177] People all over the world read Herbert Spencer, an often-misinterpreted proponent.[178] "Survival of

the fittest" writ large explained colonialism, inspired the growth of racially oriented nationalism, and engendered the view that conflict and war were "natural" processes. Social Darwinism, derived from the Darwinian biological paradigm, would become one of the driving forces behind fascism.[179]

Fascism's aesthetically oriented propaganda mythologizes the Darwinian conflict by calling upon the heroic to overcome the rational. In a sense, this mythos of nation, built upon historical imagery and mythologies, is an attempt to spiritualize the social Darwinism of the age. By transposing the "survival of the fittest" with heroic imagery out of the national collective past, the story of evolution is appropriated for the service of the nation-state. If the iron laws of biological determinism and the rational application of social Darwinism were indeed true, proletarian nations like Italy, Germany, and Japan were destined for either underachievement or extinction. D'Annunzio, Ishiwara, and Rosenberg were all working on the same basic problem—how to preserve the nation in a Darwinian world.

Although fascism is often regarded as a method of accelerated economic modernization, it is better understood as an accelerated method for building a national consciousness. The seemingly difficult problem of determining from whence fascism emanates, from elites or from the masses, is not so difficult when put into this context. The emergence of a rapidly forming idea of national identity is, in the neo-Idealism of fascist ideology, necessarily a dialectical one between the top and the bottom. It is important to remember that fascism seeks out the lowest common denominator that can reveal sociopolitical similarities among all sectors of society, thus uniting the nation.

The mythos of nationality establishes a pseudo-religious group identity. The mythos is built on symbols, images, and history that appeal to the masses' sense of collective destiny—Teutonic knights and *bushido*; the *fasces*, the swastika, and the rising sun; and the glory of Rome, Frederick the Great, and Amaterasu. Fascist Italy's New Man and New Rome, Nazi Germany's Volkism and spiritual Aryanism, and Japan's promotion of *kokutai* and State Shintō were vehicles to achieve national solidarity.[180] This is quite unlike the rational, positivistic, and decidedly amythological emphases of both liberalism and socialism, where the individual's relationship to the state is materialistic and rational.

Axis Studies: A Proposal

Generic fascism, the kind that united the Axis Powers, was essentially a revolutionary movement motivated by international conflict. Thus, it is geopolitical in nature and praxis. Its nature is extreme nationalism. Its praxis is extreme antiinternationalism. Within this geopolitical context, the former motivated the latter and fascist ideology attempted to recapture Hegel from Marx, rejecting pure materialism in favor of neo-Idealism and the collective spirit of the nation. This intersection explains many of the subtle similarities between revolutionary fascism and revolutionary socialism. Both drew from Hegel's dialectic and the socialist tradition of collectivism. Fascism simply changed the focus of the revolutionary ideal by replacing class consciousness with national, or even biological, consciousness. Fascism rejected economic man for the ideal, spiritual man and/or the biological unity of the individual with the nation or race.

Mussolini stands at the intersection of the two strains of collectivism, nationalist and socialist. By cross-pollinating fascism with the idea of proletarian struggle, Mussolini expanded the concept of the proletarian nation and integrated it into fascist ideology.[181] The struggle of proletarian nations like Italy, Germany, and Japan against an international alliance of bourgeois nations provided a class-neutral organizing principle.[182] His focus on "proletarian nation" rather than "proletarian individual" provided a rationale for mass mobilization, whether for party participation, cultural unity, or for total war.

Coming home from World War I, defeated or disgruntled veterans were unlikely to tolerate revolutionaries preaching the virtues of internationalism, although some did join the communist ranks. Yet, the feeling that the blood spilled during the war was in vain or, more perniciously, that both the war and the ensuing peace were part of some cruel betrayal, fed the flames of nationalism in the "proletarian nations." World War I and its settlement at Versailles illustrated to Italy, Germany, and Japan that their aspirations for Great Power status and commensurate colonial interests were to remain unrequited.[183]

However, the geopolitical landscape is only part of the larger context. At the end of the nineteenth century competition among nations became increasingly profound, heightened by the global impact of the theory of evolution and social Darwinism. The Fascist Era was an intense period of globalization in which ideas about race, politics, spirituality, philosophy, and science impacted disparate people in different ways. Yet, the three main Axis Powers—Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Imperial Japan—responded similarly to the ideas and crises of the day. The fascist minimum postulated here rests on three developmental paths or responses—creation of a national identity in an age of static imperialism, spiritualization of materialism, and the mythos of nationality. All three taken together are part of an assertive, revolutionary praxis against the international order. These traits are typified by the Axis partners throughout the Fascist Era.

Thus, the Axis alliance itself offers an historical model expansive enough to include variations, which is set within a definitive historical context and reflective of the geopolitical scope of fascist ideology. Moreover, comparative application of the model allows one to identify a distinct fascist minimum, an ideological core shared by all three nations. "Axis studies" therefore minimizes the effect of both politics and semantics. Politically, all could agree on the historical significance of the alliance whatever their position on the Left–Right spectrum. Semantically, "Fascist Italy," "Nazi Germany," and "Imperial Japan," form the basic terminology without any pressing need to squeeze one or all of the nations into ill-fitting definitions. Notwithstanding, scholars within a broad field of Axis studies, ever mindful of the contextual limitations of historical fact, would be free to use different terms to highlight variations within the general category. Descriptive concepts like fraternalism, ethnonationalism, or corporatism do not contradict the larger idea of Axis studies. Rather, such analytical terms can be used to better explain the forms and structures of fascism and are easily encapsulated within the overarching paradigm of the Axis.

The key principle overriding all interpretations must be the unifying minimum associated with all three nations. However, the minimum must also be applicable to other similar regimes and movements. The definition cannot simply disregard other

examples. It can, consequently, draw a clearer distinction between fascist and fascist-like regimes. For example, Francisco Franco's Falangist Spain, while it exhibited some similarities to the generic fascism of the Axis, does not warrant inclusion in the model. In Spain, General Franco's fascist-like movement actually amounted to a military takeover in cooperation with landed interests.[184] Although this regime was anticommunist, it was not explicitly against liberal-capitalism. Therefore, it lacked the basic antiinternationalism so important to fascist ideology.

The Falangists mimicked much of the fascist style, but it is difficult to assert that Franco was fundamentally in search of a "third way" to end the Left-versus-Right ideological struggle. Rather, his regime was part of the traditional Left-Right political competition. Further, Spain was engaged in a civil, intra-societal conflict within a declining power. Their "fascists" did not embrace the proletarian nation consciousness, which was forged by the experience of being shut out of the colonial system that so invigorated their Axis cousins. Perhaps these differences explain, in part, Spain's neutrality during World War II.

These essential differences would also preclude inclusion of such totalitarian communist movements as Mao's China, Ho's Vietnam, and Castro's Cuba which, while sharing a revolutionary zeal and some ideological roots with the Axis Powers, lacked the imperial impulse and antimaterialist idealism so critical to the Axis Powers' nationalism. Their focus was also an intra-societal Left-versus-Right struggle for political dominance that sought to eliminate private property. Most importantly, these states developed in the Cold War when old-style imperialism was dying and the Fascist Era had passed.

This new fascist minimum does not rule out the rise of neo-fascism or other Cold War fascist movements. These variants can be compared to, and contrasted with, the standard asserted here, and changing historical circumstances (for example, the Cold War) must be used to set the context. Fascism, when seen within the larger historical landscape, is identifiable. However, geopolitical, cultural, and philosophical changes require a reevaluation of fascism within those parameters.

The rationale for "Axis studies" revolves around the idea that despite very different histories, Italy, Germany, and Japan converged from the point of unification (1868–1871) into a powerful geopolitical alliance that challenged the dominant world system. Much like the variations between American, French, and British democracies, these nations developed culturally relevant responses to similar challenges. These variations account for inherent cultural and historical differences, but allow for useful comparative analysis. Axis Studies admits that while Italy, Germany, and Japan shared basic sociopolitical similarities, each also displayed variations from the others. However, all three united around a common goal. Any minimum should, by definition, focus on the extent and degree of the commonalities shared. In the case of the Axis, the very fact that these three nations converged in spite of their obvious cultural and historical differences is *the* most fascinating fact. The exploration of the historical context within which these three nations found themselves on the same side, fighting against common enemies and propagating similar ideals, would clarify the fascist minimum that typifies each.

As we have seen, many of these differences (including the extreme racism and militarism of Germany, the failure of a mass party in Japan's embryonic political

culture, and the relatively racially neutral stance of Fascist Italy) have complicated the search for a fascist minimum. All of these traits can be explained by the cultural traditions of each nation. Germany's anti-Semitism stretches back to the time of the Reformation and Martin Luther, if not further.[185] Japan's feudalism (for lack of a better term) persisted until the Meiji Restoration in 1868, and as a result, the emergent party political system proved only nominally viable.[186] Lastly, Italy's long history is one of racial and ethnic diversity, with strict divisions of dialect and ethnicity from region to region. Italy's political particularism was not dissimilar from that of Germany and Japan prior to their unification. Italy's particularism was regionally and ethnically based, with no clear national identity nor, at the turn of the century, a common language.[187] Germany's particularism was more political than cultural, but it, too, submitted to a process of cultural homogenization under the rule of Prussia. Japan was at the other extreme. Japan's unification was largely political, uniting a fractured Tokugawa state structure after a civil war. Ultimately, the two most powerful former feudal domains, Chōshū and Satsuma, unified the nation politically in the name of the Emperor Meiji. All three differed, yet displayed striking similarities. Further, despite their variations, all three nations unified almost simultaneously under the auspices of a constitutional monarchy, led by the most militaristic region of the nation.

The historical context of their alignment bespeaks the same type of similarities of previous examples. At their inceptions, all three nations needed to build a national consciousness, produce a political culture, and brace for competition with other nations. After unification, each nation engaged in wars with its neighbors and further abroad in an attempt to secure territory, resources, and prestige. The successes of the Great Powers in the Age of Imperialism provided an object lesson to the future Axis Powers. After World War I, Italy, Germany, and Japan began a renewed drive to Great Power status. By the time they signed the Tripartite Pact in 1940, all three had completed an evolutionary process that made them natural allies against common enemies.

The goal of "Axis studies" would be to unite into a coherent structure the vast amount of data, the various interpretations, and the work of various subdisciplines. This is not a theoretical model comparable to the monumental governing historical paradigms of the last one-and-a-half centuries, liberal-capitalism, and Marxism. Yet, the development of Axis studies would complete the smaller-scale paradigm shift that started in the 1960s with Nolte and Gregor when fascist ideology's antecedents were established and its unique development rooted in history.

Unlike rigid models, Axis studies embraces variations without making the core historical facts incomprehensible. Gregor's developmental dictatorship thesis blurred historical context to alter paradigmatic fascism into an amorphous, widely applied concept. On the other hand, De Felice dogmatically denied that fascist ideology could spread and pollinate fertile fields abroad. We need a "third way" between loose comparative applications and strict contextual explanations. Utilizing the Axis as a conceptual framework establishes a fascist minimum based on the similarities between the three nations, while acknowledging the particular circumstances of each. The characteristics outlined here, the Axis fascist minimum, do not differ significantly from those found in most other models.

Axis studies, therefore, would address the need to forge ahead with a new paradigm that would build on past work. The Axis moors the paradigm in a historically identifiable context. It is the locus where the vertical, linear history of the century and the horizontal, comparative application of the ideology intersect. The employment of such a paradigm would enable scholars to begin to answer the questions and resolve the crises so destructively and tragically engaged by twentieth-century fascism: the consequences of colonialism, the meaning of Darwinism for eugenics and social science, the potential power of nationalism, and the future of philosophical materialism.

Even more importantly, understanding the historical confluence of events and the roots of fascist ideology could inspire wholesale reevaluations of the major events of the century. Was World War II, in fact, the century's great race war? Was it the war to end the British Empire? Or was it symptomatic of a crisis of philosophical materialism, the so-called crisis of values? Understanding the amazing confluence of events, personalities, and ideologies that culminated in the Axis alliance and World War II may open up new vistas for further exploration.

The ill-fated attempt by the Axis Powers to overthrow the dominant paradigm of their time may provide clues and portend the future of the next great convulsion. However, if nothing quite so grandiose is in the offing, perhaps Axis studies could bring a degree of unity to studies of fascism. The unification of the various models, interpretations, schools, and methodologies under the umbrella of an interdisciplinary paradigm such as Axis studies might eventually resolve many of the challenges and political and semantic arguments that have typified the course of research to date. Most importantly, the Axis studies model could promote such unity without sacrificing the historical context from which fascist ideology emerged, nor ignoring the geopolitical consequences it produced. By finally considering the fascist phenomenon within its historical context and from a perspective beyond the fading antifascism and Cold War paradigms we should be able to view it more objectively.

Notes

1. Peter F. Drucker, The End of Economic Man (New York: John Day Co., 1939), pp. xvi–xvii.
2. Ibid. Drucker explains the "third way" on p. 132, fascism's mass-oriented appeal to non-economic social rewards on p. 129, and the malaise and uncertainty arising out of advances in physics (the Theory of Relativity) and the unraveling of societies based on the tradition of liberalism on p. 57.
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. The term "fascist minimum," a minimum set of characteristics against which all regimes could be tested, was coined by Ernst Nolte, in *Three Faces of Fascism*, tr. Leila Vennewitz (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963). George Mosse and A. James Gregor have written copiously on the topic of fascist ideology and the search for a fascist minimum. For a good introduction to their work on fascist ideology see George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964) and A. James Gregor, *The Ideology of Fascism* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).
5. John W. Dower, "E. H. Norman, Japan and the Uses of History," in E.H. Norman, *The Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writing of E.H. Norman*, ed. Dower (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), pp. 45–46.

6. J. Victor Koschmann, "Intellectuals and Politics," *in Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 413. For a full discussion of the Marxist influence in Japanese academia see Germaine Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). In chapter 9, pp. 261–263, Hoston explores the postwar debate between differing Marxist factions over the type and voracity of Japanese fascism and the difficulties of trying to explain Imperial Japan in the Cold War paradigm.
7. Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Gordon, p. 80.
8. For example, see Roger Griffin's review of *Between the Swastika and the Cross of Lorraine: Fascisms in Interwar Alsace*, by Samuel Huston Goodfellow, *American Historical Review*, 106:4 (October 2001): 1474–1475. Griffin hedges an otherwise positive review by pointing to the "conceptual flabbiness" of Goodfellow's definition of fascism. Griffin has written extensively on generic fascism. See *International Fascism*, ed. Griffin (London: Arnold Publishers, 1998), pp. 1–21, for a full discussion of the persistent problem of defining fascism. The "flabbiness" Griffin referred to has been a constant in the field of fascism studies and is a specific problem in many of the postmodernist interpretations of fascist ideology. See Jay W. Baird's review of *Shaping the Superman: Fascist Body as Political Icon—Aryan Fascism*, ed. J.A. Mangan, *American Historical Review*, 106:1 (February 2001): 135–136, on such conceptual failure in defining fascism.
9. For a recent, unusual example of a comparative study of Imperial Japan with an Axis partner see Bernd Martin, *Japan and Germany in the Modern World* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995).
10. See Harry Harootunian's latest, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Kevin M. Doak, "Building National Identity through Ethnicity: Ethnology in Wartime Japan and After," in *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 27:1 (2001): 1–39, and Kevin M. Doak, "Reconsidering Fascism as a Problem of Cultural Theory," presented at "Culture and Fascism in Interwar Japan," University of California at Berkeley, March 16, 2001.
11. *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* (1989), s.v. "fascism."
12. Ibid.
13. *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition., s.v. "fascism" and "fascist." The entries vary little from *Webster's*. What it does supply, of course, are excellent etymologies of the use of the term over time. The *OED* does not, however, offer the open-ended definition of "fascist" that *Webster's* does.
14. From the Latin usage, the *fasces* was the Roman symbol of authority, usually a bundle of sticks or rods bound around an axe.
15. *The New York Times Everyday Reader's Dictionary of Misunderstood, Misused, Mispronounced Words* (1972), s.v. "fascism." The definition offered is a verbatim replication of *Webster's*.
16. Eugen Weber, "Fascism(s) and Some Harbingers," in *The Journal of Modern History*, 54:3 (September 1982): 746–765. Weber cites (p. 746) a two-volume University of Paris VIII account, Maria A. Macciocchi, *Elements pour une analyse du fascisme* (Paris: La Sevil, 1976), 1:7, of a year-long course on fascism that states, "a study of fascism is, naturally, against fascism." Weber considers this approach to have been inspired by "late night exposure to 'The Invasion of the Killer Tomatoes.' " Of this antifascism Weber writes, "Fascism is [to antifascists] a plague from outer space, to be stamped out, not placed in human context."
17. Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 146, calls this historical tradition the "cult of progress." He also quotes (p. 147) Lord Acton who, in 1896, referred to history as a "progressive science." Science, positivism, and materialism exerted enormous influence on both the Left and the Right through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Positivism, materialism, and economic determinism were three ideas reviled by fascist ideologues and thinkers.

18. Robert O. Paxton, "The Five Stages of Fascism," *The Journal of Modern History*, 70:1 (March 1998): 8.
19. An oft-cited quote comes from *The Origins of the Second World War* (London: Hamilton, 1961), p. 56, where A.J.P. Taylor wrote: "Everything about Fascism was a fraud. The social peril from which it saved Italy was a fraud; the revolution by which it seized power was a fraud; the ability and policy of Mussolini were fraudulent. Fascist rule was corrupt, incompetent, empty; Mussolini himself a vain, blundering boaster without either ideas or aims." For a discussion of Taylor's and Dennis Mack Smith's interpretations see Stephen Corrado Azzi, "The Historiography of Fascist Foreign Policy," in *The Historical Journal*, 36:1 (1993): 187–203. Azzi (p. 194) is particularly critical of Smith's "one-dimensional" refutation of Renzo De Felice. Smith published the widely read *Mussolini: A Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982), perhaps in an attempt to counter "revisionist" interpretations of fascism. In his preface (p. xiv), he acknowledges De Felice's "substantial" biography of Mussolini, but feels it is "not critical enough." "Revisionists" loosely refers to a group of scholars, including De Felice and A. James Gregor, who have produced scholarship not specifically concerned with identifying societal flaws that encouraged fascism and aimed instead at revealing the consensus behind fascism, its ideological content, and its modernizing focus.
20. In particular, George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology*, Hans Kohn, *The Twentieth Century: The Challenge to the West and Its Response* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1957) and Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1951) present three differing, but essentially congruent, explorations of various crises that led to the rise of fascism. There are many more works on the topic, but the underlying theme is one of a structural "flaw" in the culture and politics of a given nation (Germany being the most prominent in these three scholars' studies) that allows fascism to take root.
21. Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* (New York: Orgone, 1946).
22. Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Avon Books, 1965).
23. A. James Gregor, *Interpretations of Fascism* (Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press, 1974), p. 50.
24. The two most important works on the topic of totalitarianism are Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* and Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (New York: Praeger, 1956).
25. Over the last 25-plus years Juan Linz has elaborated on work of Karl Dietrich Bracher in proposing that fascism emerged primarily out of a post–World War I crisis of parliamentary democracy. The crisis stemmed from the inability of German and Italian democracies to mitigate and coordinate competition between parties and interests. See Peter H. Merkl, "Democratic Development, Breakdowns, and Fascism," in *World Politics*, 34:1 (October 1981): 114–123 and Juan Linz, "The Crisis of democracy after the First World War," in *International Fascism*, pp. 175–188.
26. See Hugh Seton-Watson, "Fascism, Right and Left," in *The Journal of Contemporary History*, 1:1 (May 1966). Seton-Watson (pp. 183–185) levied an early attack on the Marxist tendency to use fascism as a "smear word" and lamented the lack of understanding regarding fascism's position on the political spectrum. For a well-argued exegesis on fascism as a right-wing movement see John Weiss, *The Fascist Tradition: Radical Right-Wing Extremism in Modern Europe* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1967). Weiss's thesis (pp. ix–xi) is that fascism was essentially a traditionalist, conservative response to the "rapid liberalization of the social system" that threatened conservatives' socioeconomic status. Weiss (p. 4) tried to bridge the gap between Marxist and Liberal interpretations of fascism by implicating a European reactionary tradition against modernization that opposes both Marxism and liberalism. Gregor's model of fascism as a Marxist heresy (beginning with *The Ideology of Fascism*, 1969) ultimately spawned a debate in 1981 over the definition and viability of left-wing fascism. See *Politics and Society*, 18:4 (May/June 1981) for articles by, among others, S.J. Woolf, Mosse, Anthony James Joes, and Gregor.

27. Renzo De Felice, *Interpretations of Fascism*, tr. Brenda Huff Everett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).
28. Gregor, *Interpretations of Fascism*.
29. Roger Eatwell, "Towards a New Model of Generic Fascism," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 4:2 (April 1992): 161–194. This article gives an excellent overview of the theoretical challenges and shortcomings of the extant interpretations of fascism.
30. Robert O. Paxton's, "The Uses of Fascism," in *The New York Review of Books*, 46:22 (November 28, 1996): 48–52 is a review of two books by major scholars, Walter Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present, and Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), and Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), in which he identifies a changing trend (p. 48): "Books about the general character of fascism, which had largely given way since the 1970s to an emphasis on what distinguished Italian Fascism from German Nazism, are appearing again." Paxton was correct, in addition to Laqueur and Payne are the more recent Roger Eatwell's *Fascism: A History* (New York: Penguin, 1997), Griffin, ed., *International Fascism*, and Mark Neocleous, *Fascism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). Paxton also contributed recently to the debate over a fascist minimum by proposing "five stages of fascism," which resolves semantic issues by offering a typology of maturation by which movements evolve into regimes. This hyper-inclusive model absorbs even latently fascist movements by identifying them as proto or embryonic fascism, see his "Five Stages," *Journal of Modern History*. The long-standing emphasis on what distinguished Fascism from Nazism was also addressed recently in Richard Bessel, ed., *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: Comparisons and Contrasts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
31. Walter Laqueur *Fascism: Past, Present, and Future*, pp. 13–15 states clearly that while he accepts the basic similarities between Fascism and Nazism, he is opposed to broad models that include nations such as Japan, Poland, Chile, or Spain.
32. De Felice, *Interpretations*, pp. 9–12.
33. Ibid., pp. 9–11.
34. Ibid., p. 12.
35. Ibid. De Felice identifies the initial, and ultimately the core support, coming from the petty bourgeoisie, but indicates that over time Fascism effectively opened up to all classes.
36. Ibid., p. 41.
37. Ibid., pp. 55–56.
38. Adrian Lyttelton, ed., *Italian Fascisms: From Pareto to Gentile* (London: Harper and Row, 1973) agrees with De Felice's and Mosse's divorcing of the two fascisms. Lyttelton (p. 12) views the racial utopianism of Nazism as fascism "transcended." However, De Felice's emphasis is on the different focuses of the respective utopian visions: modernist New Man versus traditionalist Liberated Aryan. Lyttelton denies Italian Fascism any claim to utopianism.
39. De Felice, *Interpretations*, pp. 55–56.
40. Ibid., p. 56.
41. In ibid., p. 40, De Felice compares the cultural impact of *The Nationalization of the Masses* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975) with that of Johann Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1954) and Marc Bloch's *Les Rois Thaumaturges* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924).
42. George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964).
43. Ibid., p. 1.
44. Ibid., pp. 8–14.
45. Ibid.
46. Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses*, is the seminal work on this thesis. The emphasis on German Volkism as a template for mass democracy and Aryan renewal also buttresses arguments made by De Felice on the uniqueness of Italian Fascism.
47. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology*, p. 315.
48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.
50. For an excellent discussion of Nietzsche's role in the development of German nationalism see Carol Diethe, "Nietzsche and Nationalism," *The Journal of the History of European Ideas*, 14:2 (1992): 227–234. Diethe points out that Nietzsche made a radical break with Romanticism and German nationalism after his famous split with Richard Wagner, and that he was unabashedly disgusted by Volkism (229).
51. Walter Adamson has written extensively on Modernism and fascism, including the influence of Nietzsche. See "Modernism and Fascism: The Politics of Culture in Italy, 1903–22," in *American Historical Review*, 95:2 (April 1990): 359–390 and "The Culture of Italian Fascism and the Fascist Crisis of Modernity: The Case of '*Il Selaggio*," in *The Journal of Contemporary History*, 30:4 (1995): 555–575. Adamson (p. 363) asserts that Mussolini adapted to those modernist ideas that coincided with his "anti-ideology ideology" based upon spiritual appeals and secular faith. Part of that adaptation was an affinity for Nietzsche's call for the "creation of new values" (p. 366), traced through D'Annunzio to Mussolini's call for a New Man.
52. Alexander De Grand, *Italian Fascism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), p. x.
53. De Grand, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: The "Fascist" Style of Rule* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 84.
54. Roberto Vivarelli, "Interpretations of the Origins of Fascism," *The Journal of Modern History*, 63:1 (March 1991): 29.
55. See Geoff Eley, "What Produces Fascism: Preindustrial Traditions or a Crisis of the Capitalist State?" *Politics and Society*, 12:1 (1983): 52–82. Eley deftly explores the "backwardness syndrome" explanation of fascism and the discontinuity with Western traditions this implies.
56. Roger Griffin's introduction to *International Fascism* is more hopeful about the prospects for a consensus in the near future. Griffin (pp. 14–15) points to the "single line definitions" both he and Payne have proposed and the compatibility of such with the definitions of Eatwell and Paxton, despite their reservations.
57. De Felice, *Interpretations*, p. 25.
58. Nolte, De Felice, Eugen Weber, and Mosse contributed enormously to the critical consideration of fascism. However, in *The Ideology of Fascism*, Gregor was the first to fully reevaluate fascism through the prisms of both modernization and revolution, finding an ideological core that did not require mass delusion, mass manipulation, or evil motives to explain its rise.
59. Gregor's thesis was proposed and developed over the span of five books, including: *Contemporary Radical Ideologies* (New York: Random House, 1968); *The Ideology of Fascism* (1969); *The Fascist Persuasion in Radical Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), and *Young Mussolini and the Intellectual Origins of Fascism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
60. Gregor, *Ideology of Fascism*, portrays fascism as a revolution. Gregor's definition (p. 7) states, "when an entire prevailing ideological system is threatened, we speak of impending revolution." For a full discussion of theories of revolutions see Jack A. Goldstone, ed., *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986). In his introduction (pp. 2–7), Goldstone divides the various theories into three categories: natural histories, theories of political violence, and structural theories. Gregor's simple definition intersects all three on different levels.
61. Gregor's use of "developmental dictatorship" comes from Franz Borkenau's 1933 essay "Zur Soziologie des Faschismus" (The Sociology of Fascism), which he cites in *Interpretations of Fascism*, p. 160.
62. Marxism has subdivided into various schools and interpretations, often with interesting results. Italy has had a tradition of antimaterialist revisions of Marx, including works by Antonio Labriola, Antonio Gramsci, and Benedetto Croce, but that tradition may be

included in the ideological development of fascism as a "Marxist heresy" as identified by Gregor. Another example of critical reevaluation of economic determinism came from the Frankfurt School, producing scholars such as Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, and Theodor Adorno. Emblematic of their approach was a willingness to explore factors other than economic ones, freely utilizing Freudian, existentialist, and phenomenological ideas within a Marxist framework. See Roland N. Stromberg, *European Intellectual History Since 1789*, sixth edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), pp. 234–235.

63. Robert S. Wistrich, "Leon Trotsky's Theory of Fascism," *The Journal of Contemporary History*, 11:4 (October 1976): 157.
64. Herbert Marcuse, "The Struggle Against Liberalism in the Totalitarian View of the State," in *Negations: Essays in Critical Theory* (London: Beacon, 1968), p. 21 and Mihaly Vadja, *Fascism as a Mass Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), pp. 7–9. Vadja (p. 8) identifies fascism as "the offspring of a situation pregnant with crisis, but not with revolution."
65. Michael Parenti in *Blackshirts and Reds* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1997), p. 17. He calls fascism a "false revolution." Parenti's book epitomizes the type of dogmatically held notions that pervade popular conceptions of both fascism and Marxism.
66. George Sabine and Thomas Thorson, *A History of Political Theory* (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1973), pp. 808–820. The authors of this seminal, widely used text regard fascism as the practical outgrowth of irrationalism and see the ties to Hegelianism as tenuous and overstated. This is a common assertion by the majority of scholars of twentieth-century history.
67. Eatwell, "Towards a Generic Model of Fascism," p. 177.
68. See Gregor, *Ideology of Fascism*, 209–252 for a full exploration of the role Gentile played in the development of Fascist ideology. Others sources include Dante Germino, "Italian Fascism in the History of Political Thought," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 8:2 (May 1964): 109–127; Emilio Gentile, "Fascism as Political Religion," *The Journal of Contemporary History*, 25:2 (May 1990): 229–251; and A. Robert Caponigri, "The Status of the Person in the Humanism of Giovanni Gentile," *The Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 2:1 (1964): 61–69.
69. Nolte, *Die Krise des liberalen Systems und die faschistischen Bewegungen* (Munich, 1968), 385; quoted in Payne, History of Fascism, 5.
70. Payne, *History of Fascism*, p. 7.
71. Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London: Pinter, 1991), p. 44.
72. Eatwell, *Generic Fascism*, p. 189.
73. Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966). Decades earlier, Miriam Beard, "Germany and Japan: Striking Parallels," *New York Times Magazine* of December 17, 1933, reprinted in John Weiss, ed., *Nazis and Fascists in Europe, 1918–1945* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 187–195, also compared Germany and Japan, but purposefully excluded Fascist Italy as different. Beard wrote prophetically: "the hope of liberals in other lands that the elements of Old and New in Japan and Germany might be fused together painlessly and gradually, yielding beautiful amalgams of ancient culture and modern civilization, must be abandoned. The clash of feudalism and Modernism, which formerly delighted tourists, may easily become a combat which will shake the world."
74. Many scholars still continue to assert that fascism is an exclusively European phenomenon. Payne, among others, has refused to adopt an expansive model of generic fascism. In *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), Payne argues (p. 175) that fascism grew out of a particular set of circumstances found only in Europe from 1860 to 1914. He tests his assertion against the examples of pre–World War II, semitraditionalist Japan and oligarchic Latin American dictatorships, all of which he sees as uniquely informed by their particular cultural situations. Payne continues that theme in his 1995 book, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945*. Payne (pp. 353–354) finds fascism in places such as Estonia, Latvia, Poland and, quite

expansively, in South Africa, but does not include nations he considers outside European cultural and intellectual traditions. He correctly points out (p. 354) that Nolte and De Felice also deny the viability of expanding generic fascism beyond Europe.

75. An excellent debate of the issues surrounding the definition of the term fascism appears in the *American Historical Review*, 84:2 (April 1979): 367–398. Allardyce's "What Fascism is Not: Thoughts on the Deflation of a Concept" is a cogent attack on the idea of "generic fascism" and concomitant reductionism. It is followed by rebuttals from two leading scholars of fascism, Payne and Nolte, both of whom assert the viability of a "fascist minimum." Allardyce follows with a response to the rebuttals.
76. Recent examples include Payne's *A History of Fascism* and Eatwell's *Fascism: A History*, both reviving the search for a "fascist minimum" and a generic model of fascism. The latest attempt at a generic model of fascism is Paxton's "The Five Stages of Fascism," *The Journal of Modern History*, 70:1 (March 1998): 1–23.
77. Maruyama began arguing almost immediately after the end of the War that Imperial Japan was a fascist regime. For his early explanations see quotations from his "Nippon fasshizmu no shisō to undō," in Richard Storry, *The Double Patriots* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), pp. 37–38. Maruyama's work is most widely known in the West from the translated essays in *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, ed. Ivan Morris (London: Oxford University Press, 1963). Maruyama set the tone of the Japanese-language debate for decades and his "fascism from above" thesis is still the standard against which theories of Japanese fascism are tested. For a full discussion of Maruyama's intellectual evolution and influence in Japan see Rikki Kersten, *Democracy in Postwar Japan: Maruyama Masao and the Search for Autonomy* (London: Routledge, 1996).
78. Gavan McCormack, "Nineteen-Thirties Japan: Fascism?" *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 14:2 (April–June 1982): 28. McCormack's list of American scholars convinced of the inapplicability of the "fascist concept" to Japan reads like a who's who of major scholars in the field including: George Wilson, James Crowley, Mark Peattie, Richard Smethurst, Gordon Berger, Ben-Ami Shillony, Peter Duus, and Daniel Okimoto. McCormack contrasts this list with the host of Japanese scholars who adopted or revised Maruyama's thesis, all still retaining the term fascism in some form.
79. These basic differences are the main reason many Western scholars refuse to utilize fascism as a generic concept in the case of Japan. See Peter Duus and Daniel I. Okimoto, "Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan: The Failure of a Concept," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 39:1 (November 1979): 65–76; Miles Fletcher, "Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 39:1 (November 1979): 39–63; and Miles Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).
80. Gregory Kasza, "Fascism from Below?: A Comparative Perspective on the Japanese Right, 1931–1936," in *The Journal of Contemporary History*, 19:4 (October 1984): 608–609 compares the situation in Japan with Payne's complex set of characteristics. Kasza, taking a cue from Payne, divides the right-wing of 1930s Japan into four categories (p. 625): violence-oriented fascists, violence-oriented radical rightists, nonviolent conservative authoritarians, and nonviolent renovationist authoritarians. Kasza's use of Payne's European-based model runs counter to Payne's own assessment of Japan, illustrating the divide between Japan scholars and their Europeanist colleagues and the difficulty of encapsulating all of the Axis Powers into a conceptual framework.
81. James B. Crowley, "A New Asian Order: Some Notes on Prewar Japanese Nationalism," in *Japan in Crisis*, ed. Bernard S. Silberman and H.D. Harootunian (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 271, cites Japan's "distinctive racial-cultural hues" as the primary differentiating factors delineating Japanese nationalism from European fascism. Crowley flatly states on p. 270: "Prewar Japan was not a fascist country."
82. Hiroshi Tanaka, "Carl Schmitt and Fascism: Schmitt, Germany, and Japan," in *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 22 (1990): 1–6, on the comparison of Japan with

Europe writes (p. 1), "In Japan . . . the impact of western political thought has been salient, particularly over the last hundred years or so, and Japan's political development can be understood from the stand point of European political ideas."

83. Kentaro Hayashi, "Japan and Germany in the Interwar Period," in *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, ed. James William Morley (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 473, wrote, "Japanese intellectuals were very sensitive to European intellectual trends, and new ideas were rapidly introduced to Japan." For a full discussion of the Meiji Era's governmental push to examine and utilize Western cultural and institutional structures see Kenneth B. Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Lexington, KY: D.C. Heath and Company, 1966). In particular, Pyle (pp. 83–85) explores the roles of the pro-Western intellectual, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) and an official mission of 100 Japanese leaders to the United States and Europe (1871–1873) in shaping the government's policies over the next four decades.
84. Kato Shuichi, "Taisho Democracy as the Pre-Stage for Japanese Militarism," in *Japan in Crisis*, pp. 222–223, illustrates the extent to which Marxism, although not an effective political movement, was adopted by intellectuals and could be substantively termed a "movement." Germaine A. Hoston in "Tenko: Marxism and the National Question in Prewar Japan," in *Polity* 16:1 (Fall 1983): 96–118 also explores the penetration of Marxism into Japanese intellectual culture. For a examination of the extent to which liberalism and democracy flourished in Japan see Sharon Minichiello, *Retreat from Reform* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984). Minichiello (pp. 2–3) found a number of reformers seeking an expansion of liberalism and democracy to cure social, political, and diplomatic ills. Of course, the Meiji Constitution was, at least in theory, a constitutional monarchy modeled on European examples.
85. Among the various thinkers now commonly linked to the genesis of fascist thought are Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Italian neo-Idealists Giambattista Vico, Bertrando Spaventa, and Giovanni Gentile (who would become the "Official Philosopher of Fascist Italy") and two Frenchmen, the Vitalist Henri Bergson and the Syndicalist Georges Sorel. See Harootunian's *Overcome By Modernity*, which goes far in establishing a coeval development of idealist thought in the West and Japan. Also, Hayashi notes in "Japan and Germany in the Interwar Period," p. 473: "Japanese intellectuals were very sensitive to European intellectual trends, and new ideas were rapidly introduced to Japan."
86. Kasza, "Fascism from Below?" p. 607.
87. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji*, p. vii.
88. Among others, Gordon M. Berger, *Parties Out of Power in Japan, 1931–1941* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 75, calls the radical right-wing "Japanists" and Leslie Russell Oates, *Populist Nationalist in Prewar Japan: A Biography of Nakano Seigo* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), uses the terms "Japanism" and "ultranationalism."
89. Paul Brooker, *The Faces of Fraternalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). Brooker's thesis centers on a sociological interpretation of the militarism and nationalism of Italy, Germany, and Japan. Essentially, Brooker argues that these three nations dealt with the social dislocations of industrialization by developing what Emile Durkheim called mechanical solidarity, the institutional creation of "sacred fraternal belief systems," intended to resolve the conflict between individual liberty and social cohesion.
90. For a full discussion of the Left–Right struggle during SCAP control of postwar Japan see John W. Dower, *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878–1954* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).
91. See John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), pp. 270–272. Dower points out that as the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and labor activists became ever more visible and emboldened by the election of JCP members to the Diet, the "Reverse Course" became increasingly more attractive to anticommunist elements within SCAP.

92. Of this postwar conundrum Ian Buruma in *The Wages of Guilt* (New York: *Farrar Straus Giroux*, 1994), p. 173, writes: "Emperor Hirohito, the shadowy figure who changed after the war from navy uniforms to gray suits, was not personally comparable to Hitler, but his psychological role was remarkably similar. The Mitscherlichs described Hitler as 'an object on which Germans depended, to which they transferred responsibility, and he was thus an internal object.' As such, he represented and revived the ideas of omnipotence that we all cherish about ourselves from infancy. The same was true of the Japanese imperial institution, no matter who sat on the throne, a ruthless war criminal or a gentle marine biologist."
93. In ibid., Buruma explores the tricky problem of war guilt in postwar Japan. On the issue of who or what to blame he wrote (p. 259): "In Japan there was no Nazi Party to vote for, and the emperor never ran for election. The emperor didn't go away, nor was he demonized—except in very few circles. By changing from his military uniform into a businessman's suit after the defeat in 1945, and by escaping blame in the Tokyo trial, he became, quite literally, a symbol of his nation. His innocence was the innocence of the Japanese people; like their emperor, they had never been told what was going on. All they had ever wanted was peace. They had been tricked into going to war."
94. Ben-Ami Shillony, *Revolt in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 215.
95. Kersten, *Democracy in Postwar Japan*, p. 8 and Hoston, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development*. In chapter 9, Hoston explores Maruyama's role in the postwar debate between differing Marxist factions. Factional debates aside, Marxists of all stripes tended to agree that some form of fascism developed in Imperial Japan. The debates and schisms grew out of variations of interpretations, i.e., a crisis of monopoly capitalism, a reactionary bourgeois revolt.
96. Kersten (pp. 96–105) highlights Maruyama's desire to reform Marxism in favor of its idealist roots as a significant aspect of his overall theme of establishing a political–philosophical rationale for a societal shift away from radical communitarnianism toward individual autonomy. Maruyama believed this was the key to establishing a postwar sociopolitical order that would finally bury the prewar fascism of the imperial era.
97. Ibid., p. 117.
98. Ibid.
99. Andrew E. Barshay, in *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 232–235, writes that the variation within postwar Japanese Marxism has been used by some as an example of the relative weakness of Marxism. However, he points out that despite the split between the modernist and historical materialist schools, Marxism *did* have a significant influence upon the politics and scholarship of the period.
100. For a full discussion, see Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior*, pp. 25–83.
101. Ibid., p. 27.
102. Ibid., pp. 26–27.
103. For the best study of the intersection between Kita Ikki and the February 26 uprising see George M. Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883–1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969). See also Shillony, *Revolt in Japan*.
104. Heinz Lubasz, ed., *Fascism: Three Major Regimes* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973), pp. 133–144. Lubasz includes articles by Storry and Scalapino along with excerpts from Kita, General Araki Sadao, Konoe Fumimaro, and Maruyama. Despite the implications of the book's title, Lubasz included an article by John King Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, "Japan: Fascist or Militarist?" that argues that Japan was significantly different from Germany and was, at worst, a "militarist" regime, not a fascist regime.
105. George M. Wilson, "A New Look at the Problem of Japanese Fascism," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 10:4 (July 1968): 401–412, identifies two other Japanese

scholars, Ishida Takeshi and Hata Ikuhiko, who propose these permutations of Japanese fascism. Western scholars willing to entertain the idea of Japanese fascism also utilize these permutations. See Herbert Bix, "Rethinking 'Emperor-System Fascism': Ruptures and Continuities in Modern Japanese History," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 14:2 (April–June 1982): 2–19.

106. Wilson in "A New Look at the Problem of Japanese Fascism," p. 406, writes that "there should be no need to qualify fascism in Japan as something distinctly different." Kasza, in "Fascism from Below," pp. 606–607, prefers Payne's precise typology to Maruyama's amorphous concepts (606–607). Duus and Okimoto in "Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan: The Failure of a Concept," p. 66, say that Maruyama simply refuses to admit the obvious conceptual progression his scholarship leads to: that Japan is "so dissimilar that it is meaningless to speak of Japan . . . as fascist." Miles Fletcher in "Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan" (published in the same issue of *Journal of Asian Studies*), pp. 39–63, uses the failed ideological appeals of three Japanese philosophers who were fascists to illustrate the ultimate failure of fascism as a movement, let alone as a governmental system.
107. McCormack, "Nineteen-Thirties Japan," p. 29.
108. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) is the seminal critical analysis of the long Western cultural tradition of regarding the East as exotic, feminine, and fundamentally different.
109. Dower. "E. H. Norman, Japan and the Uses of History," pp. 45–46, singles out Reischauer's stated goal of developing a "counter-model to radicalism" that would explain to the Japanese a capitalist-based theory of development.
110. Ibid., p. 57.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., pp. 10–11.
113. Ibid., p. 33.
114. Ibid., pp. 19–20.
115. Ibid., p. 45.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid., p. 55.
118. Ibid., p. 57
119. Wilson, "A New Look at the Problem of Japanese Fascism," p. 409.
120. Ibid.
121. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji*, p. 254.
122. Robert M. Spaulding, "Detour Through a Dark Valley," *Japan Examined*, ed. Harry Wray and Hillary Conroy (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 252–257.
123. Ibid., pp. 252–253.
124. Ibid., p. 252.
125. Ibid., pp. 254–257.
126. Dower, "E. H. Norman, Japan and the Uses of History," p. 55.
127. J. Victor Koschmann, "Intellectuals and Politics," p. 413.
128. Kersten, *Democracy in Postwar Japan*, p. 133.
129. Ibid., p. 155.
130. In his widely read survey of modern Japanese history, *The Japanese* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 111, Reischauer treats this period somewhat differently, viewing the so-called Reverse Course as a natural change by SCAP because it had completed what it had set out to do during the initial phase of the Occupation.
131. Dower, "E. H. Norman, Japan and the Uses of History," p. 83.
132. Carol Gluck points out in "The Past in the Present," p. 80, that the idea of a "deviant modernity" that became popular in postwar Germany as an explanation for the "disastrous divergence from the West" never challenged the Modernization School. This was despite the fact that "the two countries had not only fascism, aggression, and defeat in

common but also the temporal proximity of their modernization and its perceived denouement in war."

133. This examination included all of the books cited here, with a startling 29 of them lacking an index reference to the Axis. The discussion of fascism in journals reflects a similar lack of attention paid to the meaning of the Axis as a historical phenomenon.
134. Griffin, ed., *International Fascism*, pp. 14–15.
135. Ibid., p. 15.
136. Payne, *History of Fascism*, p. 15. Published in 1995, this configuration revises a previously published version of the same table in *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980) that included Japan and Mexico. Although he tacitly approved of including non-European nations in 1980, the approval did not constitute an admission that fascism stretched beyond Europe, but merely that fascist-like movements appeared in these two cases.
137. Lubasz, ed., *Fascism: Three Major Regimes*.
138. Caponigri, "The Status of the Person in the Humanism of Giovanni Gentile," pp. 61–69. Gentile's seminal work, *Teoria generale dello Spirito come Atto puro* was published six years before the March on Rome and helped establish him as a leading Italian thinker. See Gentile, *Theory of Mind as Pure Act*, tr. H. Wildon Carr (London: Macmillan and Co., 1922). Written during the time of the Fascist Regime, Gentile's *Genesis and Structure of Society*, tr. H.S. Harris (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960) offers an excellent example of Hegelian idealism in fascist thought.
139. Eugen Weber writes in *Varieties of Fascism* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1964), pp. 19–23, that fascism's "collectivistic nationalism" can be traced back to the French Revolution, particularly to Robespierre and Saint-Just. Later, he states (p. 139) that "Fascism looks much like the Jacobinism of our time."
140. Mussolini, the reformed socialist, and Hitler the National Socialist, were obviously aligned against an internationalism and the social divisions and political divisions caused by Bolshevism and liberalism. Bolshevism threatened to rip the nation apart along class division, and liberal parliamentarianism was, for them, a weak, divided and bankrupt political system. In Japan, the same pressures existed. In *Revolt in Japan*, p. 5, Ben-Ami Shillony writes, "Japanese conservatives abhorred communism, because it negated *kokutai*, the national polity, according to which the nation was one family with the Emperor at its head," and "right-wing radicals objected to both the capitalist system and its left-wing opponents . . . their aim was to restore *kokutai* on a popular basis."
141. Ian Buruma, in *Wages of Guilt*, pp. 7–8, points out that not only did Japan absorb ideas from Europe, particularly Germany, but that Japan had an impact on National Socialist thinking. On his exploration of Japan's proto-fascist intellectual roots he writes, "I began to notice how the same German names cropped up in their [Japanese ideologues] often oblique and florid prose: Spengler, Herder, Fichte, even Wagner. The more Japanese romantics went on about the essence of Japaneseness, the more they sounded like German metaphysicians."
142. For a full discussion of the role of racial thinking and, specifically, anti-Semitism in Fascist Italy, see Gene Bernardini, "The Origins and Development of Racial Anti-Semitism in Fascist Italy," *The Journal of Modern History*, 49:3 (September 1977): 431–453. Bernardini differentiates between the ideologically based anti-Semitism of Fascist Italy and the racial–biological anti-Semitism so prevalent in Nazi Germany.
143. The pickings were indeed slim. See Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa* (New York: Avon Books, 1991), for both an excellent narrative of nineteenth-century colonialism in Africa and, in particular, detailed maps of the divided continent. By 1912, the British and the French held the lion's share of the resource-rich areas of Africa, while Italy and Germany were left with difficult-to-exploit regions. Italy had the poorest colonies, a slice of coastline and the Libyan Desert in the Mediterranean, and a sliver of the Horn of Africa. Germany could look to the west from German East Africa and

see the richest part of central Africa—The Congo—held by tiny Belgium, to the north to see British holdings, and to the south find diamond-rich British Rhodesia and some Portuguese territories (p. 670). This does not even account for the landscape of Asia, which was dominated by the British, French, and Dutch. For the rapidly growing Japanese state, Asia was dominated by Europeans, and the Americans were increasing their presence in China and the Pacific. Not only was Japan largely shut out in Asia, but the continent stood as an object lesson in "unequal treaties" and Western imperialism.

144. The "age of static imperialism" is this author's attempt to describe the nature of the geopolitical environment from the late nineteenth century through the end of World War I. The previous 150–200 years could thus be described as an "age of fluid imperialism," a time when there were many imperial players competing for rights, colonies, and influence around the world. The "scramble for Africa," as Pakenham termed it, was largely a done deal by the time the future Axis nations arrived on the scene late in the nineteenth century.
145. Harootunian, *Overcome By Modernity*, p. xii.
146. While it has become axiomatic that the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles enforced against Germany contributed to its economic, political, and social deterioration, thus setting the stage for the rise of Nazism (including Hitler's effective use of the "sell-out" at Versailles as a propaganda wedge), the effects (both real and perceived) of Versailles upon Italy and Japan should not be minimized. F.S. Marston in *The Peace Conference of 1919* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), p. 121, explores the extent to which Great Britain, the United States, and France shut Italy and Japan (both allies with territorial claims) out of the decision-making process of the Supreme Council and off key committees. For a full discussion of Italy's reaction to the treaty see H. James Burgwyn, *The Legend of the Mutilated Victory: Italy, the Great War, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1915–1919* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993).
147. Ian Buruma (*The Wages of Guilt*, pp. 34–35) sees a similar mind-set in both Germany and Japan that he terms "romantic nationalism." Of the interwar similarities he writes, "Like Germany, Japan—as represented by its intellectuals and politicians—often felt the need to compensate for a feeling of national inferiority by turning to romantic nationalism. Fichte's theories of organic nationalism were imported to bolster Japanese self-esteem, even as Japan was Westernizing itself to catch up with Western might. Spengler's ideas on the decline of the West were comforting when Japan felt excluded by the Western Powers in the 1920s and 1930s."
148. For a full discussion see R.J.B Bosworth, *Italy, the Least of the Great Powers* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Bosworth compares Italy's foreign policy in the liberal era to that of a small Balkan state or a colony rather than a full-fledged Great Power.
149. Burgwyn, *Legend of the Mutilated Victory*, p. 8.
150. Marston, *Peace Conference*, p. 121.
151. Ibid.
152. Burgwyn, *Legend of the Mutilated Victory*, p. 320.
153. Ibid., pp. 320–321.
154. Of the group of Japanese leaders who attended the Paris Peace Conference, some of the most outspoken criticism came from Konoe Fumimaro, a future prime minister and leader of the New Order Movement (a political movement based on fascist-style ideology and with the intent of establishing a "new order" in Asia and at home) and founder of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association that it led to. See Fletcher, "Intellectuals and Fascism," pp. 39–63. In particular, Konoe wrote in 1918 that the Treaty of Versailles was an "Anglo-American peace" meant to preserve the "status quo that suits their interests." Further, he believed the Anglo-American call for justice through the League of Nations and arms control to be a deceptive tactic that hides, indeed preserves, the injustice

inherent in the "rampant economic imperialism that so benefits the Anglo-American powers." He cites the codification of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States into the League Covenant as an example of this *faux* peace. Konoe regarded the destruction of the Anglo-American status quo as an act of self-preservation for nations such as Japan and Germany, and concluded that the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference was "the end of idealism." See Oka Yoshitake, *Konoe Fumimaro: A Political Biography*, tr. Okamoto Shumpei and Patricia Murray (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1983), pp. 10–15.

155. Minichiello, *Retreat from Reform*, p. 1.
156. Morley, ed., *Dilemmas of Growth*, p. 473.
157. The racial tensions between America and Japan have a long history. Prior to World War I, the tension came to a head when the San Francisco School Board segregated Asian students from the general population. This led to the infamous "Gentleman's Agreement" of 1907 that curtailed Japanese immigration to the United States.
158. Minichiello, *Retreat from Reform*, pp. 50–51.
159. Ibid.
160. James Crowley, "A New Asian Order," p. 273.
161. Ibid., p. 273.
162. Michael G. Smith, "Gramsci on the Mirror of Italian Fascism: Mussolini, Gentile, Spirito," *Italian Quarterly*, 31:119/120 (Winter 1999): 59–79, provides an excellent discussion of Gentile's critique of Marx and Mussolini's link to Antonio Gramsci. Smith asserted (p. 50) that "both early Mussolinian fascism and Gramscian communism developed on the same ideological and political ground."
163. In *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship*, p. 162, Gregor writes about Fascist hopes at the outbreak of World War II: "The war would finally break the hold of the 'plutocratic and hegemonic powers' over the 'proletarian nations.' Those proletarian nations—Germany, Japan, and Italy—delayed in their industrialization and confined to restricted economic space, would finally attain their merited status as economically and politically sovereign major powers."
164. Anthony James Joes, *Fascism in the Contemporary World: Ideology, Evolution, Resurgence* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978), p. 155.
165. See Ian Kershaw, *The Hitler Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
166. Mosse, among others, has written extensively on the crisis of values at the end of the nineteenth century. Mosse writes in "The Genesis of Fascism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1:1 (1966): 14–15, that "Fascism originates out of an attack on positivism and liberalism at the end of the 19th Century," and "the phenomena of mass man were accompanied by a feeling that the bourgeois age had culminated in conformity while those personal relationships upon which bourgeois morality and security were built had dissolved into nothingness."
167. See Zeev Sternhell, *The Birth of Fascist Ideology*, tr. David Maisel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) for a full discussion of the antimaterialist focus of fascist ideology. Sternhell (p. 229) explores the extent to which Italian intellectuals viewed Fascism as the initiation of an "anti-materialist revolution" that grew out of the nineteenth-century antimaterialist and antirationalist revision of Marxism.
168. See Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "Fascism, Writing, and Memory: The Realist Aesthetic in Italy, 1930–1950," in *The Journal of Modern History*, 67:3 (September 1995): 627–665. Ben-Ghiat explores the attraction of the "third way" idea among Italian intellectuals, the extent to which Mussolini and others promoted fascism as a "third way" ideology, and the effect of both on the intellectual enterprise.
169. See Emilio Gentile, "Fascism as Political Religion," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2 (May 1990) and the first chapter of Gentile, *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

170. The extent to which occultism and neo-pagan religious thought influenced Nazism and, specifically, the SS is explored by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, in *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology* (New York: New York University Press, 1992).
171. See Hoston, "Tenko: Marxism and the National Question in Prewar Japan," pp. 96–118 for a full discussion of the growth of non-Marxist and anti-Marxist collectivist thinking in Japan during the period.
172. Janet E. Hunter, ed., *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 98–99. For a more thoroughgoing explanation of *kokutai* see Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). Many nationalist agitators in the 1920s and 1930s, i.e., Kita, Nakano, and Ishiwara used *kokutai* liberally when speaking or writing about the collective national destiny of Japan. For specific examples of each see Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan*; Oates, *Populist Nationalist in Prewar Japan*; and Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji* and *Japan's Confrontation with the West*. For a more general discussion of *kokutai* and ideology see Berger, *Parties Out of Power in Japan*.
173. See Jacob Golomb and Robert S. Wistrich, eds., *Nietzsche, Godfather of Fascism? On the Uses and Abuses of a Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). In the introduction, the authors provide an excellent overview of Nietzsche and his "role" in the development of fascism. Of note are chapter 1, written by Golomb, which attempts to "de-Nazify" Nietzschean philosophy, and chapter 11, by Mario Sznajder, which rightly shows that Nietzsche was far more important to the proto-fascist movement in Italy than in Germany.
174. Mosse, "The Genesis of Fascism," pp. 14–26.
175. Adamson has written extensively on the crisis of Modernism. See "Modernism and Fascism: The Politics of Culture in Italy," pp. 359–360, where he equates Mussolini's emphasis upon the rebirth of a "spiritual Italy" with the modernist search for secularized "new values." See Gunter Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics: Between Anarchist Rebellion and Fascist Reaction, 1909–1944* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996) for a full discussion of the connection between art and politics in Italy. Also, George Mosse has explored the connection between Expressionism and Nazism in Germany. In "The Genesis of Fascism," p. 15, Mosse writes, "the idea of both fascism and expressionism share the urge to recapture the 'whole man' who seemed atomized and alienated by society, and both attempt to reassert individuality by looking inwards, towards instinct or the soul . . ."
176. Drucker, *End of Economic Man*, p. 190.
177. Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), p. 205, points out that social Darwinism was in vogue in Britain by the end of the 1860s and that it was taken to mean that the Anglo-Saxon race's empire must be a natural expression of evolutionary genius. About the long-term effect of social Darwinism James adds, "notions of racial superiority blended with arguments for imperial unity to produce an ideology for the new imperialism."
178. W.G. Beasley in *The Rise of Modern Japan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), p. 98 notes that Herbert Spencer was read by leading Meiji intellectuals like Fukuzawa Yukichi and Tokutomi Sohō. Spencer's ideas permeated the fascist ideology that would emerge much later, but his ideas took hold early on. David Wiltshire in *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 255, ironically points out that Spencer's "account of the operation of the survival of the fittest applied internationally helped to justify the policies [imperialism] he attacked." Wiltshire believes that while Spencer "would have abhorred fascism," his idea of "society as a coherent organism and his popularization of the ethics of struggle contributed substantially to its rationale." In Germany, Ernst Haeckel popularized social Darwinism, sowing the seeds of imperialism and an organic idealism so pervasive in Nazism. See Daniel

Gasman, *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism* (New York: American Elsevier Inc., 1971), pp. 126–128. Haeckel believed that the truth of social Darwinism necessitated that Germany initiate a program of colonial expansion to ensure survival.

179. David E. Ingersoll and Richard K. Matthews, eds., *The Philosophical Roots of Modern Ideology: Liberalism, Communism, Fascism* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1986), p. 238.
180. Buruma, *Wages of Guilt*, pp. 34–35.
181. Gramsci's work contributed greatly to the proletarian nation concept, but it was Mussolini who fully developed the nationalistic version of the class-struggle dialectic. As contemporaries, Gramsci, Mussolini, and Gentile were products Italy's dominant, neo-Hegelian intellectual milieu. See Smith, "Gramsci in the Mirror."
182. The idea that Japan was a "proletarian nation" was popularized in Japan by Kita Ikki. Richard Storry, "The Rise of Japanese Fascism," excerpted in *Fascism: Three Major Regimes*, ed. Lubasz, p. 134.
183. Mussolini's tone was unabashedly imperialistic. In his entry to the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (1933), cowritten with Gentile, Mussolini states that the nation "leads men from primitive tribal life to that highest expression of human power which is empire." See Mussolini, *The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism*, tr. Jane Soames (New York: Gordon Press, 1976), p. 22. The imperial aspirations of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan need no explanation. It is important, however, to note that from the end of World War I to the last days of his reign, Mussolini professed the absolute necessity of imperial expansionism. In generic fascism, the redemptive power of conquest is central. Adolf Hitler's call for a abolition of the Treaty of Versailles and the absolute need for Germany to engage in imperial expansion dates back to the early 1920s. See Alan Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), pp. 141–143.
184. F.L. Carsten, *The Rise of Fascism*, second edition, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 194–195. Carsten (pp. 201–202) refers to General Franco as "a conservative of the old school" and states that the "movement" he led amounted to a military junta that attempted to restore order to a fractured political environment (201–202). Payne, an expert on the Spanish Falange and Franco's regime, believes that the "civic breakdown" and subsequent civil war "cloud the issue" of Spanish fascism. See Payne, "A Retrodictive Theory of Fascism," in *International Fascism*, ed. Griffin, p. 228. Spain, unlike the Axis powers, was not a have-not nation shut out of colonialism, but a fading colonial power with a troubled domestic political structure. More than Italy, Germany, and Japan, the Spanish example is representative of a *reactionary*, not *revolutionary* political movement by those threatened by potential the loss of power.
185. In the early 1540s, Luther lobbied the rulers of Saxony for the rapid deportation of Jews, wanting them to be sent "to their own land." Steven Ozment, *Protestants: The Birth of a Revolution* (New York: Doubleday Books, 1991), p. 137. Earlier, Ozment had noted Luther's desire to see the Jews expelled from German lands, but qualified that by stating that Luther also had unfounded hopes that Jews could be converted. See Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 435. Of course, European anti-Semitism has a long historical pedigree that stretches back to the Late Roman Empire, but during the era of the Reformation it was often associated with an embryonic German nationalism. For a full discussion of the connection between the Reformation and modern German history see William Montgomery McGovern, *From Luther to Hitler*; *The History of Fascist–Nazi Political Philosophy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1941).
186. For a well-documented study of the development of political parties in Japan from the Meiji Restoration through to the period of "Taisho Democracy," see Peter Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taisho Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968). Duus argues that despite the remarkable growth of two political parties, the

Seiyūkai and the *Dōshikai* (which would become the *Kenseikai*) the political structure was dominated by a ruling oligarchy and the political parties lacked a strong ideology or rationale for governance.

187. Martin Clark, *Modern Italy*, *1871–1982* (London: Longman, 1984), writes that at the time of unification in 1871, nearly 99 percent of the population of the new nation spoke regional dialects rather than what has developed into contemporary Italian. This fundamental language barrier differentiates Italy from Germany and Japan, where particularism was more political.

Chapter 2

Karagokoro: Opposing the "Chinese Spirit": On the Nativistic Roots of Japanese Fascism

Klaus Antoni

Reaching a theoretical understanding of "fascism" is a highly complex and extremely difficult problem. Given the political, historical, ideological, and even emotional dimensions of the topic, we risk straying from the realm of serious academic research in using this term, particularly in attempting comparative studies. After the so-called "historians' debate" (*Historikerstreit*) in Western Germany during the mid-1980s[1] it became a common conclusion to regard this term as inappropriate in dealing with the historical reality of the highly diverse, so-called "fascist" regimes of Germany, Italy, and Japan, during the 1930s and 1940s. The political argument that using the term "fascism" in taking a comparative approach ultimately would open the door for relativization of the horrors, especially those of German National Socialism, had great effect. "To compare" could lead to relativization of the dimensions of guilt. Accordingly, the historians' debate ended with a clear verdict against all comparative "fascism" studies, a position still held by most German historians. While the term "fascism" might be applied to Italian system under Benito Mussolini, it could not be used to describe any other political framework of the time. Neither the German Nazi system nor, of course, the Japanese emperor system of those dark days, should, or could, be subsumed under this descriptive term.

So the term "fascism" lost much of its academic distinctiveness in Germany, becoming just a catch phrase in political polemics, between "rightists" and "leftists," Marxists and bourgeois. In the field of scholarly research comparative "fascism" studies seemed to be out of bounds for all time. But, as this book shows, American historians, less subject to political belittlement and charges of relativization, have carried on comparative "fascism" studies, even enlarging the cultural and geographical sphere to Asian countries. This definitely is a new and encouraging trend, showing that structural similarities and historical parallels between various "fascisms" can be analyzed in comparative terms, without any attempt at relativizing the singularity of "fascist" regimes.[2]

In this respect, a recent study by Harry Harootunian[3] sets the standard for dealing with the Japanese case. In studying the "history, culture, and community in interwar Japan," as the subtitle of his enormous study states, the author clearly elucidates that for the Japanese situation "it is important to return to the question of fascism in the

interwar period and its location in the cultural discussions of the time." We cannot, Harootunian argues, "simply ignore the question of fascism and its many inflections during the 1930s."[4] The author, of course, is clearly aware of the problems connected with defining this term, but he points out that such issues are not unique to fascism. To illustrate the point, he notes that "there are as many definitions and explanations of modernism as there are people willing to speak about it."[5]

Clearly, "fascism" was a reality in Japan of the 1930s and 1940s, and was an important factor in the discussions of the distinctive and allegedly superior Japanese patterns of culture. Confronted with the Western concept of modernity, nativists turned to ideas of an allegedly pure, genuine, and fixed Japanese culture and "In this way, the crisis was inflected into claims of cultural authenticity and diverse efforts to recall the eternal forms of community outside of history."[6] The construction of a national history, and we may add, a national entity, essentially timeless and not subject to historical change, is a central point in this ideological world.

In this approach, discussing "fascism" in a comparative fashion deals not mainly with problems of political organizational forms but with questions of ideology. A fascist ideology embraces the idea of cultural or racial superiority, founded in an idealized and remote national past, serving as a model for the future. Harootunian calls this "an ideological/cultural order calling for authenticity, folkism, and communitarism" in pointing out fascism's "ideological appeal to culture and community."[7]

This chapter links the works of earlier authors who, prior to the historians' debate, had stated that it is in the realm of ideology that worldwide fascisms are comparable, with the recent discourse. In my view, the nativistic search for a unique national character, in combination with an aggressive idea of a nation's superiority over others, in racist and/or culturalist terms, marks the core of any fascist ideology. In this respect, the term "fascism" may be used in comparative studies, and written without quotation marks. Therefore, my chapter deals with nativistic roots of Japanese fascism, which can best be seen in Japan's modern history in the sense of fundamental cultural and racial, superiority over China, or better, the "Chinese spirit"—*karagokoro*.[8]

Japan's View of China

The initial resolution of modern Japan's greatest dilemma may be seen in the radical turn away from Asia and the pursuit of integration with Western civilization after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. As Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), a famous advocate of this Western orientation, made perfectly clear, strict distancing from Asiatic neighbors would be necessary for Japanese progress. The example of China, caught in stiff traditions and therefore a victim of its own weakness, made the West, at least in the early years of the Meiji period, appear as a new and superior cultural model for the founders of the modern Japanese nation-state. After victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, Japan joined the imperialistic world powers and became a model of successful modernization. At the same time, however, the Japanese elaborated a distinct ideology of Japanese superiority, which saw Japan as developing a unique amalgam of Eastern morality and Western science, laying the foundation for the set of ideas in

later times called Japanese fascism. This ideology touted the superiority of Japanese civilization and viewed contemporary China and Asia negatively, encouraging the expansionism that led to attacks on China in the 1930s and the Pacific War in the 1940s. Thus the problem of Japan's position between the West and the East cannot be separated from the ideology that gave rise to Japanese fascism.

Here we enter the wide field of cultural images and illusions, of myths and stereotypes and, most importantly, ideologies that have obscured, not only in modern times, the Japanese relationship to Asia. These ideologies have given rise to the concept of a superior island kingdom voluntarily maintaining self-isolation, most concisely described by the Japanese term *shimaguni* (island country). These ideas of self-isolation can only be understood through knowledge of Japanese perceptions of both their own and foreign cultures, so we will examine Japanese cultural self-interpretation and their general vision of the outside world, particularly China.

It is a long tradition in Japan to exercise cultural self-mirroring based on clashes with the external world. The relationship with China was discussed with an almost torturous intensity since many of the traditional cultural assets of Japan were in fact of Chinese origin, not native to Japan. Confucianism and Buddhism, as developed in early sixth-century China, reached Japan and created a symbiosis with native religious ideas described by the collective term "Shintō." The Japanese history of ideas may be characterized by syncretic patterns, and the fundamental question of the status of the native versus imported aspects comes up again and again. Accordingly, a specific model of self-explanation developed very early in Japanese history posited that the powerful alien cultural traits that reached Japan were not to be only assimilated and Japanized but to be pushed to their highest state of development in Japan.

In addition, the Japanese sought to rediscover originally native cultural aspects within the context of the alien, acculturating these by identifying them with native traits still existent in Japan. In regard to Buddhism, for example, foreign cultural elements were linked to autochthonous Japanese traits found in Shintō. This idea is based on traditional system of Shintō-Buddhist syncretism (*shinbutsu-shūgō*), which flourished very early in Japan. Syncretists of the influential Tendai Buddhist sect regarded the Shintō divinities (*kami*) as incarnations (*gongen*) of certain Buddhas or Bodhisattvas who had left their traces in Japan (*honji suijaku*). The syncretism of Shingon Buddhism (*Ryōbu Shintō*), meanwhile, saw the sun goddess Amaterasu as an incarnation of the Great Light Buddha. As early as the eighth century the monk Gyōki (668–749) produced an oracle, in which Amaterasu explained herself as a manifestation of the Vairocana Buddha.

From medieval times, however, Shintō theologians reversed this system of syncretism. The Yoshida school of Shintō and its successors during the Tokugawa period particularly propagated this reversed *honji suijaku* theory by declaring the Buddhist divinities mere secondary traces of primordial Shintō gods. Structurally the same happened to Confucianism in modern Japan, when the moral norms of Neo-Confucianism were simply declared "originally Japanese" virtues. This adoption of foreign cultural traits is called "acculturation" in the social sciences and had important implications for the development of ultranationalist and fascist ideologies in twentieth-century Japan.

Japanese Confucianism and the Development of Nationalistic Thought

Confucian thinking had, and still has, great influence on Japanese culture. Since the sixth century Confucianism has been a central cultural element in Japan, every bit as powerful as Buddhism in its effect. Although of foreign origin, it became over time a highly Japanized cultural property. In accordance with the legendary records, the first written documents that came to Japan from China through Korea were copies of Confucian classics. Regarding the overwhelming importance of Confucian influence in early Japan one has only to point to the highly Confucian content of Prince Shōtoku's famous "seventeen article constitution" (*Jushichijō no kempō*) of 604.[9]

Subsequently, Japan became a sinicized empire, with its state institutions based on so-called state or Han Confucianism, drawn from contemporary Chinese models. In contrast to the idealistic Chinese meritocracy that characterized Tang Dynasty China, however, the Japanese system had to accommodate tribal structures of an aristocracy oriented toward clan-interests. The fundamental Confucian egalitarian principle of individual virtue could never surmount the Japanese emphasis on genealogy. The fact that origin has always played a decisive role in Japanese thinking made it impossible for them to accept the principle of power founded entirely on moral quality, as was the case in traditional Chinese Confucianism. In Japan, both tennō (emperor) and shogun based their power in their respective epochs on genealogical authority: the emperor because of his immanent divinity given by descent from Amaterasu the sun goddess and the shogun because of his affiliation to the Minamoto clan, descendant from Seiwa-Genji, a former imperial collateral line. In Nara and Heian times, as well as in the days of feudalism, the state respected this traditional view.

Despite the continued Japanese emphasis on genealogy, Confucian maxims and principles greatly impacted Japanese society, particularly in the realm of social ethics during the Tokugawa (or Edo) period (1600–1868). After centuries of state disorganization and disintegration during the Ashikaga (or Muromachi) period (1336–1573), the Tokugawa, having established hegemony over all of Japan, sought to establish a strong system of political organization and social control. Neo-Confucian values, derived from the interpretation of the twelfth-century Sung-era Chinese scholar Chu Hsi (in Japanese, Shushi) provided the moral basis of government in the Tokugawa period, as the five relations (*gorin*) and five virtues (*gojō*) regulated state and public life. Philanthropy (*jin*), justice (*gi*), propriety (*rei*), wisdom (*chi*), and honesty (*shin*) were the five individual virtues to be fulfilled in the five relationships (prince–vassal/civil servant, father–son, elder brother–younger brother, husband–wife and friend–friend). The various professional groups and castes within society were also expected to follow these moral laws strictly.

The fact that in Japan Neo-Confucian commentaries on the Confucian classics were studied and disseminated by Zen Buddhist monks underscores the syncretistic nature of Japanese thought. The two most important founders of Tokugawa Neo-Confucianism, Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619), as well as his master disciple and successor Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), originally belonged to the Buddhist clergy. Fujiwara, a Zen monk, turned to Confucian studies only after his appointment to Edo in 1591. His most famous follower, Hayashi, had devoted himself to

Zen studies, too, and came to know the Confucian teachings through his master from 1604 on. Hayashi, later personal advisor to the first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu, formed a state ideology, based on the social and ethical aspects of Chu Hsi Neo-Confucianism (*Shushigaku*), perfectly adapted to promoting Tokugawa hegemony. This ideology enjoyed the state's backing until the mid-nineteenth century and its concepts retained influence in modern Japan after 1868.

Toward the end of the Tokugawa period another trend in Confucian teaching gained influence, leading to nationalistic political–revolutionary thought and action. Its proponents sought ultimately to do away with the shogunate (*bakufu*) and to "reestablish" an idealized archaic reign with a divine tennō as the autocratic monarch. This so-called Mito School[10] is named after the feudal domain of Mito in today's Ibaraki Prefecture. Although Mito was established by a branch family of the Tokugawa house, the Mito School developed into a center of opposition against the shogunate in the nineteenth century. Its ideology embodied the radical program of an intellectual amalgam of Shintō and Confucianism (*shinju-itchi*) that provided the ideological basis for a new Japanese empire.

The syncretic connection between Confucianism and Shintō had been the theme of the most important Tokugawa era philosopher and ideologist, the above-mentioned Hayashi, as early as the seventeenth century. From his point of view, the three holy Shintō treasures demonstrated the true Confucian cardinal virtues, as he explained in his work *Shintō-denju* (1644–1648):

> The Mirror is wisdom, the Jewels are humanity and the Sword is boldness. It is justice which keeps the virtues of wisdom, humanity and boldness in one's heart. When these virtues exist in a heart, then they are wisdom, humanity and boldness. But do they appear as symbols, they will be precious stones, mirror and sword. They are the instruments to govern and protect a state . . . The imperial way and the divine way are just one.

In this view, it is the value system of Confucianism that plays the dominant role, with the holy imperial regalia placed in a subordinate position as mere symbols.

Two centuries later, however, the Mito School remarkably reordered and exactly reversed the relationship between Confucianism and Shintō. Consequently, as an expert in the matter notes, in "reconciling Confucian and Shintōistic elements in its teachings"[11] the Mito School came to regard Confucianism as of only secondary importance, a mere supporter of the "divine order" of Shintō. By the early eighteenth century a successor of the Confucian scholar Yamazaki Ansai (1619–1682), Atobe Yoshiaki (Ryōken) (1659–1729),[12] could declare: "Shintō is the only Way in the universe. Confucianism assists Shintō when its principles are consistent with Shintō."[13]

The Mito School established the most important nationalistic intellectual trend of late Tokugawa period by crafting a powerful political ideology that would provide the intellectual principles of the Meiji Restoration, and therefore of the Meiji era nation-state. Its syncretic inversion of the relationship between Confucianism and Shintō by the later Mito School represented a decisive step toward a final acculturation of Confucianism and development of the concept of a unique and special Japanese nation.

During the Meiji period (1868–1912) an ethical system based on this now fundamental ideology was consciously propagated and disseminated to the people through elementary schools and military education. Although it was unambiguously based on the ethical values of traditional Neo-Confucianism, the promoters of this system no longer acknowledged this Confucian identity. The Confucian cardinal virtues of loyalty (*chū*) and filial piety (*kō*), central to state ethics in Meiji time, were now reinterpreted as allegedly authentic Japanese values, without any real connection to the doctrines of the allegedly "alien" Chinese Confucian system of moral standards.

Inoue Tetsujirō (1855–1944), a very enigmatic person in the history of ideas, played a substantial role in this intellectual and ideological development that decisively shaped the elementary mental basis of modern Japan until the 1940s.[14] This state ideologist and moralist provided the decisive argumentative keystone for the final Japanization and ideological acculturation of Confucianism in modern Japan. According to his interpretation, the ethical maxims of Confucianism harmonized in a natural manner with the "native" culture of Japan. Thus Inoue postulated a genuine Japanese national ethic that allegedly had no further historical relationship with the "foreign" Confucian moral system. Henceforth, this construct of hereditary Japanese national ethics (*kokumin dōtoku*) dominated in the Japanese educational system until the defeat of Imperial Japan in 1945. Further, we can find its legacy, not only in the recent self-reflecting discourses about Japan and the Japanese (*nihon[jin]ron*), but in the fundamental ethical orientation of contemporary Japanese society. Given the extent of acculturation of Confucian ethics since Meiji time, it is not surprising that many do not realize the Confucian origins of this orientation.

The receding awareness of the Confucian influence on Japanese culture since Meiji times and the drastic rejection of Asia from the late nineteenth century are fundamental elements of modern Japanese thought. As already mentioned, Confucian thinking was regarded by progressive Meiji figures, like Fukuzawa Yukichi, as a hindrance to the process of modernization and symbolic of an antimodern, feudal Asian world. The *intentional* Japanese turn away from association with Asia, based on such ideas, became the most problematic factor in regard to Japan's position in the East Asian context, a difficulty that persists until today.

Karagokoro—the "Evil Chinese Spirit" and Japanese Nativism

It could be argued that Japan only needs to remember its true cultural roots to become reintegrated into Asia again, but the problem is a much deeper one. To attribute Japan's difficulties with China simply to the process of modernization during the last century would not do justice to more far-reaching issues. A detailed reflection on the history of ideas reveals another important factor that contributed mightily to the negative image of modern China in Japan. This is the criticism of Confucianism and everything Chinese in the radical ideology of the nativist *kokugaku* (National School) of Tokugawa times.

This school, originally merely philosophical and, even more, philological, vehemently turned its energy against the Tokugawa regime, supporting the reestablishment of a sacral structure of rule that allegedly existed in the primordial "golden age" of antiquity. Confucianism again may bear indirect responsibility for the

appearance of the nativist National School, since the concept of an idealized past is common to all schools of Confucianism. Especially the Confucian philosopher Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) and the "Classical School" (*kogaku*) of Edo Confucianism had a deep impact on nativist thinking. Referring to the works of Maruyama Masao, J. Victor Koschmann points out, "Ogyū Sorai's rejection of Sung neo-Confucianism in favor of a fundamentalist insistence on direct readings of the Chinese classics was extended by the eighteenth-century nativists like Motoori Norinaga to a renewed interest in Japanese mythohistories, particularly the *Kojiki* (Record of ancient matters)."[15]

The nativist *kokugaku*, which developed alongside the Mito School, increasingly influenced Japan's intellectual discourse from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, having its greatest impact after the Meiji Restoration. Represented by its main advocates Kada no Azumamaro (1668–1736), Kamo Mabuchi (1697–1769), Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) and finally Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), *kokugaku* developed from a purely philological and literary trend into a radical political ideology promoting ultranationalist xenophobia. Ironically, the methodology employed in *kokugaku* arguments against Confucianism was based on the very categories and axioms of Confucian thought. Starkly opposite to Western evolutionary thought, classical Chinese Confucianism denies the idea of progress in history, positing an image of an idealized antiquity, a golden age at the dawn of history that contrasted sharply with a degenerated present. The Japanese national scholars (*kokugakusha*) borrowed the Confucian notion of an idealized antiquity, adapted this to Japan, and imagined a model for a better Japanese future.

The amassed writings of centuries of Japanese influenced by Confucianism had submerged knowledge of that bygone golden age, according to the *kokugakusha*. Therefore, the basis of Japan's own native culture could be found only by studying an earlier era when Japan remained free of such foreign influences as Confucianism and Buddhism. In those ancient times there had been, the *kokugakusha* postulated, no contact with the cultures of the outside world, particularly China's. The early *kokugakusha*, like Kamo Mabuchi and his successor Motoori Norinaga, devoted themselves to rescuing Japanese antiquity from its subsequent "contamination" by alien Chinese influences. They therefore endeavored philologically to access nearly incomprehensible archaic writings that contained the myths of the Japanese past.

The songs of the *Man'yōshū* (Ten Thousand Leaf Collection) of the eighth century became objects of great concern. Mabuchi made the interpretation of this lyric poetry, drawn up in old Japanese and written down phonetically in Chinese characters, a major part of his life's work. He expected these poems to express the Japanese mind purely, free of Chinese influence, and therefore to reflect the spirit of the golden age at the beginning of Japanese history. Philology was thereby not only a method, but itself the object of the effort. The pure Japanese language without any Chinese "pollution" that seemed to glow across the centuries from the archaic literature of the *Man'yōshū* and other documents offered, in the view of the *kokugakusha*, the only access to the golden age of antiquity.[16]

Norinaga to some degree politicized the *kokugaku* discourse, although he did not adopt a stance as fanatical as that which Hirata Atsutane and his school would develop in the nineteenth century. Norinaga viewed not the *Man'yōshū* but the

Kojiki (dating from 712) as the most important document of antiquity. This oldest historical work, written at the imperial court at the beginning of the eighth century, filled the gap between religion and literature, between myth and history. In Norinaga's eyes, the myths of the *Kojiki*, which he textually mastered in a philological effort that took decades, were reports about real beginnings from the period before any corrupting influence came into Japan from the outside. The myths of the *Kojiki* led Norinaga to originate the idea of a Japan-centric "primeval revelation" and convinced him of Japanese superiority over China.

Norinaga focused his fundamental criticism of China on Confucianism. In his opinion, the Confucian mind was an expression of arrogant rationalism presuming to disregard all elementary truth about human existence through its purely meritocratic doctrine of virtues. In contrast, Norinaga believed that truth could be derived only from the *Kojiki* and its mythological reports about the era of divinities. In his view, the creation of the world as described in the *Kojiki* expressed the deep closeness between the archaic Japanese and their indigenous divinities, a unity the people of the outside world, especially the Chinese, lacked. Norinaga had no doubt about the universal validity of the Japanese divinities, since he believed that the truth could never be two-faced. This typically religious, ethnocentric construction, gave modern Shintō its theological foundation and led Norinaga, within the framework of a formal deduction, fanatically to condemn China.

According to Norinaga's view, only in China, separated from the original divine truth of the Japanese *kami*, did it become necessary for men to create a philosophy like Confucianism. As the "godless Chinese" no longer held to the divine way of virtue intuitively, they had to devise a cleverly thought-out system of moral norms to control negative human tendencies. Norinaga's criticism of Confucianism originally concentrated on the limited nature of all rationalistic world views, but soon it developed into a xenophobic cry for revenge against China. The term *karagokoro*, "Chinese spirit" or "Chinese heart," summed it up. This word encapsulated his view of human error and depravity.

In contrast, the criticism of Confucianism by Mabuchi, Norinaga's predecessor, had been almost free of chauvinism. Mabuchi rejected Confucianism as a system of thought, but highly praised Taoism, even though it, too, was Chinese. Thus with Norinaga we can see the transition from a merely philosophical, philological criticism of Confucianism to thoroughgoing disapproval of everything Chinese in late *kokugaku*. Hirata Atsutane, the person primarily responsible to carrying the negativity to this extreme, preached ardent admiration of the *tennō* and declared Japan's superiority over all other countries. In absolute contrast, he regarded China as a stronghold of corruption because Chinese history was characterized, in his view, by betrayal and usurpation, a situation in itself fundamentally contrary to the Confucian ideal of the saintly ruler.

The *kokugakusha* also had strong opinions on the importance of legitimizing imperial rule. They agreed that the Japanese imperial family is due the highest rank, above all the rulers of the world, since only they had descended from the (Japanese) divinities as described in the old sources. The aforementioned impact of tribal and genealogical thinking provided the basis for this teaching. Since the imperial family had descended from the celestial divinities, the *kokugakusha* believed it should rule

eternally. The importance of this concept in *kokugaku* thought and on the Japanese state ideology crafted after the Meiji Restoration and that prevailed until 1945 can hardly be overstated.

The importance of such ideas to the worldview of the *kokugakusha* can be seen in a work written 1861, near the end of the Tokugawa period (*bakumatsu*) when radical political ideas were spreading. A follower of Hirata Atsutane, Takeo Masatane, wrote an extensive document on the situation of the world powers at the time. Masatane, who possessed astonishing historical and geographical knowledge, subjected the histories of the world powers that he recognized as "empires" to a critical comparison. He dealt extensively with the old "German empire" (not to be confused with the one founded later, in 1871), with the Ottoman Empire, with Russia, with France, and with the early advanced civilizations. He also included China. In great detail, the author provided page after page of examples of rude usurpation, treacherous murder, and illegitimate rule in all those empires, always coming to the same conclusion: that only the Japanese imperial family, due to its direct divine descent, can claim to rule legitimately. Here, the standard argument of the *kokugakusha* in respect to China was extended to the whole world and stated in its purest and simplest fashion. He particularly presented China as a classic example of illegitimate and worthless rule, however, because of its ever-changing dynasties, as well as the foreign rule of the Manchu Ch'ing (Qing) dynasty, which then had already lasted more than two centuries.

Thus, by the beginning of modern Japan in Meiji times, a Japan-centric view of the world had been established, based on the teachings of the *kokugakusha*, one that had expanded an extremely negative way of looking at Confucianism and China to encompass other states. For the *kokugakusha* Confucian rationalism was a consequence of China falling away from the divine truth kept in the *Kojiki*. This idea of Chinese "godlessness" provided the main basis for such an extremely ethnocentric point of view. Japan's morals were hereditary, indigenous, and metaphysically founded. In contrast, Confucianism had to propagate such values artificially by the means of philosophy. Thus, key values promoted by Confucianism had their true roots in Japan. That China had to formulate those virtues philosophically merely signified China's degeneration. If Japan only returned to its own numinous roots, it would not need the help of such artificial constructions.

In this context it becomes clear that the *kokugaku* way of regarding Japan's position in the world, especially its relationship to China, contributed greatly to the expansionist ideology of the 1930s and 1940s. Absent this conviction of Japan's cultural superiority over China and other Asian countries, the military aggression of those years against Asia would have been far less conceivable. The ideology for Japan's "mission" was provided in *bakumatsu* times (i.e., shortly before the Meiji Restoration) by the merger of the ideas of the *kokugaku* and the Mito scholars into a new and most powerful nationalist ideology: *kokutai* thought.

On the relationship between *kokugaku* and the Mito School, it is clear that, especially during the early period, there existed a deep intellectual link between them. Horst Hammitzsch goes as far to describe the early Mito school as something like a "branch school of *kokugaku*" (*Zweigschule der Kokugaku*) because most of the Mito ideas were found in *kokugaku* thinking, too.[17] *Kokugaku* ideologue Hirata Atsutane

praised Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700), the founder of the Mito school, for his reverence of the "ancient way." Koschmann adds that "the willingness of the late Tokugawa Mito historians to treat the 'age of the Gods' as history was undoubtedly influenced by the eighteenth-century nativist return to myths," although he notes that "the Mito scholars did not share the nativist's hostility to Confucianism."[18]

Thus it becomes clear that *kokugaku* and the Mito School held similar views, especially in regard to the emperor, the golden "age of the Gods," and the superiority of the Japanese national polity. During the Meiji period these common concepts became a common ideological norm in the newly founded empire. Their differences were primarily in regard to their evaluation of Confucianism as a concept of thought and China's role as its place of origin. Confucian ideas became important in Meiji times, so this might be seen as a continuation of Mito thought. But, in keeping with the nativist argument, those Confucian concepts officially were declared genuinely Japanese. In this way the two streams of thought were effectively merged in Meiji times into a common nativist, anti-Chinese ideology of thought and action.

Kokutai—the "National Polity" as Modern Japan's Utopia[19]

Japan's transformation into a nation-state in the modern sense, in accordance with nineteenth-century European concepts of state, would scarcely have been possible without the intellectual and ideological work and actions of imperial loyalists from the *kokugaku* and Mito schools during the Tokugawa period. It is thus unsurprising that the spiritual substance and objectives of these early nationalist schools were also handed down and propagated in the increasingly strong Japanese nationalism of the Meiji period. Toward the end of the nineteenth-century xenophobic Shintō was declared a "supra religious" state cult in which every citizen had to participate, no matter what his or her personal credo might be. The process of national unification centered on the imperial institution.

The view of the emperor's position, which the nationalists declared to be unique and incomparable, was, as already pointed out, based on the mythical traditions of antiquity. This concept, propagated as a state ideology, reached its pinnacle when it was promoted as a singular and unique *kokutai* (national essence) that distinguished Japan from all other nations. In domestic politics this *kokutai* ideology provided a means for forging a unified folk state out of a heterogeneous populace. On the surface, the postulation of a homogeneous nation was intended to frighten off potential internal or external opponents as well as create the basis for the expansionist claims of the new Japanese Empire in Asia. The ideological goal of unification was the creation of a Japanese "family state" concept. It related all its citizens, or at least its better subjects, to one another on a kinship basis, then projected this mystical, mythical community onto the figure of the emperor as the father of the national extended family. Later he would become the father of all nations.

The term *kokutai* is extremely hard to define or translate, although it is usually translated directly into English as "national polity." The difficulty is shown by many translations that circumscribe and encircle its meaning, rather than give a precise equivalent.[20] A direct translation cannot convey all the implications of this term, so it becomes necessary to adopt an historical approach that does not view the term as

something static, but rather attempts to trace the process of its development and usage. In this way, it is possible to reach an understanding of the essential and indispensable elements of what *kokutai* means in Japan.

The character compound, which nowadays is only read *kokutai*, was used in Japanese literature for the first time, and in an isolated way, in a ritual prayer (*norito*) in the *Engi shiki*, a ceremonial document from the early tenth century.[21] There it is mentioned that the deity Ame no hohi no mikoto once examined the *kunigata* (state of the country) upon a tour of inspection. *Kunigata* is written with the character compound now read as *kokutai*.

Strictly speaking, the early usage of these characters has nothing to do with the problematic nature of *kokutai* because the term then had no special significance. In 1856 the scholar Yamagata Taika remarked that before the nineteenth century *kokutai* was completely unknown and that probably scholars of the Mito School introduced it.[22] In fact, Mito scholar Aizawa Seishisai (1782–1863) coined the term *kokutai* in his theoretical discourse on the state in his programmatic work *Shinron* (New Theses) in 1825, in which he established some substantial aspects of what later was called *kokutai* ideology (*kokutai shisō*).[23] In this new context the term did not any more refer to the body, being, or state of a country in general, but applied exclusively to the true essence of the allegedly unique and eternal features and values of the Japanese nation. These traits distinguished Japan from all other countries, and made it superior to them.

Three phases of *kokutai* thought and ideology can clearly be distinguished historically: (1) the formative phase (approximately 1825–1890), (2) the classical phase (1890–1937), and (3) the phase of hubris (1937–1945). Each will be analyzed in turn.

The formative stage began in the early nineteenth century with the publication of Aizawa's *Shinron*. This phase includes the era encompassing the most important changes in Japanese history: the downfall of the Tokugawa State, the opening up of the country to the outside world, and the creation of the modern Japanese Empire with a sacrosanct *tennō* as the head of the state, standing above the constitution, and regarded as a living deity and the incarnation of the state itself.

Mito School thinkers played a substantial role in this by melding two originally independent worlds of ideas into one ideology, following the motto credo of "unity of Shintō and Confucianism" (*shinju itchi*).[24] On the one hand, there was the centuries-old Shintō concept of Japan as the holy country of the gods,[25] superior to all other countries, with the *tennō* regarded as a divine descendant and living deity through one single unbroken dynasty, thus uniquely qualified to rule.[26] The *kokugakusha*, working in parallel with the Mito School, had made this the core of their ideology.

Counter to the *kokugaku* opposition to Confucianism, however, the Mito thinkers substantially incorporated it into the new ideology. An ideological amalgam of Shintō, with its concept of the divine ruler, and Confucianism, with its moral norms, thus became the core of *kokutai*, which defined the unique and marvelous nature of Japan. Aizawa outlined the credo of this ideology in the first of the three *kokutai* chapters in his work *Shinron*.[27] He regarded the writings on the creation of the Japanese Empire, recorded in the oldest written records of the country from the early eighth century, *Kojiki* (712) and *Nihongi* (720), as historically factual. Accordingly, Amaterasu the sun goddess, ancestral deity of the imperial house, had

entrusted rule over the country for all eternity to her descendants, the emperors, constituting one legitimate lineage.

The *kokugakusha* of course had regarded the sacred mandate to rule over the country from Amaterasu ōmikami, the "great and noble heaven enlightening deity," as the essential feature that established the moral superiority of the "land of the gods" (*shinkoku*) over other countries, particularly China, the predominant neighboring country. The individual virtue of each son of heaven served as the main criterion for the legitimacy of rule in Chinese thought, but the nativist scholars in Japan saw Amaterasu's mandate to the *tennō*'s ancestors as the basis of their unique position. The clan's continued reign served as evidence of divine creation. Moreover, Hirata Atsutane, probably the most radical representative of *kokugaku*, distended this idea of divinity of the empire and its ruling house to all citizens of the country. In his work *Kodō taii* written in 1824, a year before Aizawa's *Shinron* appeared, he declared forthrightly: "Our august country is truly the land of the gods; from man of lowest rank up to ourselves, we are all without any doubt descendants of the deities."[28]

Mito scholars supplemented this "land of the gods" ideology of *kokugaku* by incorporating the canon of Confucian ethical maxims, which were dominant in Japan at that time.[29] Of particular importance to them were the five relationships, especially the relationship between vassal/official and lord, which was characterized by loyalty (*chū*; in Chinese, *chung*), and the relationship between father and son (i.e., children and parents) that was characterized by "filial love" (*kō*, in Chinese, *hsiao*). The specific Japanese interpretation of this doctrine can be seen in the idea of an allegedly genetic unity between these two ideal relationships, summarized under the motto *chūkō itchi* (unity of loyalty and filial love). It also can be seen in the demand to show this loyalty, filial piety, not toward the feudal lords, but toward the sole legitimate ruler of Japan, the *tennō*, an original idea of the Mito School.

Because of the intertwining of "filial love" and "loyalty" it was inevitable that a concept developed which regarded the state as a family, viewing loyalty toward the only true ruler as no different than the love of the child toward the father. When merged with the "land of the gods" ideology of *kokugaku*, this spawned the concept of *kokutai*, which defined the Japanese nation as a real family of common divine descent with the emperor as the natural *pater familias*.[30] The ideas of the *kokugaku* and Mito Schools did not remain merely theoretical. Rather, they provided the true ideological foundation of the new empire after the Meiji Restoration and the final victory of conservative forces during the late 1880s.

As Articles one and three show, the Meiji Constitution, dating from February 11, 1889 and partially influenced by Prussian constitutional law, defined the role of the *tennō* as holy, inviolable, and beyond all responsibility, thus following mostly the *kokugaku* tradition. It, however, also contained provisions for the prevention of possible imperial despotism, as it is shown in Articles four and five.[31] Therefore, it reflected conflicts between "land of the gods" nationalist ideology and the liberal constitutional thought that had influenced Japan's leaders in the early Meiji period.

Conservative forces scored a critical victory, however, in a document that influenced the ideological orientation of the new Japan like no other. This document, the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku* [*ni kansuru*] *chokugo*)[32] of October 30, 1890, marked the beginning of what can be called the "classical phase" of *kokutai*

thought that lasted until the 1930s. At first, the only function of the Imperial Rescript on Education was as a guideline for obligatory moral education (*shūshin*) at Japanese elementary schools.[33] But its actual significance went far beyond this. This Rescript actually became the moral basis of the late Meiji State and the official foundation for the *kokutai* ideology, a "nonreligious religion" with "magical power" as the philosopher Maruyama Masao[34] has described it. That it came to be accepted as truly mystical is demonstrated by the fact that beginning in 1891, only three months after its proclamation, official copies of the text, together with the imperial portrait, were worshipped at schools. Thus, the edict itself became a quasi-religious object, an incarnation and materialization of Japan's spiritual essence, the *kokutai*.

Yet, those who read the Rescript for the first time will probably be surprised, or even disappointed, if they expect to encounter a demagogic pamphlet of hypernationalist navel gazing. It is no such thing. Using moderate expressions, it appears to be nothing more than a guideline for leading a morally respectable life:

> Know ye, Our subjects:
>
> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education.
>
> Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.
>
> So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers. The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may thus attain to the same virtue.[35]

A detailed analysis of this text reveals its clear structure and uniquely defined ideological aim. At the beginning the core of the Japanese *kokutai*, its "unique character," is emphasized. The Japanese empire is, according to the records, based on a divine foundation. In sharp contrast to the classical Chinese concept of rule, the imperial line inherently possessed virtue since its beginning, a concept central to the deindividualized way of the *tennō*. Ruler and subjects are linked to each other through the absolute loyalty of the people, which is in fact nothing else but the filial love of a child toward its father. The nation itself appears as a large family, not merely in the symbolic sense, but by blood ties through the common divine ancestors.

A number of modern Western norms concerning the regulation of an organized state—such as respect for the constitution and laws—were added to the Rescript on Education, but the ethical norms to regulate social coexistence were for the most part

adopted from Confucian doctrine in the tradition of the Mito School. It should be noted that over 200 years earlier a forerunner of the Mito approach, Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1662), founder of Suika Shintō,[36] made direct reference to Chu Hsi in declaring the doctrine of the five virtues regulating the five relationships as the basis for any relevant education.

The last paragraph deals again with the opening topic, the eternal duration of the single dynasty. The "way," created by the ancestors, applies to all, ruler and subjects. This concept, too, had already developed in the ideology of the Mito School, as Aizawa, for example, had asserted that the "way" is hereditary and inherent for all Japanese people.[37]

Therefore, the intrinsic and classical elements of the *kokutai* ideology are canonically laid down in the Imperial Rescript on Education: (1) the basic religious concept, borrowed from imperial Shintō and *kokugaku* thought, which postulates the sacredness of the dynasty; (2) the five Confucian virtues and relationships regulating social order; and (3) "familism," the concept of the Japanese nation as a real family, which results from the first two elements.

Thus the doctrine became official state ideology, and moral education in elementary schools and military training ensured its dissemination among the people,[38] but a considerable degree of intellectual freedom for academic discourse survived until the 1930s. The position of the emperor became the main point of discussion in a serious and vehement debate. Was the ruler merely an organ of the state as in the theory of constitutional jurist Minobe Tatsukichi (1873–1948),[39] or the incarnation of the state, and thus of supranational nature as postulated by such proponents of Shintō orthodoxy as Hozumi Yatsuka (1860–1912) and Uesugi Shinkichi (1878–1929)?[40]

Minobe did not see any substantial difference between the Japanese and European monarchies of his time, while his opponents emphasized the "special character" of Japan, ascribing great importance to the *kokutai*.[41] The denouement of this dispute, which was fundamental to the intellectual development of Japan during the 1920s and 1930s, is well known. In February 1935, as part of the so-called *kokutai* debate, Minobe's enemies accused him of *lese majesty* in the Parliament. His works were banned, he was arrested, and he was expelled from the House of Peers.

This paved the way for interpretation of the state ideology based on a fundamentalist interpretation of the *kokutai* advocated by Minobe's rival Uesugi as early as 1924 in his commentary on the "constitution of the empire" (*teikoku kempō*). Machida Sanehide notes:

> According to Uesugi, the Japanese empire was founded when the heavenly grandson of the sun-goddess was made ruler over Japan. By divine order of Amaterasu, the eternally immutable form of the Japanese government (*kokutai*) was established and her ruler appointed. It is the conviction of the Japanese people that everyone's ego can attain perfection and eternity by engulfing in the soul of the emperor, who as the descendant of the divine ancestors inherited and acquired their soul. Only through the emperor it is possible to realize the ideal and the perfection of the cosmos, and by uniting oneself with the emperor, i.e. with the heavenly ancestors, the nature of men can be further perfected and further advanced. This is because the Takama-ga-hara ["High Celestial Plain" in Japanese mythology] is the ideal state of the Japanese people, i.e. the highest

> form of morality . . . Earthly Japan is the continuation of Takama-ga-hara. In the same way as numerous deities in the kingdom of heaven formed one family with Amaterasu as their *mater familias*, on Earth the Japanese people, who are products of the god Izanagi (psychologically), form one large family, whose different wills are united and manifested in the emperor . . . Thus, the emperor is transcendent, but at the same time, he unites all people in himself.[42]

Together with their infusion of greater religious mysticism into the *kokutai* concept, which established the *tennō* as the cosmic foundation, Uesugi and other fundamentalists sought during the 1920s to anchor the term *kokutai* legally, and thus make it tangible. Here the ideas of another of Minobe's opponents, Hozumi, came into play.[43] He generally defined *kokutai* as the unchangeable feature of any nation. The specific *kokutai* of Japan, however, was marked by the direct rule of the *tennō*, a forever unchangeable national feature. Following this definition, the term *kokutai* was incorporated into the law for the first time as a clause of the "Peace Preservation Law" of 1925 (*Chian iji hō*) enacted on May 12, 1925. Only four years later, the Supreme Imperial Court gave a binding definition of *kokutai* as a legal term in its decision of May 31, 1929. According to this, the Japanese *kokutai* was defined as a form of government, in which the *tennō*, who is of unbroken lineage, executes the superintendency of state authority himself.

Uesugi's mysticism, the legal incorporation of the term *kokutai* according to Hozumi's definition and Minobe's defeat paved the way for the heyday of the *kokutai* ideology, the "phase of hubris" (1937–1945). The *kokutai* ideology became now expanded to a general, binding, totalitarian ideology with a highly fascist character, postulating the absolute unity, the unique superiority, and the quasi-religious sacredness of the Japanese nation.

For the dissemination of this ideological system, a comprehensive commentary on the Imperial *Rescript on Education* from 1890 was published for the first time in 1937 under the title *Kokutai no hongi* ("Basic Principles of the [Japanese] National Polity").[44] Until the end of the war in 1945, this text was promulgated innumerable times in Japanese schools. The Allied supreme command specifically prohibited it at the end of the war[45] because it described in great detail the basic principles of the *kokutai* ideology as explained earlier.

Another remarkable development in the application of this extreme ideology occurred in 1941. Under the slogan *hakkō-ichiu* (the whole world under one roof), the hierarchichal family concept of *tennō*ism as propagated in school books for civics education (*kokuminka*),[46] was applied to the world outside of Japan.[47] The role of the head of the family was thus attributed to the *tennō* and Japan in general. China, Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan were regarded as elder brothers. Thailand and other Asian countries were seen as younger brothers. Finally in 1944, lands such as Madagascar and the countries of the Middle East were, in principle, admitted to the extended *kokutai*-family. The superiority of the Japanese nation, with virtues eclipsing those of all other countries, consequently authorized Japan's claim of leadership over East Asia.

According to *Kokutai no hongi* the victorious wars against Russia and China, the annexation of Korea in the Meiji period, and the founding of Manchukuo paralleled the spread of the Japanese people in ancient times: the fights against Ainu and Kumaso, and Jingū Kōgō's advance against Shiragi in the legendary past.[48] In

promoting this idea of historical continuity, so very important in the formation of ideology, the *Kokutai no hongi* uses the same pattern again and again. First, some examples from ancient times appear, taken from the annals of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, followed by corresponding incidents from during the reign of the Meiji Emperor. In this way vast historical periods situated between these epochs are leapt over, creating an illusion of "one straight line" of tradition.

It can be seen that the basis for the ideological developments in Japan during the early 1940s had been laid down already by the *kokugaku* and Mito schools during the Edo period. Their leading scholar Motoori Norinaga proclaimed as early as 1771: "Japan is the native country of our august ancestral deity Amaterasu-ōmikami. It appears clearly from it the reason for Japan's superiority before all other countries. There is no other country that does not experience the power of this noble goddess."[49]

German Admiration for *kokutai* Ideology and Parallels in Japanese and German Ideological Approaches

In Germany, there is evidence that the Japanese *kokutai* ideology of the 1930s and 1940s won high admiration not only among the ideologues of the contemporary National Socialist (Nazi) Party but also among ordinary people.[50] It was a custom during the Nazi regime (1933–1945) for the government to spy on its own citizens to assess public opinion because people could not express their views freely. In this way an enormous number of reports conveying current public opinion, rumors, and attitudes were collected secretly. These reports on the domestic situation of the country, compiled by the secret police, the SS, from 1938 to 1945 as *Meldungen aus dem Reich* (Reports from the Reich), were at the disposal of the state.[51]

For researchers interested in comparative history, those reports provide much relevant material because they give comprehensive information about the public image of Germany's ally in Eastern Asia, Japan. Of particular interest is Number 306 from August 6, 1942, devoted to "General Public Opinion Concerning Japan."[52] This report begins with the statement:

> Ever since Japan has entered the war and especially since its surprising and far reaching success in the Eastern Asiatic world, it is said in all the reports over and over again, that many of our national comrades [*Volksgenossen*] from all strata of society, have an increasing interest in and understanding of the reasons that enable the Japanese, in spite of the Chinese war that has been going on for so many years now, to enter another war with astonishing striking power. Beyond superficial gossip about the "yellow peril," our national comrades are mainly interested to study thoroughly the state of mind of the Japanese, wherein they see the secret to Japanese military success.
>
> The fact that Japan has a non-Christian religious/philosophical world view [*Weltanschauung*] that shapes and determines politics and methods of waging war, and that Japan obviously has been very successful, leads to many comparisons with the world view and religious situation within the Reich.[53]

This account, written in the whole as reported speech, mentions that the Japanese soldiers' willingness to sacrifice self has

> . . . led to something like an inferiority complex [in Germany]. The Japanese appear to be "Teutons squared." It seems that the Japanese even today bear characteristic

> qualities, long gone with our own legendary heroes for centuries . . . that in Japan mythological greatness still seems to be in full power, as once in our own history . . . and that the Japanese power one day might turn against us.[54]

The characterization of the Japanese as "Teutons squared" reflects some uncertainty and worries, but also appreciation and even admiration. The text explicitly poses the question of whether Japan could function as an ideological model for Germany,[55] "since contemporary Japan obviously bears a mythological greatness historically lost in Germany since long ago."[56]

Germany's admiration for Japan in those days—which can be demonstrated even for Hitler himself[57]—centered on two areas: the military, based on what people understood of *bushidō*, and, more importantly, the national-racist image of Japan as an allegedly homogeneous people, connected with their sovereign by absolute unity, with a continuous imperial history and independence from foreign influences outside of their own stock of ideas. This image was, of course, quite identical with the picture that had been drawn tirelessly in Japan of the national culture at that time. According to official opinion, since the Meiji Restoration Japan's unique and incomparable national entity, its *kokutai*, had established an absolute unity among the people with the emperor as their father—a national family in an absolutely real sense.

Given the ideological context of the times, it is not surprising that the official Japanese self-appreciation made an impact in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s. Japan seemed to have put into effect already most of what Nazi Germany's national-racist ideologists were so passionately struggling for: a fully homogenous nation, founded solidly on the basis of an age-old mythology. In contrast to Germany, Japan appeared to have maintained the mythical unity of leadership and people and a racial mode of virtue and public morality. As a result, Japan, a distinct national entity, had rejected all predominant foreign cultural influences in the past and, in connection with this, rejected rationalism and analytic intellect as necessary modes of thought. Instead, the propagation of an allegedly intuitive emotional cognition of archaic "truths," or characteristics of the nation, was promoted.

In both Germany and Japan, elementary schools disseminated this ideology. In this context a certain Kurd Niedlich wrote a textbook in 1936 titled (in English translation) *The Book of Myths—The Germanic World of Myths and Fairy-Tales as Sources for German World View* (Weltanschauung). The author explained his ideological intentions unmistakably in his introduction. His goal was not to present an academic study of myths in general, but to reveal the alleged inner "truth" of Germanic mythology that no one could understand by rational cognition only.[58] He saw a necessity to create a "German(ic) religion" to be conveyed in schools that, like State Shintō in Japan, could be set above other religions on the grounds that it alone revealed the nature of the country's spirit.

Formulation of such an ideology in Germany remained incomplete, although in a voluminous ideological tract (*Eternal Germania. Our Myth and Its Metamorphosis*), dating from 1935, Gerhard Raab had provided some additional elements for one. Particularly concerned about the question of native versus foreign influences on culture, the author came to a specific conclusion with obvious parallels to Japanese ideology. Raab evoked Germany's ascetic military tradition and, as in Japanese *kokutai* ideology, strictly rejected any idea of individuality and "self." Here we see why

Kokutai no hongi directly refers to the parallels between the nationalistic developments in Japan and Europe, which, it suggested, had just started to renounce individuality.[59]

Another important point in Raab's argument reminds us even more of Japanese ideology. The author evoked a cultural and historical continuity in the "German entity," which is said to have remained hidden under the surface for centuries. He even uses the expression "one direct line (of tradition)" in this context, terminology that parallels that of the *kokugaku* scholars.[60] But we miss, in contrast to Japan, the authenticity of the idea of uniqueness. While it is the sacred "Age of Gods" that marks the starting point in the Japanese tradition, the entirely nonpoetic notion of the "Ice Age" served in Raab's argumentation as a surrogate for a truly mythical origin and beginning.

Let us finally turn to a man, Alfred Rosenberg, who surely must be regarded as one of the chief racial ideologists of the Nazi party, who believed that "Morality positively is dependent on the race and not in an abstract way Catholic, Protestant, [or] Muslim."[61] Rosenberg stressed this point over and over, proving its centrality to his entire ideological structure. Although he ignores Japan in almost all of his writings and refers more often to China and Confucianism, he nevertheless reaches a point of ideology that closely paralleled the concept of *kokutai*, the distinct "national entity" of Japan. Like Japanese nativists, he postulated that ethnically conditioned, inherited ethics form the essence of morality and the basis of the state.

Rosenberg wrote comprehensively about classical China in his chief work, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* ("The Myth of the 20th Century"),[62] portraying it as the exemplar of "national-racial unity," with its nature personified in Confucius himself. This is based on the concept of an ideal, exemplary remote antiquity, the same sort of thinking inherent in Japanese *kokugaku* ideology. Any notion of historical progression is rejected on the grounds that a people's cultural climax is established in the very beginning, in the oldest myths and legends. Subsequent changes brought no true cultural development. The "ultimate truth" in Rosenberg's view is not to be comprehended rationally, by the means of intellect, but in traditional myths and legends.[63]

"Unity" and "homogeneity" were the ends of both the German Nazi and Japanese *kokutai* ideologies. In both systems mythology played a major role in providing a spiritual foundation and legitimizing ideology. By means of mythology the supposed archaic cultural identities were postulated in the mode of an idealized super elevation of the nation. For Japan and Germany, too, the mythologies permitted the invoking of an "ideal age" of genuine national peculiarity that was said to have once existed. Historical development was merely regarded as a process of decline. Japanese ideologists since the *kokugaku* thinkers of the Tokugawa period had blamed the cultural impact of China and Buddhism for this decline, alleging Buddhist responsibility for centuries of suppression of the Shintō "truths." German ideologists, meanwhile, considered "oriental" Christianity and Mediterranean antiquity as having corrupted an alleged autochthonous Germanic culture and saw Christianity as one of the main stumbling blocks to revival of an allegedly pure Germanic religion.[64] Both ideologies, highly nativist in character, thus strongly fought against the ways of thought of each of their respective traditional spiritual and cultural centers: classical China for Japan and the Greco-Roman antiquity for Germany.

To summarize the analysis of these parallel ideological approaches in Japan and Germany:

(1) Traditional mythology served as a means of religious identification for national uniqueness.
(2) Rationalism was rejected and historically identified with China and European antiquity respectively.
(3) There was a turning away from Buddhism and Christianity, with both religions being viewed as universalistic and alien, and a distinct ethnocentric "national religion," based upon archaic mythology was postulated.
(4) An inheritable morality, simplicity, emotionality, and love for nature were postulated as essential elements of national character in both Japan and Germany.
(5) Martial spirit and antiindividualism were glorified.

The realities of history were of little relevance to these ideas. In fact, ethnically based mythology as a basis for national unification amounted to a chase for chimeras, both in ultranationalist Japan and in Nazi Germany, and ended in absolute disaster for both countries.

Conclusion: Japan's Hard Way Back to Asia

Let us finally return to the matter of Japan's position in regard to Asia. Present-day Japan faces, due to the far-reaching worldwide changes of recent times, an Asia regaining strength and China's emergence in the key position in the future of the region. Consequently, a discussion about "a return" to East Asia has become very lively in Japan, not only within the intellectual discourse but in political and economic circles, too. Does Japan need to reconsider its turn away from Asia since the Meiji era and to reorient its relationships with its East Asian neighbors? That is a fundamental question that needs to be answered.

Samuel P. Huntington indirectly described this development and outlined it theoretically in his controversial, but influential—and some would argue, self-fulfilling—essay titled "The Clash of Civilizations?" published in 1993.[65] Huntington's initial hypothesis is that the world presently is undergoing fundamental change and that cultural affiliation will play a decisive role. Any region or country unaffiliated with larger cultural areas faces an unpleasant state of isolation and instability. Huntington defines seven or eight worldwide "major civilizations" and suggests that the future world's conflicts would occur at the borderlines between them.

In regard to East Asia, it becomes clear that Huntington identifies it culturally with Confucianism. In light of this, it seems remarkable that Huntington postulates Japan as an independent "civilization" in the East Asian region, even listing it in the third place in his sequence, directly after the "West" and the area of "Confucianism." Japan is the only single nation-state that Huntington designates as a "civilization." All other states and nations on earth have identity and safety as part of a cultural

group. In explaining Japan's incomparably lonely position, Huntington laconically remarks that Japan plays the role of a society and civilization unique to itself.

Such postulated cultural isolation of Japan reveals not only the author's misconception, but reflects a fundamental problem of modern Japan that one day could develop into a decisive source of conflict: its separation, or at least self-isolation, from its Asian neighbors. Even to the superficial observer it should be obvious that Confucian thinking, and especially Confucian ethics, played a key role of utmost importance in modern as well as ancient epochs of Japanese history. Yet to Huntington Japan does not belong to the Confucian sphere and he separates it from East Asia and portrays it as the most isolated and loneliest nation on earth. Why?

The answer to this question is clearly revealed in the history of ideas or, more correctly, of ideologies. It is the far-reaching result of the well-known nativist desire to separate Japan from "evil" Chinese Confucianism, and in its last consequence, from China herself, that laid the foundation for this fundamental separation of Japan from the sphere of "Confucianism." Huntington is simply the uncritical victim of cultural stereotypes, spread from Japan to the "West." The deep Confucian impact on the cultural development of Japan is an historical fact, but negation of this basic aspect of Japanese culture was the key argument within the framework of *kokugaku* political thought. The stability and influence of such cultural constructs are remarkable. Investigation of Huntington's postulated cultural and spatial separation of Japan from the rest of East Asia does not lead us to real facts, just to powerful myths, nationalistic stereotypes, created history, and finally to an ideological framework that merged during the 1930s to the system known as Japanese fascism.

As we have seen, Confucianism has long played a decisive, culturally marking role in Japanese history. In Tokugawa times, however, the nativist doctrines charted the path for Japan's cultural severance from the East Asian region by their ethnocentric criticism of China. This trend culminated in the self-isolating ideology of the incomparable and superior Japanese *kokutai* that provided the basis for a fascist concept of racial superiority since the 1930s. Japan needs to abandon the mythology underlying this ideology to facilitate its "return" to Asia.

In the long run, a Japan maintaining isolation and passing up the chance to more fully reintegrate into the East Asian cultural and political sphere, with its huge population and developing economies, will face serious problems. *One Hundred Millions Outsiders* was the title of a very popular German book on Japan in the 1960s, written by Hans Wilhelm Vahlefeld.[66] It can only to be hoped that Japan will some day find a way to free itself from this unhappy position.

Notes

1. On the *Historikerstreit* see Rudolf Augstein et al., *Historikerstreit* (München: Piper, 1995); English language introductions into this topic are given by Rachel J. Halverson, *Historiography and Fiction: Siegfried Lenz and the Historikerstreit*, German Life and Civilization, vol. 8 (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1990) and James Knowlton, *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?: Original Documents of the Historikerstreit, the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Books, 1997).
2. Concerning comparison of the German, Italian, and Japanese systems, especially the question of whether the term "fascism" may be used to describe these three systems, see, e.g.,

the study by Bernd Martin, "Zur Tauglichkeit eines übergreifenden Faschismus-Begriffes. Ein Vergleich zwischen Japan, Italien und Deutschland," *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 29 (1981): 48–73. The author declares that only in the field of ideology can and should the three systems be compared. There are many fine studies concerning "Japanese and German fascism"; e.g., the informative work by Yasushi Yamaguchi, "Faschismus als Herrschaftssystem in Japan und Deutschland. Ein Versuch des Vergleichs," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 27 (1976): 89–99. My use of the term "fascism" is understood as expressing an ideological stratum that centers around the aggressive idea of superiority of a nation in racist terms.

3. Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity. History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
4. Ibid., p. xxvii.
5. Ibid., p. xx.
6. Ibid., p. xxvi.
7. Ibid., pp. xxix, xxx.
8. For a detailed discussion of the topic see Klaus Antoni, *Shintō und die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens (kokutai). Der religiöse Traditionalismus in Neuzeit und Moderne Japans. Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 5:8 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 151–156.
9. See *"Nihongi: Suiko 12/4/3" in Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967), 68: 180–186 and Tsunoda Ryusaku et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 1: 47–51.
10. On the Mito School see J. Victor Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology: Discourse, Reform and Insurrection in Late Tokugawa Japan, 1790–1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Horst Hammitzsch, *Die Mito-Schule und ihre programmatischen Schriften: Bairi Sensei Hiin, Kōdōkanki, Kōdōkangakusoku, Seiki no uta* (Tokyo: Mitteilungen der (Deutschen) Gesellschaft für Natur—und Völkerkunde Ostasiens [hereafter cited as MOAG], 31/B 19, 1939) and Klaus Kracht, *Das Kōdōkanki-Jutsugi des Fujita Tōko. Ein Beitrag zum politischen Denken der Späten Mito-Schule* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975).
11. Kracht, *Das Kōdōkanki-Jutsugi*, p. 51.
12. *Shintō jinmei jiten* (Tokyo: Jinja shinpōsha, 1986), p. 15.
13. Quoted from Okada Takehiko, "Practical Learning in the Chu Hsi School: Yamazaki Ansai and Kaibara Ekken," in *Principle and Practicality*, Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, eds. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), p. 248. Also see Antoni, *Shintō und die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens*, p. 158, n. 161.
14. For Inoue Tetsujirō see the detailed study by Johann Nawrocki, *Inoue Tetsujirō (1855–1944) und die Ideologie des Götterlandes. Eine vergleichende Studie zur politischen Theologie des modernen Japan*, Ostasien–Pazifik, Trierer Studien zu Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur, vol. 10 (Hamburg: LIT, 1998) and Klaus Antoni, "Inoue Tetsujirō und die Entwicklung der Staatsideologie in der zweiten Hälfte der Meiji-Zeit," *Oriens Extremus*, 33 (1999): 99–116.
15. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology*, p. 39.
16. It should be noted here that parallels between the ideas of the *kokugakusha* and the German Romantics of the nineteenth century are obvious and worthy of further systematic study.
17. Hammitzsch, *Die Mito-Schule*, p. B-8.
18. Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology*, p. 39.
19. For this section see especially Klaus Antoni, "Kokutai—Das 'Nationalwesen' als japanische Utopie," *Saeculum–Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte*, 38 (1987): 266–311 and Antoni, *Shintō und die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens*.
20. English translations reflect this problem in the various uses of such equivalents such as "national body" in Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion: The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan* (New York: Free Press, 1957), p. 99; "national polity" in William P. Woodard, "Politics and Japan's National Polity," chapter I, "Ise and Yasukuni Jinja," *The Second*

International Conference for Shintō Studies, Proceedings (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 71–74; and "national entity" in Robert K. Hall, ed., *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, tr. John O. Gauntlett (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949). Japanese works cite descriptive equivalents to clarify this matter such as: *kunigara*, "national character" in Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, 14 vols. (Tokyo: Daishūkan, 1955–1960), No. 4798/372; *kokka no taimen*, "reputation, honour of the state," in *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, ed. Nihon daijiten kankōkai (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1973–1978), 8: 24; and *kokujō*, "national condition, internal state of a country," in *Daigenkai*, ed. Otsuki Fumihiko (Tokyo, 1932), 2: 153.

21. "*Izumo no kuni no miyatsuko no kamuyogoto*" (Divine words of congratulation by the sovereign of Izumo) in *Engi-shiki 8*, Fujiwara Tadahira, ed., *Kokushi taikei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1952–1964), 26: 176. Also, volume 2 of Felicia Bock, *Engi-shiki. Procedures of the Engi Era* (Tokyo: Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, 1972).
22. Yamagata Taika (1781–1866) was one of the leading theoreticians of Meiji Restoration and comrade of Yoshida Shōin. See David M. Earl, *Emperor and Nation in Japan. Political Thinkers of the Tokugawa-period* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981 reprint), p. 236.
23. Aizawa Seishisai, *Shinron* in *Mitogaku-zenshū*, (Tokyo: Nittō shoin, 1933), 2: 2–325. Also, Volker Stanzel, *Japan—Haupt der Erde. Die "Neuen Erörterungen" des Philosophen und Theoretikers der Politik Seishisai Aizawa aus dem Jahre 1825* (Würzburg: Königshausen u. Neumann, 1982); Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan. The New Theses of 1825* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); and Antoni, *Shintō und die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens*, pp. 163–166.
24. Kracht, *Kōdōkanki-Jutsugi*, p. 51.
25. Use of the term *shinkoku*, "land of the gods," for Japan can be found already in the *Nihongi*, dating from A.D. 720 in "Jingū-kōgō, Chūai-tennō 9/10/3," in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, 67: 338. For a detailed study of the *shinkoku* concept, see Nawrocki, *Inoue Tetsujirō*, pp. 21–86.
26. The divine mandate for government (*shinchoku*) has been recorded in the *Nihongi* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, 67: 147; *Kojiki* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, 1: 126–127 and *Kogoshūi* in *Gunsho-ruijū* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho-ruijū kanseikai, 1959–1972), 25: 5.
27. Aizawa, *Shinron*, pp. 5–39.
28. Hirata Atsutane, *Kodō taii* in *Shinchū kōgaku sō*sho, Mozume Takami, ed. (Tokyo: Kōbunko Kankokai, 1925), 7: 5.
29. This is one of the main differences between the Mito School and the purist National School, which vehemently rejected all things Chinese. See Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion*, pp. 103–104. Also, Motoori Norinaga's text *Naobi no mitama* in *Kōgaku-sōsho*, 10: 3.
30. A comparison between the lord–vassal and father–child relationships can already be found in the *Nihongi* under Yūryaku 23/8/7. The factual identification of both relationships, however, did not occur before the nineteenth century in the *kokutai* ideology.
31. Johannes Ueberschaar, "Die Stellung des Kaisers in Japan, eine staatsrechtlich-historische Skizze," Ph.D diss. Universität Leipzig, 1912, p. 14, uses the term "restricted constitutionalism" to identify this type of constitution.
32. Text edition: ōkubo Toshiaki et al., *Kindaishi shiryō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1969), p. 425; Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Tennō no saishi*, Iwanami-shinsho, no. C 165 (Tokyo: Iwanami 1990), p. 154; and Tsunoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2: 139.
33. On moral education see Harold J. Wray, "A Study in Contrasts, Japanese School Textbooks of 1903 and 1941–45," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 28 (1973): 69–86 and W.M. Fridell, "Government Ethics Textbooks in Late Meiji Japan," *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 29 (1970): 828–833.
34. See Maruyama Masao, *Nihon no shisō* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1971), p. 31.

35. Official translation from: "The Emperial Rescript on Education translated into Chinese, English, French & German" (Tokyo: Department of Education, 1931).
36. Antoni, *Shintō und die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens*, pp. 83–88.
37. Aizawa, *Shinron*, p. 7.
38. The ethical education of the military was guided by another edict, *Gunjin chokuyu*, i.e., "Imperial Rescript to the Military" (often translated as "Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors") proclaimed on January 4, 1882. A comprehensive discussion on moral education in schools and the military can be found in Tsurumi Kazuko, *Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).
39. On the "Minobe case" see Frank O. Miller, *Minobe Tatsukichi, Interpreter of Constitutionalism in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965); Reinhard Neumann, "Minobe Tatsukichis Einfluß auf die demokratische Bewegung der Taishōzeit, 1912–1926," *Nachrichten der (Deutschen) Gesellschaft für Natur—und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 123 (1978): 11–23; and Antoni, "Kokutai—Das 'Nationalwesen' als japanische Utopie," pp. 275–277.
40. Walter Skya's important study on this topic is forthcoming.
41. Neumann, "Minobe Tatsukichi," p. 20.
42. Machida Sanehide, "Die Entwicklung der japanischen Staatsauffassung, Prolegomena zur japanischen Reichsidee," *Yamato* (1930): 161–162, translation by the author.
43. On the role played by Hozumi in the development of the familism concept see Fridell, "Government Ethics Textbooks in Late Meiji Japan," p. 828, note 17 and Miller, *Minobe Tatsukichi*, p. 30.
44. Text edition: *Kokutai no hongi (*Tokyo: Mombushō, 1937). For an English translation see Hall, ed., *Kokutai no Hongi*.
45. The "Directive for the disestablishment of State Shintō," December 15, 1945. See William P. Woodard, *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945–1952 and Japanese Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 295–298. It states: "Circulation by the government of 'The Fundamental Principles of the National Structure' (Kokutai no Hongi), 'The Way of the Subject' (Shinmin no Michi), and all similar official volumes, commentaries, interpretations, or instructions on Shintō is prohibited" (Article I, h(2), i).
46. A term comprising since 1941 the subjects of moral education, geography, Japanese history, and national language education at the elementary school level.
47. "Under the Glory of the Throne it is our fixed aim that people of the world should become one big family." *Nihon-kyōkasho-taikei*, ed. Kaigō Tokiomi, Naka Arata (Tokyo, 1961–1967), 3: 432.
48. *Kokutai no hongi* 1937, p. 28 and Hall, ed., *Kokutai no Hongi*, pp. 75, 132.
49. Motoori Norinaga, *Naobi no mitama*, p. 3.
50. For this section see Klaus Antoni, "Mythos und Ideologie im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland und im kaiserlichen Japan der frühen Shōwa-Zeit," *Referate des VII. Deutschen Japanologentages in Hamburg*, 3 (Hamburg: MOAG, 1988), 38–51, and Antoni, *Shintō und die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens*, pp. 278–284.
51. These documents were published for scientific use in a 17-volume set by Heinz Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1938–1945. Vollständige Texte aus dem Bestand des Bundesarchivs Koblenz* (Herrsching: Pawlak, 1984). On the function of these reports in the National Socialist state see Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung. Entwurf einer Herrschaft. Erweiterte und überarbeitete Neuausgabe* (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 141–150.
52. Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, 2: 4042–4047.
53. Ibid., 2: 4043.
54. Ibid., 2: 4043.
55. Ibid., 2: 4044.
56. Ibid., 2: 4046.

57. In the "Tabletalks" (see Henry Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier. Vollständig überarbeitete und erweiterte Neuausgabe*, Wiesbaden: VMA-Verlag, 1983) Hitler gives expression of his ideas about Japan several times. On one hand his racist arrogance becomes clear (p. 310), yet he talks about the "superior intellect of the Japanese," too. In his opinion it was the "Japanese philosophy of state" that made the country so successful (p. 404). Hitler's admiration for Japan is stressed especially by Ernst Nolte in *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche. Action Francaise, Italienischer Faschismus, Nationalsozialismus* (München: Piper, 1984), p. 501. Other historians point out his racist and arrogant views of Japan and the Japanese. For example, Gerhard Krebs, *Japans Deutschlandpolitik 1935–1941. Eine Studie zur Vorgeschichte des Pazifischen Krieges* 91: (Hamburg: MOAG, 1984), 23. For a general German view of Japan in the 1940s see Eberhard Friese, "Das deutsche Japanbild 1944—Bemerkungen zum Problem der auswärtigen Kulturpolitik während des Nationalsozialismus," in *Deutschland—Japan. Historische Kontakte*, ed. J. Kreiner (Bonn: Bouvier, 1984).
58. See Kurd Niedlich, *Das Mythenbuch. Die germanische Mythen und Märchenwelt als Quelle deutscher Weltanschauung* (Leipzig: Duerr, 1936), Preface ("Zum Geleit").
59. *Kokutai no hongi*, pp. 1–7 and Hall, ed., *Kokutai no Hongi*, pp. 51–55.
60. Gerhard Raab, *Ewiges Germanien. Unser Mythos und sein Gestaltwandel* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1935), p. 283.
61. Alfred Rosenberg, *Das Parteiprogramm. Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der NSDAP. Herausgegeben und erläutert von Alfred Rosenberg* (München: Eher, 1937 edition), p. 57.
62. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts. Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit* (München, Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1942 edition).
63. Rosenberg, *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*, p. 684.
64. On the relation between National Socialist state and Christian Churches see Klaus Scholder, *Die Kirchen und das Dritte Reich*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Propylaeen, 1977).
65. Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (Summer 1993) and his subsequent book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1966).
66. Hans Wilhelm Vahlefeld, *100 Millionen Auβenseiter: Die neue Weltmacht Japan* (Düsseldorf, Wien: Econ, 1969).

Chapter 3
Fascist and Quasi-Fascist Ideas in Interwar Japan, 1918–1941

Christopher W.A. Szpilman

This chapter traces the development of proto-fascist and fascist ideas in prewar Japan. It does not attempt to settle the ongoing debate about whether or not Japan became a fascist state, but argues that these ideas, which began to take root at the end of World War I, paralleled those held by European fascists in various ways. It further contends that fascist ideas represented a pervasive and powerful force in the mainstream of Japanese politics by the mid-1930s.

Some may dismiss this as a futile exercise because most Western historians seem to agree that Japan was not a fascist state.[1] No fascist dictator emerged in Japan. General Tōjō Hideki (1884–1948), who as prime minister, army minister, and home minister in the years 1941–1944, concentrated unprecedented powers in his hands, came closer to being Japan's dictator than any other individual, the Shōwa Emperor included. But Tōjō resigned without any demur in accordance with due process, when told to do so by a group of so-called elder statesmen, mainly former prime ministers. There was no charismatic leader who grabbed power as happened in Germany and Italy; there existed neither a mass movement, nor a party to support such a leader. Prince Konoe Fumimaro (1891–1946), prime minister in 1937–1939 and 1940–1941, possessed charisma but lacked the concentration, power, and ruthlessness to become a fascist dictator. He certainly showed no dictatorial tendencies while in office. His well-known attempt to form a mass movement on Nazi lines ended in failure. In effect, not charismatic statesmen, but colorless bureaucrats ruled Japan, which suggests that it was an authoritarian regime, not a fascist one.

Nevertheless, the argument about whether Japan was a fascist state remains unsettled. In contrast to their American colleagues, Japanese historians still routinely use the word "fascist" to describe the political system in prewar Japan, even if they long ago abandoned the schematic Marxist positions of the 1950s (such as "fascism as a crisis of monopoly capitalism") for more sophisticated arguments. They now tend to find defining characteristics of Japanese fascism in the political integration and mobilization that took place in prewar Japan.

Axis Commonalities

Japan, Italy, and Germany shared some important similarities in their political situations, which led to similar ideological responses. To begin with, these three states

were all imperialist latecomers. For domestic reasons—disunity in the case of Italy and Germany and isolation in the case of Japan—they acquired relatively small colonial empires. As a result, expansionist aspirations in these countries were stronger than in the old colonial powers, such as France or Britain. Related to the expansionist ambitions of these states was dissatisfaction with, and resentment of, the Versailles Treaty. German objections to the so-called Versailles *Diktat* were clear enough. Under its terms, Germany lost its overseas colonial empire and substantial chunks of its home territory, in the west (Alsace-Lorraine to France) and in the east (to a newly independent Poland). The Italians, though on the victorious side, were also disappointed. The postwar peace settlement failed to satisfy Italy's irrendentist claims and thwarted its broader imperial ambitions in the Mediterranean. Japan also resented the postwar settlement because its wartime gains in China were questioned at the Paris Peace Conference, while the principle of national self-determination, on which the Peace Treaty was based, appeared to undermine its colonial rule over Korea. As a result, many in Japan, as in Germany and Italy, cynically dismissed the treaty as less a just arrangement for peace than a device intended to prop up the declining Anglo-Saxon world order against the just claims of latecomer nations.

Dissatisfaction with the international situation paralleled discontents with domestic politics common to the three states. Both in *après-guerre* Italy and Germany, as well as in Japan, there was widespread dissatisfaction with, and contempt for, democracy. Influential figures perceived party politics and parliamentarism as unstable, ineffectual, corrupt, even treasonous, and longed for a national unity government or a dictatorship that could cut through the wasteful tergiversations of parliamentary debate. This discontent reflected some, albeit superficial, similarities in the domestic situation of the three states. The massive dislocation caused by the war in Germany and Italy provided a fertile ground for the growth of radical ideas, both Right and Left. Although Japan avoided the human and material losses suffered by Germany or Italy, a major postwar recession followed a period of unprecedented wartime prosperity. The resultant atmosphere of social dislocation and economic uncertainty in many respects paralleled social and economic anxieties in Germany and Italy.

It is then no coincidence that resentment of the Versailles *Diktat*; fear of liberalism, democracy, and party politics; and anxiety over the economic situation produced similar ideological responses in each of the three countries. In Japan, these responses included a wide range of ideas such as totalitarianism, social Darwinism, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, contempt for parliamentarism and the bourgeois mentality, expansionism (often in the guise of pan-Asianism), and so on.

The successes of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism in the 1930s had an undeniably significant effect upon Japan. Japanese conservatives and rightists, always avid observers of developments in the West, came to feel even more confident about the superiority of fascism and the flawed nature of *laissez-faire* capitalism, liberalism, party politics, and individualism. Fascism and Nazism attracted legions of new converts from the liberal and left-wing camps, too. To both conservatives and rightists, as well as to such new converts, Hitler and Mussolini seemed kindred spirits. Certainly confidence in the ultimate ideological triumph of fascism led Japan's leaders to conclude an alliance with Hitler and Mussolini. In the atmosphere created

by the initial successes of the two dictators in World War II, they made the fateful decision to go to war against the United States and Britain in December 1941.

It must be emphasized, however, that the ideological responses described later arose in Japan as a result of the similarities of the postwar conditions with Germany and Italy, not as a result of direct fascist influences. These ideas were already present in Japan in the 1920s, long before Hitler rose to political prominence. It would be therefore erroneous to assume that Japanese proponents of these ideas were merely imitating European fascists. Quite the contrary, as in some instances Japanese rightists anticipated ideas that later came to be identified with Fascism or National Socialism. Such was the case with the doctrine of national totalitarianism, which had its advocates in Japan as early as 1918.

Totalitarian Ideas in Interwar Japan

The lessons of World War I influenced the development of the concept of totalitarianism (*zentaishugi*), with its emphasis on mobilization of resources to achieve greater national strength, social and political integration, and rejection of liberal and individualistic values. Totalitarianism as articulated by its Japanese advocates closely resembled European fascism, whether in its Italian or its German version. The first advocates of totalitarianism appeared in Japan at the end of World War I, the earliest apparently being Kanokogi Kazunobu (1884–1949), a philosopher educated at Columbia University and Jena.[2]

Distressed by the cruelty of war he witnessed as a young naval lieutenant in the Russo-Japanese War, Kanokogi resigned his commission, turned to pacifism, and began to study philosophy. The blood bath of World War I, which he did not experience directly, influenced him in diametrically different fashion. He interpreted this war as a life-and-death struggle between totalitarianism and *soshikishugi* (ideology of organization), new ideas represented by Germany, and the old-fashioned individualism and particularism represented by the Anglo-Saxon powers. Although Germany lost the war, Kanokogi believed that German totalitarianism, far from being destroyed, was beginning to spread throughout the whole world as part of what he considered an inevitable trend. He believed that even Britain and the United States, heretofore bastions of liberalism, were gradually transforming into totalitarian states. As evidence of this, he cited the recent educational reforms in Britain, the American naval build-up, and the introduction of conscription, food rationing, and tariff and import controls in both countries.[3] Given the historically inevitable triumph of totalitarianism, he argued that it would be suicidal for Japan to spurn this new ideology. "Only by living in a totalitarian way can we be truly alive," he insisted, "so to reject totalitarianism would be to reject life itself."[4]

Kanokogi saw one necessary condition for Japan to "become a successful totalitarian state." The nation must become "autonomous, independent, and self-sufficient";[5] in other words, create an autarky. By emphasizing economic self-sufficiency Kanokogi anticipated by many years the "quest for autonomy" that Japan pursued in the 1930s, foreshadowing the "total war" and "total mobilization" ideas of General Nagata Tetsuzan (1884–1935) and his German counterpart General Erich Ludendorff (1865–1937).[6] From this perspective, Kanokogi emerges as a prophet of

planned economy and general mobilization later promoted by technocratic officers and bureaucrats, even if, in contrast to such men, Kanokogi neglected technical details. But then he was a philosopher, not a technocrat. In the final analysis, though, even those vaunted military experts, just like Kanokogi, based their concepts of the totalitarian state on the primacy of spirit over matter.[7]

Kanokogi developed his concept of totalitarianism as World War I was coming to an end. Other advocates of Japanese aggression, militarism, and domestic regimentation later took up this concept. One of them was Mori Kaku (1882–1932), a prominent Seiyūkai politician, who as vice minister for foreign affairs in the Tanaka Giichi Cabinet (1927–1929) took charge of Japan's China policy. Mori strenuously denied that his ideas amounted to national socialism,[8] yet his views speak for themselves. Externally, he vociferously advocated continental expansion; domestically, he wanted to break "various laws and rules that prevented the freedom of action of the Japanese." Here Mori meant various democratic and liberal laws, such as those providing for universal manhood suffrage and giving workers freedom to form trade unions.[9] In words that anticipated the Vichy Government's labor policies subsumed in the slogan of *Patrie, Familie, Travail* (Fatherland, Family, Work), Mori called for greater government intervention in industry, abandonment of the principles of *laissez-faire* liberalism, and reintroduction of Tokugawa work ethics. More concretely, he recommended rigid government control over banks and insurance companies, and over the entire agricultural and fisheries sector, where he wanted to see a government rice monopoly introduced.[10]

Mori's ideas were by no means exceptional. Ideas like his had become common in the Japanese political mainstream in the mid-1920s as shown by the case of the Kokuhonsha, which many scholars regard as a stolid, conservative organization.[11] Procurator-general and future prime minister, Hiranuma Kiichirō (1867–1952), provided discreet support for Kokuhonsha's founding in 1920, assumed its presidency in 1924, and turned it into a powerful political body in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Despite the organization's reputation and the fact that its ranks included many self-proclaimed conservatives, *Kokuhon*, the Kokuhonsha's monthly official organ, openly advocated the concept of "national totalitarianism" (*kokumin zentaishugi*). Certainly, the "inclusion of all sections of the Japanese state and society in one embracing whole,"[12] which *Kokuhon* insisted on, does not easily square with the Kokuhonsha's reputed conservatism. This national totalitarianism was no less radical than Kanokogi's or Mori's, even if *Kokuhon* purported to base such national integration on the alleged conservative characteristics of the Japanese people. According to *Kokuhon*, national totalitarianism suited "the mentality of the Japanese" better than any Western-style democracy because, "in contrast to Jews or Chinese," the Japanese were "incapable of living without a state."[13]

In a contribution to *Kokuhon*, General Hata Eitarō (1872–1930) fleshed out the details of national totalitarianism, which the journal's editorials had glossed over. Hata, like Kanokogi, derived his lesson from the tragic experience of World War I. The war, he pointed out, had transformed a "simple struggle between armies" into "a struggle between national powers . . . that drew upon total state power and channeled all national resources available,"[14] so, he insisted, the national interest required "discipline, industry" and a "total mobilization" of Japan's resources.[15] To effect such total

mobilization, strict state control over industry, mass media, transportation, financial institutions, and academia must be imposed. Only such stringent measures, he believed, would ensure the most rational and efficient use of resources in wartime.[16]

Such advocacy of a "totalitarianism" that encompassed integration, mobilization of resources, and creation of an economic bloc to attain autarky represented an unequivocal rejection of liberal values, individualism, and international cooperation, which Japanese proponents of totalitarianism regarded as old-fashioned and obsolete. This rejection closely paralleled the fascist position (as it did, incidentally, the communist one). Thus, both in its positive assertions and in what it rejected, Japanese totalitarianism closely resembled European fascism.

These ideas often came in tandem with social Darwinism, which in the Japan of the 1920s developed in a totalitarian direction by jettisoning the individualistic aspects (as expressed, for example, in Spencer's ideas) and adopting the theory of the state as a single organism. As social Darwinism also constituted an integral part of European fascism,[17] this represents another important similarity between European fascism and Japanese right-wing thought, a similarity already well defined in the 1920s.

Social Darwinism

The pioneer of Japanese totalitarianism, Professor Kanokogi, used social Darwinian arguments to condemn the peace imposed by the Versailles Treaty, as well as pacifism in general. Under the terms of the treaty, war would be banned, but the prospect of peace prevailing in the world depressed Kanokogi because Japan could no longer engage in war to expand on the Asian continent. But that was not the only reason for Kanokogi's gloom. Such man-made peace, Kanokogi believed, would demoralize the Japanese by corrupting the moral and spiritual virtues upon which Japan's greatness rested. Eventually, he feared, degeneracy would lead to racial extinction.

In contrast to peace, which he now regarded as a negative phenomenon, Kanokogi hailed war for its positive effects on human society. War, he argued, was an efficient purifier of human detritus, eliminating "all elements that are weak, corrupt or negative, consigning them to hell."[18] War, moreover, brought racial improvement. Races that refused to engage in war, Kanokogi maintained, inevitably perished. Indeed, Kanokogi believed, "only nations that possess a strong fighting spirit have the right to exist."[19] Such fit-to-survive nations engaged in ceaseless warfare, a Darwinian struggle for survival. "History by means of this eternal struggle," he noted, "always extinguishes the weak, the dishonest, and the shallow, i.e., all those who are evil, while ensuring that the noble, the strong, the straight, and the honest, i.e., all those who are good, prosper."[20] War, he held, "ennobles the national spirit (*kokumin no seishin*). The greater the danger, the greater this nobility."[21] From this perspective, Kanokogi held war to be "historically inevitable" and necessary, even if, he conceded, it was also "tragic."[22] In other words, war represented for him a Darwinian process of selection whereby the fittest (nations with the best spirit) survived and progressed, while the unfit, including the nations corrupted by pacifism, declined and eventually perished.

In this manner, Kanokogi drew upon modern and "scientific" social Darwinism to justify his views, which reflected a traditional romantic glorification of war.[23] Like social Darwinism, romantic glorification of war was a prominent characteristic of

fascism, so Kanokogi's views and values were in tune with those of the European fascists in this respect as well.

Given the obvious benefits of war for the spiritual improvement of mankind, Kanokogi found the imposition of peace by the Versailles Treaty particularly galling, but wars were not fought exclusively to increase the spiritual qualities of peoples; material aspects were also important. In Kanokogi's Darwinian world, nations engaged in a ceaseless struggle for natural resources and markets. "All states," he pointed out, "need to acquire land and markets. That is why they all have no choice but to pursue an eternal struggle."[24] This struggle, he believed, determined which nations were fit to survive and which were not.[25] These social Darwinian views prompted Kanokogi to reject liberalism, pacifism, and democracy, which, he believed, corrupted a nation's moral fiber, destroyed the martial spirit, and in the long run caused its biological extinction.

Not yet 40 in 1920, Kanokogi represented the younger generation's rejection—to a large extent under the influence of radical Western ideas—of Western liberalism and democracy. But social Darwinian influences were also apparent in the writings of men of older generations such as General Ugaki Kazushige (1868–1956), who during the 1920s served as army minister in a number of the Kenseikai/Minseitō cabinets alongside the liberal Baron Shidehara Kijūrō. General Ugaki, no less than Kanokogi, saw a long drawn-out Darwinian struggle for existence raging ceaselessly in the world. Ugaki's diaries are full of references to the survival of the fittest,[26] the struggle for survival,[27] and the theory of evolution.[28] At the same time, the General, who had a penchant for biological metaphors,[29] also espoused an organic theory of the state. "Society," he recorded in his diary, constituted "an organism (*yūkitai*) with a human personality (*jinkaku*)" and must be perceived as such or else "great errors will arise."[30]

This social Darwinist approach led Ugaki, as it did Kanokogi, to reject Wilsonian values. "Just as an individual must possess spiritual power, a good environment, and physical strength in order to prevail in the struggle for existence," Ugaki observed in 1922 shortly after the conclusion of the Washington treaties, "so must a state possess spiritual power, a good environment and physical strength to triumph in international competition."[31] The Versailles and Washington Treaties, by banning aggressive wars and by imposing armaments limitations, deprived Japan of at least two of these conditions (a good environment to be grabbed in Asia and a strong navy). Ugaki found these Anglo-Saxon–imposed conditions especially exasperating because, inspired by the pessimistic racist Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color*,[32] he believed the Western nations, devastated by the world war, were now in the throes of inevitable decline. From this perspective, armaments limitations, pacifism, and international cooperation appeared as clever Anglo-Saxon ruses designed to prevent Japan from achieving its proper greatness.

The General's anxiety extended to the domestic situation, which he found just as worrisome as the international scene. In particular, Ugaki feared decay, which he perceived as setting in within Japan under the influence of individualistic, liberal, and democratic ideas from abroad.[33] Selfishness, which resulted from individualism, would bring decadence and in the end destroy "our [Japanese] race (*shuzoku*)."[34] That was because individualism, which made men and women behave selfishly, eroded the differences between the sexes. "The modern tendency is," he noted, "for

males to become more woman-like in character and for females more man-like." With both sexes turning into hermaphrodite-like neuters, "one cannot expect individual, society or the state to make great progress (*idai naru shinpo*)," Ugaki warned. In his view, "men must always be man-like; women always woman-like; neuter-like human beings who cannot enjoy the blessing of heaven must not be made."[35]

Despite their social Darwinism, neither Kanokogi nor Ugaki advocated explicitly racist ideas, certainly not before Hitler's accession to power in 1933. Other influential proponents of social Darwinism and eugenics did argue in explicitly racist terms in the 1920s, however. One of them was Ikeda Shigenori (1892–1966), a prominent journalist, baseball promoter, and the holder of two German doctoral degrees.

Ikeda, who considered race of paramount importance in determining national greatness, authored numerous articles and books on eugenics. "To maintain one's nation-state's superiority over other nation-states," he insisted, "one must first ensure the superiority of its racial character." Ikeda opposed miscegenation, because "intermarriage with an inferior species [*resshu*] amounts to racial suicide."[36] "The persons of the same race marry with care and produce superior offspring," he argued, because "Japanese society, composed of the Japanese *Volk* [*minzoku*], must be made up of superior Japanese." Patience was required, he cautioned, because the results of efforts at racial improvement "would not show merely in one or two generations."[37] But even without active efforts in this regard, Japan had a head start on the United States, he contended, because in contrast to racially pure Japan, the influx of nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigrants of various racial stocks into America had polluted the "good blood" of the early immigrants.[38]

The philosopher Kanokogi, the soldier Ugaki, and the journalist Ikeda espoused social Darwinism because this established wisdom of the day accorded with their authoritarian, elitist, illiberal, and antidemocratic ideas. But none was a scientist who could claim scientific authority for his views. In contrast, Dr. Nagai Hisomu (1876–1957), perhaps the most famous Japanese eugenicist, graduated in medicine from Tokyo Imperial University in 1902 and subsequently studied physiology at the University of Götingen.[39] On return from Germany he became a professor of medicine at his alma mater.

A prolific writer, in his best-selling books Nagai propagated the concepts of natural selection and eugenics throughout Japanese society, making them "household terms."[40] He assumed an unabashedly racist stance, which in many ways anticipated Nazi racism. Particularly concerned with "how to improve the race," Nagai showed keen interest in social Darwinism and organic state theory as means to this end as early as 1915.[41] In the animal world, as he understood it, natural selection ensured that only the best and the fittest survived. Civilization, he believed, interfered with this process by making it possible for defective human specimens to survive in society. Thus, instead of being eliminated in accordance with laws of nature, they produced offspring, imposing burdens upon the healthy and fit. In other words, because natural selection now worked in reverse; instead of progress there was the threat of regression. "Defectives," Nagai lamented, were like "harmful weeds," but modern societies, instead of eliminating the "weeds," protected them and even "promoted their growth."

Nagai did not limit his definition of "weeds" to people afflicted with various genetic handicaps within a single nation. Undesirable "weeds," it appears, also

included various "inferior races" that caused "racial pollution." "The United States may pride itself on being the richest and most civilized country in the world," he noted, but "in the name of the most beautiful tenets such as mercy, altruism, and humanity, [it] transplants weeds onto its own territory." In particular, Nagai was aghast at the fact that "America was even spending huge sums in excess of 200 million yen a year as fertilizer [for the weeds in question]."[42] Nagai's concerns must be perceived in their context. He drew upon the same social Darwinian common sense that informed the outlook both of future supporters of Hitler in Germany and of such racialist, antiimmigration campaigners in the United States as Stoddard and Madison Grant. Nagai thought that in eugenics he had found a solution to the problem of racial deterioration caused by civilization. It would replace the natural selection that had ceased to function properly with the advent of civilization and its liberal values. "Weeds," he insisted, "must be extirpated, or mankind will become extinct."[43]

Just as the radical message of eugenics contradicted Christian teachings, Nagai's writings went against Japan's Buddhist tradition of compassion and charity. Despite the anti-religious content of his message, however, Nagai was no social radical. He combined radical-sounding social Darwinism with an organic theory of society, giving his views a distinctly conservative slant. The inspiration for his organic view, like his social Darwinism and his eugenics, came from the world of living things. Nagai went to great lengths to stress a balance (cooperation) among cells in living organisms. He noted that even the slightest deviation from this cooperation caused disease. He then drew parallels between the cells of a living organism that had to cooperate in order to ensure the health of that organism, and human beings in society, who also had to cooperate to ensure the well-being of the state. To ensure this healthy cooperation, Nagai wanted to rid Japan of all "inferior" individuals by sterilizing all "idiots, imbeciles, morons and other mentally and morally defective individuals."

In light of the lukewarm response of Japanese authorities to his proposals, by the late 1930s Nagai looked enviously across the sea to the Western countries that had adopted sterilization practices. Significantly, Nagai preferred the thoroughgoing measures of Nazi Germany to America's half-baked solutions. Japan, he insisted, must not follow America's example. Over the previous 30 years, Nagai lamented in 1938, "fewer than 20,000 people were sterilized" in the United States. In contrast, he waxed ecstatic over the eugenic policy of the new Nazi government:

> Scarcely three years have elapsed since the Nazi government enacted this law, and they have already sterilized many more than 100,000 persons, with as many as 56,244 persons sterilized last year alone. The [sterilization] program is thriving [over there]. I cannot help exclaiming: "Heil Hitler."[44]

But Nagai's admiration for Hitler predated these stunning results. Already in 1936 he had hailed the German dictator as the "only great politician in the world that can put it [a eugenics program promoting sterilization of the unfit] in effect." On that occasion, too, he concluded his tirade with "Heil Hitler!"[45]

In the 1930s Japan's eugenicists and social Darwinists welcomed Hitler's ruthless racist policies, no less than his explicit social Darwinist views. Although they failed

to persuade the Japanese bureaucracy to implement similar policies, the popular writings and speeches of professional and amateur eugenicists created a kind of social consensus in favor of such ideas. This social consensus formed another point of convergence between Japanese conservative and right-wing thought and Nazism.

Anti-Semitic Conspiracy Theories

If social Darwinism and eugenics constituted points of convergence between fascism and Japanese right-wing thought, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories represented another.[46] Despite the absence of a significant Jewish minority in Japan, anti-Semitic conspiracy theories became popular in Japan after the end of World War I. This curious phenomenon provided a convenient shorthand for damning all kinds of social phenomena associated with modernity, such as individualism, liberalism, party politics, pacifism and communism, which advocates of Jewish conspiracies regarded as Jewish tricks designed to mislead the gullible masses.

Japanese officers, who came in contact with anti-Semitism during the Siberian expedition, imported these conspiracies to Japan. One who became obsessed by them, Lieutenant General Shiōden Nobutaka (1879–1962), a pioneer of Japanese aviation, became a prolific writer of anti-Semitic tracts (while still in active service often under the pseudonym of Fujiwara Nobutaka) in the interwar period. Another, Higuchi Tsuyanosuke (1870–1931), who had served as an interpreter with the Japanese Army in Siberia, published the book *Yudaya-ka* (The Jewish Peril) in 1923.[47] The Russian experience also directly informed some civilian views. For example, Tsugita Daizaburō (1883–1960), a senior Home Ministry official, in an interview given after he had stepped off the boat after a tour of Russia in 1919, warned of the Bolsheviks' plans to subvert the Japanese imperial institution by using American Jews as agents. Tsugita worried that Japanese police, "unable to tell them apart from [genuine] Americans," would admit them to Japan.[48]

Most proponents of a Jewish conspiracy relied heavily on *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a notorious Tsarist fabrication, which by 1920 *The London Times* had already exposed as a forgery.[49] The complete Japanese translation of the *Protocols* by Colonel Yasue Norihiro, first published in 1924, proved so popular that it went through as many as 17 editions before 1933.[50] Shiōden, Higuchi, and other anti-Semites borrowed liberally from the *Protocols*. As the success of the Japanese translation shows, there was a receptive audience for conspiracy theories in Japan. Both Higuchi and Shiōden made careers out of anti-Semitism, lecturing widely on the "Jewish peril," often to various influential groups, including "a caucus in the House of Peers,"[51] and even to members of the Imperial Family.[52] Shiōden claims he delivered over a thousand such lectures throughout Japan.[53]

Men with a military background predominated among early propagators of anti-Semitism, but they had no monopoly. As early as 1921 Imai Tokirō (1889–1972), associate professor of sociology at Tokyo Imperial University, reprinted fragments of the *Protocols* in the prestigious *Gaikō jihō*.[54] He described the forgery as "an extraordinary book that accurately describes the present political situation and future trends,"[55] inviting a sharp rebuke from an indignant Professor Yoshino Sakuzō (1878–1933).[56]

Civilians rubbed shoulders with military men in a Minzoku kenkyūkai (Nation Study Group), founded in the early 1920s. This small but influential body devoted itself almost exclusively to "the study of the Jewish question" and its alleged impact on Japanese thought. Military members included Shiōden and Generals Hata Shinji (1879–1950) and Masaki Jinzaburō (1876–1956). Among the civilians in this group were Akaike Atsushi (1879–1945), a former Tokyo police chief and imperial appointee to the House of Peers; Shōriki Matsutarō (1885–1969),[57] president of *Yomiuri shinbun* and former Home Ministry official; and Wakamiya Unosuke (1872–1938), editor of the right-wing *Nihon shinbun* and a prolific writer of anti-Semitic tracts. The group apparently remained active in the 1930s.[58]

A 1928 article by General Hata shows the Minzoku kenkyūkai's approach to the subject. Hata claimed that the Jews regard themselves as "chosen people," but non-Jews as "pigs and dogs"; that in their incarnation as Bolsheviks they massacred large numbers of Slavs, and so on. The level of his analytical powers can be gleaned from the following argument: "Jews account for 1% of Germany's population. Physicians account for 0.9% of Germany's population, which means that there are eight Jewish doctors for each German one."[59]

Jewish conspiracy theories routinely described revolutions in Europe as the work of Jews. General Shiōden claimed that in Russia "most socialists and communists were Jews," and that Jews were involved in every revolution.[60] Higuchi averred that "the three great European empires [of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary] were . . . all destroyed by Jews."[61] In similar vein, General Ugaki noted in his diary that Jews accounted for a disproportionately large number of socialists in Germany. Because of their "disloyalty" and other "Jewish characteristics," they spread the bacillus of socialism throughout Germany and Europe.[62] Furthermore, he thought, the Jews, having no loyalty to the state, undermined Germany's economic recovery[63] because they threatened to move their assets out of Germany.[64] Jews were "causing havoc in the world with their propaganda," Ugaki believed, and closer to home were "harassing the Imperial Army in Siberia."[65]

Professor Imai Tokirō echoed Ugaki's fears regarding the Jewish role in revolutions. "Eighty percent of the [Russian] Bolshevik government," he noted, "are Jews; the Jew Liebknecht led the [German] Spartacus; Bela Kun headed the violent Hungarian Bolsheviks." Jews, in short, were plotting "to overthrow all monarchies, destroy all property, abolish all laws, and smash society."[66] Citing this Jewish peril, Imai argued against Crown Prince Hirohito's (1900–1989) departure on an overseas journey into "the frightening and dangerous world."[67] Uchida Ryōhei (1874–1937) and the Rōninkai (Wave Men's Society), an organization he headed, adopted Imai's argument in a campaign to prevent the Crown Prince's foreign tour from taking place.[68]

Along the same lines, Miyake Daizō provided an analysis of the "Jewish problem" in Germany. From the perspective of what happened after Hitler's accession to power, Miyake's views seem particularly sinister. Jews, Miyake claimed, dominated Germany completely, occupying top political, financial, and business positions. "The upper- and middle-class Jews in Germany," he claimed, "were poisoning the state by using their financial resources, while the low-class Jews were doing so as members of the proletariat." In this situation, Miyake rejoiced that "the Germans have come to their senses, were reacting and soon would oust Jews from important

government positions." Miyake regretted only that the Germans were "unable as yet to get rid of the Jews completely."[69]

Admiral Katō Hiroharu (1870–1939), known as a navalist and a vigorous opponent of the 1930 London Naval Limitations Treaty, worried about the ramifications of the Jewish problem on Japan, where he believed that Japanese in the employ of Jewish interests were already at work. Among these agents he included "immoral politicians and cabinet ministers without any ambition or statesmanship," who cared "only for their party's interests; wreckers of the national polity and the national foundation, who agitate for equality; [and] labor activists who incite class struggle because they are paid in rubles." They, he claimed, exemplified Japan's "Judaized society." They were, he insisted, the Jewish "enemy in our hearts," who represented the main obstacle to the realization of "a new Japan."[70]

Katō was not the only one to lash out at "Japanese Jews." Uesugi Shinkichi (1878–1929), professor of constitutional law at Tokyo Imperial University, well known for his campaign against Minobe Tatsukichi's emperor-as-organ-of-the-state theory, also detected a Jewish angle to the intellectual turmoil in Japan. "Japan's "half-educated leftists," he complained in 1923, "imitate Jews by cursing the state."[71] Mitsui Kōshi (1883–1953), a Tokyo University-educated poet and essayist and a leading member of the fundamentalist right-wing Genri Nihonsha (Fundamental Japan Association), echoed Uesugi's concerns. Terrified by the ongoing corruption of Japanese society by Western ideas, Mitsui specifically lambasted Japan's "Judaized" intellectuals, among whom he included Professor Suehiro Izutarō (1888–1951), with his "Jewish ideas" on land reform, and Professor Yoshino Sakuzō, with his "Jewish" advocacy of democracy.[72] Such intellectuals, he contended, had turned Tokyo University into a hotbed of "Jewish thought," which had to be destroyed for the sake of a powerful Japan.[73] These accusations against Japan's metaphorical Jews presaged the academic witch-hunts of the 1930s against Professor Suehiro and other "Jewish thinkers," in which Mitsui and the Genri Nihonsha took leading roles.[74]

Claims that revolutions occurred only because of Jewish machinations, not because of genuine discontent with the *ancien régime*, were intended to discredit Japanese advocates of socialism, anarchism, communism, and so on, as not truly Japanese, while vituperations against "Judaized society" aimed to discredit liberals as agents of a Jewish conspiracy. Though communism and liberalism seem impossible to reconcile, Japanese anti-Semites achieved the impossible by providing a kind of synthesis.

This achievement is due to one Kinoshita Shigetarō, who in 1927 discovered that "an immense Jewish conspiracy now attacking Japan has caused the recent thought confusion." Terrified by his discovery, Kinoshita analyzed the conspiracy and published his findings as a chart appended to the monthly magazine *Daitō bunka*. The chart fused liberalism and communism into a single whole and synthesized various conspiracy theories, combining them into one single "immense Jewish conspiracy." The "Third International" on the Left and "the [Free] Mason Secret Society" on the Right represented two powerful branches of this conspiracy. The Left branch of this conspiracy, according to Kinoshita, used "Marxism, Leninism and Bakuninism" and deceived "the proletariat" and other "uneducated classes" with slogans such as "workers' solidarity" and "smash imperialism and capitalism." On the Right, the Freemasons targeted "the propertied, leisured and intellectual classes,"

including "capitalists, peers' children, students of both sexes, bureaucrats, and the military." The chart dismissed ideals such as world peace, racial equality, equality of opportunity, justice, and humanitarianism as Jewish propaganda. At the same time the chart condemned permissiveness in society, warning against "sensuality in motion pictures, lascivious dancing, debauchery in cafes, Western-style dress, pornography," and so on.[75] In short, Kinoshita dismissed all modern phenomena and thought currents not to his liking as Jewish tricks. Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to conclude that for Kinoshita the Jewish conspiracy served as surrogate for modernity itself.

This anti-Semitic trend strongly established itself in Japan well before Hitler came to power, but his rapid rise reinforced it. When Hitler became German chancellor in January 1933, many Japanese who had previously viewed such conspiracy theories with skepticism enthusiastically embraced anti-Semitism. One such new convert was Professor Kanokogi, whose totalitarian and social Darwinist views were discussed earlier. In 1921 Kanokogi had praised Albert Einstein and made no negative references to his Jewishness, but by the mid-1930s Kanokogi had come to admire Hitler more than Einstein. He now vituperated against "Jewish-Russian communism," which had forced the Japanese to abandon their divine mission, and labeled the leader of China's Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek, "a running dog of international Jewish interests."[76]

The conservative Baron Hiranuma, by nature less outspoken than the excitable Dr. Kanokogi, also appears to have been affected by Hitler's anti-Semitism. In reminiscences dictated at the height of the Pacific War some years after his stint as prime minister, he accused Jews of "spreading liberal confusion throughout the world by drawing upon their financial power." Although the president of the Kokuhonsha conceded that he knew neither how the Jews had amassed their supposed power nor "what their ultimate goal is," he believed nevertheless that "a Jewish conspiracy" constituted "the main driving force in the world." In Japan, Hiranuma claimed, Jewish interests had gained control of the nation's "politics and finance" during the Taishō era of imported "capitalism and liberalism." As World War II was grinding to a close, Hiranuma blamed the "Jews' devilish hand" for having caused the conflict. "Hitler," Hiranuma noted, "saw [the Jewish danger] and tried to eliminate it and that is why the Anglo-Americans hate him."[77]

Conservatives feared Jews because of their alleged socialism, anarchism, and individualism; radical right-wingers feared them because of their supposed financial power, pacifism, and internationalism. Both feared Jews because of their supposed anti-monarchism. Both used anti-Semitism as a means to discredit party politics, democracy, and the labor rights movement, which they represented as alien, Jewish ideas, not authentically Japanese. Both used Jewish conspiracy theories as a shorthand means of discrediting various political and social currents and, more generally, any manifestations of modernity that undermined Japan's traditional social relations. In other words, they drew upon anti-Semitism to defend the values they cherished as authentically Japanese, such as social hierarchy, elitism in politics, and paternalism in labor relations.

Military officers were overrepresented among the advocates of conspiracy theories. Two factors account for this. One was the officers' political bias against democracy,

parliamentarism, and liberal ideas. The other stemmed from the defects of the specialized and limited education they received at military preparatory schools, which tended to stifle their critical abilities.[78] But as we have seen from the aforementioned examples, even civilians who had received the best education were often taken in, too. So many prominent figures subscribed to Jewish conspiracy theories that Japan's peculiar anti-Semitism without Jews cannot be described as a marginal phenomenon. This anti-Semitism encouraged the Japanese to admire Hitler and identify with his goals in confronting a common enemy.

Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories often targeted parliamentarism and political parties as Jewish inventions that weakened the state. Contempt for parliamentarism, political parties and democracy in general, which existed in Japan independently of anti-Semitic theories, provided another point of convergence between European fascism and Japan's right-wing thought.

Contempt for Parliamentarism, Political Parties, and Bourgeois Values

The established political parties, whose power and influence grew rapidly in the 1910s and 1920s, inspired much fear and loathing among their enemies, including right-wing radicals, so-called traditionalist rightists, and conservatives of various hues. These critics asserted that the parliamentary system and the political parties were incapable of solving the enormous problems that Japan faced. Most saw no need to resort to veiled, conspiratorial language of anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, preferring instead to confront the "evils" of democracy and party politics head-on.

As already noted, both the radical Kanokogi and the conservative General Ugaki detested party politics: Kanokogi because he regarded it as "a tyranny of the mob" that perpetuated various particularistic interests,[79] Ugaki because he believed that although party politics claimed to be "the politics of the majority," in fact it was "the politics of a minority . . . controlled by an extremely small number of irresponsible agitators with vested interests."[80] Kanokogi went so far as to dismiss Japanese proponents of party politics as "fawning *eta* [outcastes]."[81] Ugaki feared that "professional opinion leaders" who "live off newspapers, periodicals and speeches" were jeopardizing Japan's future by undermining its traditional values. Among those "professional opinion leaders" he almost certainly included Prime Minister Hara Takashi, leader of the Seiyūkai.[82] When Hara fell to an assassin's knife in November 1921, Ugaki blamed the assassination on "the omnipotence of materialism and the omnipotence of the majority that together threaten to destroy everything that is right in society including Japan's national customs . . ."[83] The party politician Hara, Ugaki implied, had gotten his just deserts.

In his condemnation of party politics and democracy, Ugaki's views resembled those of young radical military firebrands. For instance, Lieutenant Fukunaga Ken (1899–1991), a young officer with connections to the right-wing Yūzonsha, in the 1920s came under the intellectual spell of Kita Ikki (1883–1937). From Korea, where he was stationed, Fukunaga saw no difference between the frequent "changes of government and political strife in Tokyo" and civil war in medieval Japan when "the lords and bailiffs of one *bakufu* government replaced others." Fukunaga drew the same conclusions as Ugaki. "Constitutional politics (party politics)," he was

convinced, "will destroy the state." Under the circumstances, only the advent of "divine reign by the prince-regent offers hope."[84]

Fukunaga's friend, Lieutenant Nishida Mitsugi (1901–1937), also stationed in Korea but soon to retire from the army on health grounds, concurred with this diagnosis. Nishida, who would be executed alongside Kita Ikki in the aftermath of the failed *coup d'état* of February 26, 1936, waxed indignant over "the scandalous state of the Diet, the tyranny of the [party] government and the extremes of its disgrace." Japan, he feared, "stood on the edge of a precipice where," he feared, "it would perish."[85]

The young officers' ingrained hostility to party politics and parliamentarism resembled the hatred of party politics that prevailed among the young officers in the Weimar Republic. The officer corps in both countries were deeply politicized in spite of the army regulations forbidding any involvement in politics. Certainly few officers of any rank in either country would have chosen parliamentary over dictatorial rule.

It is perhaps not surprising that the senior and junior members of the military officer caste showed hostility to party politics. But in Japan attacks on party politics came even from party politicians, some of whom clearly never accepted the principles of parliamentary democracy or civilian control. For example, Suzuki Kisaburō (1867–1940), one of the leaders of the Seiyūkai and the home minister in the cabinet headed by General Tanaka Giichi (1863–1929), in a declaration published in the *Asahi shinbun*, "denounced democratic ideas" and "refuted the principles of parliamentarism." "Parliamentarism centered on the Diet," Suzuki argued, "being of Anglo-American provenance, which tries to go along with the current of democracy, is incompatible with our national polity." Suzuki wanted to banish this idea from Japan because "it undermines the principle that sovereignty rests with the emperor and violates the great spirit of the Imperial Constitution."[86]

Similarly, a few years later, another Seiyūkai leader, Mori Kaku, wanted to "conduct a drastic operation under general anesthetic," because he found that the "present political situation" in Japan, where too many people were in favor of the status quo, resembled a "tumor" that must be excised. "Only when the root of the disease is removed," Mori reasoned, "can the body regain health."[87] One of the causes, according to Mori, was hedonism. "The rich these days," he pointed out, "live in even greater luxury than feudal lords in the Tokugawa era."[88] Another problem was universal manhood suffrage, enacted in Japan in 1925, which, according to Mori, resulted in irresponsible politicians adopting populist policies that pandered to the masses. In the present situation, Mori believed, "universal suffrage will cause more evil than good." "Without an improvement of politics," Mori insisted, "there could be no improvement in finance and economics, and no national prosperity."[89] Because "constitutional politics was a politics of compromise,"[90] for Mori the only solution was suspension of parliamentary politics.

Suzuki Kisaburō vaguely preferred "emperor-centered politics"[91] to parliamentary democracy and civilian control over the government, but did not provide a concrete explanation of what he had in mind. Mori, however, was more specific. He wanted to introduce a government of national unity in which "military men and politicians" would cooperate to smash the status quo and overcome the impasse in which Japan had found itself.[92] The government of national unity that Mori envisaged would ideally be presided over by a strong leader, but he saw "no politician with great determination and power" who could assume this post.[93]

Kita Reikichi (1885–1961), who, unlike his notorious brother, Kita Ikki, pursued a successful career before and after the war as a journalist, an academic, and a parliamentarian, insisted that such a strong leader should be modeled upon Mussolini. Such a "national hero" would organize "a progressive patriotic party" and would be swept into the Diet as the leader of a nation-wide movement against the evils represented by the two established parties, the Seiyūkai and the Minseitō.[94] Although Kita did not challenge the existence of the Diet provided for under the Meiji Constitution, he wanted to emasculate it, making it a purely advisory body that would defer in everything to the great heroic leader. Perhaps fortunately for Japan no such great leader emerged, but not for a lack of longing for one by men like Kita.

Radical rightists and conservatives united in their dismissal of party politics. They saw the established politicians as cheap compromisers who stood for evolution, not revolution; for international cooperation, not confrontation; and for the status quo, both domestically and internationally, not sweeping reforms. Their critics wanted instant remedies and found the parties woefully inadequate. This Japanese discontent with party politics and parliamentarism closely resembled the contempt for the political status quo expressed by European fascists. They, too, sought to dramatically alter politics both at home and abroad.

Mori Kaku, as we have already seen, wanted to "smash" the status quo,[95] and a whole range of figures from fire-breathing radicals to staid conservatives shared this desire. Both radicals and conservatives regarded the international status quo guaranteed by the Versailles–Washington treaties as benefiting only so-called have nations, such as Britain, the United States, or France and, as a corollary, they believed it was harmful to Japan's future development. Though conservatives as a rule preferred not to address the question of domestic reform head on, many radicals perceived the domestic and international status quo as two sides of the same coin. They viewed the domestic political situation as equally detrimental to Japan's future development because without sweeping reforms the nation would be helpless to alter the international status quo.[96] Radicals and conservatives used the same language so frequently that at times the distinction between them became so blurred as to be indistinguishable. General Ugaki, whom we have already encountered, provides an example.

As early as 1919 Ugaki, who found the international order imposed at the Paris Conference "incompatible" with Japan's social growth, believed "the destruction of the social status quo necessitates the destruction of the political status quo." It represented, he insisted, "an unnatural situation that was highly dangerous." To overcome this danger, Ugaki urged, Japan must undergo "surgery."[97]

In his desire to undertake such measures little distinguished General Ugaki's approach from that of the young radical Lieutenant Fukunaga, who, a few years later, "passionately" desired "immediate destruction of the status quo." For Fukunaga this seemed more important than any constructive activity. "National reform," he insisted tellingly, "would take place" only after the destruction.[98]

Such radical contempt for the domestic status quo reflected an equally widespread hatred of capitalism and bourgeois values, including bourgeois solidity, security, capitalism, pursuit of profit for private gain, and individualism. In Japan this had indigenous antecedents that reached back to the nineteenth century or to even earlier Confucian values. It nevertheless brings to mind the views and values of German conservatives and right-wing radicals, and it should not be forgotten that such

opposition to "bourgeois values" was a characteristic of fascism. It is almost impossible to separate conservatism and radicalism here. Almost without exception, fascists tended to be socially conservative (even if the consequences of their actions resulted in radical changes in society). Hitler and Mussolini certainly were. So, too, were most Japanese radicals.

Thus both conservatives and radical rightists in Japan viewed with alarm the advent of selfish materialistic values as a result of wartime prosperity. They feared that materialism and material comfort brought about by prosperity would erode the martial spirit of the Japanese people and weaken Japan as a state. In 1918, for example, the conservative journal *TōA no hikari* railed against "addiction to materialistic civilization." Materialism, the journal inveighed, caused the Japanese to "forget the dignity, beauty and goodness of Japan's national polity," as well as "the superior quality of Japan's national character." The Japanese were now embracing "anti-state [*hi-kokkateki*] and immoral ideas" and lapsing into "unrestrained hedonism, extreme egotism, irreverence, cynicism, shamelessness and degeneration."[99] The magazine called for the eradication of such evils in order to "protect our perfect (*kin'ō-muketsu*) national polity."[100]

From the same perspective, Vice Admiral Satō Tetsutarō, president of the Naval College, blamed the wartime prosperity for corrupting Japan's "national thought." Though Satō conceded that Japan's wealth had increased enormously during World War I, the losses the war had caused far outweighed any gain because the material improvement had made the Japanese decadent. Under the circumstances, Satō looked with envy at the European belligerents. They had suffered heavy human and material losses, but at least had benefited from "a great spiritual lesson."[101]

By 1918, *narikin*, a term applied to a wide range of people from *nouveau riche* millionaires and war profiteers to modest workers who due to wartime prosperity were now earning enough to live above their station in life, had emerged as the symbol of postwar "decadence." Simply put, *narikin* symbolized the evils of social change caused by wartime prosperity. They stood for unbridled capitalism, selfishness, individualism, vulgarity, immoral behavior, and everything else that was wrong with postwar society. Critics directed a torrent of abuse at the *narikin*, based on the beliefs that wealth corrupts, that daily comforts are not only unnecessary but detrimental, and that the Japanese spirit, which could only flourish in Spartan conditions, would be destroyed by material gains. Critics also directed their invective at the alleged evil influence behind the *narikin*, namely, Western civilization. The views of these critics converged here with Fascism and Nazism, for one must not forget fascist tirades against luxury and decadence in society, the arts and science. Above all, one must not forget the distinction the fascists and Nazis made between "culture" (unique to Germany and other nations and therefore something positive and profound) and "civilization" (cosmopolitan, rootless, and therefore negative and shallow).

The press took a prominent role in these attacks. For example, *Yorozu chōhō* called for "immediate eradication" of "*narikin* thought," which the newspaper identified as "the sickest" of all dangerous modern thought currents.[102] *Yomiuri shinbun* weighed in to admonish women against succumbing to "*narikin* fever."[103] Women would find true happiness, the newspaper insisted, not in pursuit of material things, but in knowing their proper station in life. The prominent Seiyūkai politician Yokota

Sennosuke deplored the existence of the *narikin* because they "flaunt their wealth." Ostentation, Yokota contended, was typical of a Western civilization characterized by an "unquenchable greed for things material," a characteristic that in his opinion the Japanese should not imitate.[104]

Rear Admiral Takeuchi Shigetoshi disliked the *narikin* so much that he wanted the imperial army to take up arms against their "immoral and inhumane capitalism."[105] Dr. Yokoi Tokiyoshi (1860–1927), professor of agriculture at Tokyo Imperial University, meanwhile, proposed less drastic solutions to the "*narikin* fever" that had been plaguing Japan's cities.[106] He specifically called for the "development of a new way" that would rectify the imbalance between city and country. While the cities had been undergoing growth on an unprecedented scale, the countryside was stagnating. Unless something was done to remedy the resultant gap, Yokoi feared the disparity would destroy Japan just as it had destroyed ancient Rome.[107]

From a similar perspective, Professor Tazaki Hitoyoshi criticized the postwar selfishness that had caused "domestic strife" between Japanese capitalists and workers. Tazaki attributed rampant materialism and profit seeking to the evils of "effeminacy, luxury, and sloth" besetting Japan. For Tazaki, the "modern boys" (those "women with testicles") and the "modern girls" (societal "pathogens that poisoned the good and healthy customs of the Japanese Empire") symbolized these evils that were depriving the nation of "its vigor and capacity to unite."[108] Instead, Tazaki extolled a Japanese-style *Gemeinschaft*, pointing out that all of 80 million Japanese were blood relatives of the emperor and should think and work exclusively for the good of the empire.[109]

Japan's young radicals worried just as much about corrupting Western influences as their conservative elders. For example, young Lieutenant Nishida railed in 1922 against the decadent Western practices that had become rampant after World War I. He described "the feverish atmosphere of dancing halls in modern Tokyo" as "insane." "Western-style dancing that stirs man's lust and other animal passions" reminded him of "the prancing of half-naked southern savages." Under the circumstances the romantically inclined Nishida found little consolation in recalling that "our elegant feminine Japanese dancing is far superior to this nude vulgarity."[110]

The corroding Western influences were transmitted to Japan largely through the activities of Japan's intellectual elite, so this group bore the brunt of an attack by the literary critic and China expert Itō Ken (1895–1945). Itō specifically blamed Japan's "sick literary scene"[111] for spreading decadent Western "petty bourgeois" practices through popular literature. Itō dismissed Japan's modern writers as a bunch of misfits. They were either "pathological careerists," "hypersensitive fame-seekers," "manic depressives," or "sexual perverts and erotomaniacs." In the latter category he included "the sadistic pervert" Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, "hyper-sexed" Murō Saisei, "hysterically love-sick" Kume Masao, and "masturbator" Satomi Ton.[112]

Such resounding condemnation of the *narikin*, their vulgar ostentation, and selfish pursuit of private profit and luxury, as well as the general and sweeping rejection of decadent Western influences continued relentlessly in the conservative and right-wing press throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Yet on the whole neither conservatives nor radicals regarded Fascism or Nazism as decadent, invariably identifying only Anglo-American influences as such. The condemnation of Anglo-Saxon decadence

escalated over time, reaching a climax during the Pacific War. At its height, the bureaucrat Okumura Kiwao (1900–1969), rejoicing at the great Japanese triumphs over America and Britain, reflected on the "devilish Anglo-American thought plot that afflicted Japan after the First World War." This plot, Okumura alleged, had robbed his people of their "Japanese soul." It was after World War I, he recalled, that individualism and liberalism flooded Japan and egoism and a selfish pursuit of profit prevailed over loyalty and patriotism. Pernicious Western ideas were destroying Japan's "good morals and beautiful customs [junpū bizoku]" and the patriotic spirit of service to the monarchy. This was a sad time when the Japanese swapped their "3000-year old spiritual legacy" for 2,800 million yen in cash. But by 1942, Okumura triumphantly noted, thanks to the alliance with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the Japanese had managed to recover both their spiritual legacy and their "good morals and beautiful customs."[113]

Japan's Divine Mission on the Continent: Pan-Asianism, Lebensraum*, and Racism*

Though imperialism predates fascism, imperialism and a quest for so-called living space (*Lebensraum*) were important components of fascist ideology. Japanese imperialism and expansionism rested on the assumption of Japanese superiority—racial, cultural, or spiritual—and was often cloaked in rhetoric of Japan's divine mission on the continent. But whereas German expansionism promised paradise only for the supermen of one "race," Japanese expansionism seems to have been a more complex phenomenon. In addition to ensuring living space for the Japanese people, it also claimed to bring freedom to the oppressed masses of Asia.

It is undeniable that in part pan-Asianism served merely to justify Japan's colonial expansion and that many pan-Asianists were no more than carpetbaggers interested in self-enrichment. But it is also undeniable that there was an altruistic, idealistic side to Japan's divine mission, namely, the goal of liberating Asia from the yoke of Western imperialism. Certainly some pan-Asianists genuinely believed in such liberation. It seems that no altruistic equivalent existed in the expansionist doctrines of either the Nazis or the Fascists. Despite this distinction between Japanese and German/Italian expansionism, however, general acceptance of imperialism and expansionism in Japanese society facilitated the reception of fascist ideas in Japan. The Japanese divine mission on the continent, despite its altruistic pan-Asian claims, formed yet another point of convergence between European fascism and Japanese ideology.

Pan-Asian advocates of Japan's continental mission above all failed to consider the conditions prevailing in Asian countries, minimizing national and cultural differences that divided Asia. This attitude was particularly noticeable in the case of Korea, where they tended not only to deny Koreans their right to independence but even to their own separate ethnic identity. Instead, Japanese conservatives and radical rightists alike tended to represent Koreans as Japanese who, for complex historical reasons, had gone astray and should be brought back to the fold. The Koreans, the conservative Admiral Kamiizumi Tokuya (1865–1946), a member of the right-wing pan-Asianist Rōsōkai, maintained, were "a racially pure Yamato *Volk*" who "come from the same stock" as the Japanese.[114] The radical Kita Ikki, whom some regard as

the precursor of Japanese fascism, concurred. Because the Koreans were essentially the same as the Japanese, he argued, they would be assimilated without difficulty. Soon, he predicted, Korea would become part of Japan proper, a "Seikaidō" (Western Circuit), along the lines of the Tōkaidō (Eastern Sea Circuit) or Hokkaidō (Northern Circuit).[115]

Similarly, General Ugaki gave Korean demands for independence short shrift. "In Korea today," he noted in his diary, "[only] the minority of old bureaucrats, the *yangban*, so-called professional politicos, and professional democracy campaigners demand autonomy and independence. The former still dream of the privileges and glory of the old Li dynasty; the latter make a livelihood [out of demands for independence]. It would be a serious error to think that they represent Korea. They clamor not for Korea but for their own interests."[116]

Sometimes this dismissal of Korean national aspirations degenerated into undisguised contempt for the Koreans as a people. The Koreans, some Japanese maintained, did not deserve to have an independent existence because of their innate personality flaws. For example, Lieutenant Fukunaga wrote in 1922 from Korea where he was stationed:

> The Korean sky is high and clear. If Koreans were like this sky their country would not have perished. In Korea with its high skies and towering mountains, one sees filthy Koreans idling away in their small and dirty mud-and-stone hovels; one sees only weariness and idleness but no dauntless determination; one certainly does not see the slightest desire for reconstruction [fukkō], so one must after all conclude that there were good reasons for this country to perish.[117]

Fukunaga saw Koreans as barbarians, even if he believed that their cultural inferiority provided some biological advantage vis-à-vis the "more advanced" Japanese. "In Pyongyang typhus has caused many tragedies," Fukunaga reported. "Most of the victims are Japanese [*naichijin*] but Koreans, though they carry plenty of typhus bacteria, are, like cats and dogs, immune to the disease. Under the circumstances, I am no longer sure whether it is better to be a civilized man or a barbarian [*yabanjin*]."[118]

Lieutenant Nishida, Fukunaga's friend, refused to waste time worrying over Korea's future. Nor did he show any concern for the Koreans' national aspirations. The Korean peninsula, he maintained, was only important as a base (*ashiba*) for Japan's "continental development."[119]

While paying scant attention to Korea's plight as a nearby Japanese colony, advocates of Japan's continental development tended to concentrate their altruistic feelings on more remote areas. That was the case with the philosopher Kanokogi, who lamented the dire plight of China and India, blaming their predicament on the spiritual flaws of the two peoples. China's mess resulted from sloth, lethargy, and materialism, while India had lost its independence because of an excessive preoccupation with the spiritual. The political recovery of China and India must begin with their spiritual salvation, Kanokogi insisted, by combining of their two deficient, but mutually complementary, spirits. Since Japan had already achieved a synthesis of Chinese, Indian, and Western cultures, it was Japan's role to guide these two countries, and the rest of Asia, toward salvation. From this perspective, Kanokogi warned the two countries not to defy nature (as China had been doing) by resisting Japan's

efforts to save them. In any event, resistance would in the long run be futile, he believed, because, sooner or later, Imperial Japan would complete its historic mission to save Asia.[120]

For all this proclaimed concern with the general happiness of all Asians, proponents of Japan's divine mission regarded Japan's national interest as paramount. From this perspective, Asia was simply an untapped territory ripe for colonization with excess Japanese population. It was also a source of natural resources unexploited, thus wasted, by "inferior races."

In the early 1920s Lieutenant Fukunaga looked forward to the great colonizing mission he believed about to commence on the continent. The Japanese, he predicted, "will advance deeper and deeper into the interior of Mongolia and all the way to Siberia." Confident that the Japanese would be able to absorb the territories they conquered, Fukunaga wrote: "Wherever the Japanese go, they build shrines even in the most remote of areas. And a place where a white *torii* stands is spiritually Japanese territory, no matter where it happens to be, even if it is China or India."[121] Lieutenant Nishida, Fukunaga's fellow officer, likewise entertained no doubts about Japan's mission. He only hoped that civilian politicians with their "weak-kneed foreign policy" would not thwart the exercise of Japan's military power in Siberia.[122]

Certainly Nishida's fears were unfounded as far as the Seiyūkai's Mori was concerned. Mori called for Japan's "return to Asia," where it should set up an autarkic sphere in accordance with the principles of the Asian Monroe Doctrine. Only an economically self-sufficient bloc in Asia under Japan's leadership, he maintained, could "ensure peace and stability for seven or eight hundred million Asians."[123] But before Japan could establish such a bloc, it had first to discard the shackles of international treaties that limited its freedom. As a first step, Mori argued, Japan should "quit the League of Nations as soon as possible" in order to obtain "a free hand" in Asia.[124]

Admiral Kamiizumi Tokuya, born before the Meiji Restoration, belonged to an older generation of navalists and imperialists. Kamiizumi's vision of living space for the ever-increasing Japanese population, which was representative of Japanese expansionism, had much in common with German imperialist/national socialist ideas about *Lebensraum*. To understand Kamiizumi, one must remember that he, like many other proponents of Japan's mission in Asia, was a statist and took it for granted that the development of the state was contingent both on the size of its population and on territorial expansion.[125] These two factors, Kamiizumi held, determined whether or not a given state was a Great Power because he believed that only countries with populations in excess of 50 million counted as Great Powers.[126] In the short run, he focused on the important question of what to do with Japan's rapidly expanding population. He dismissed the pan-Asianist idea of resettling excess Japanese in China as impractical. China, he pointed out, already had a large population. Instead, he recommended colonization of Siberia and Central Asia. He saw no insurmountable obstacles here because Siberia and Central Asia were sparsely populated by "uncivilized natives" (*mikai no dojin*).[127] By exporting its excess population, Kamiizumi insisted, Japan would develop these parts of Asia.[128]

From a similar perspective, a much younger Mitsukawa Kametarō (1888–1936), founder of the Rōsōkai and the Yūzonsha and a close associate of both Kita Ikki and Admiral Kamiizumi, argued in 1931 that the Manchuria-Mongolia (*Man-Mō*)

region was a "special case," because it never belonged to China, so it would be "unnatural for China to annex it."[129] While he refused to recognize China's rights in the area, Mitsukawa insisted on what he termed Japan's "natural right of national survival" on the basis of which Japan was entitled to export its growing excess population into the Manchuria-Mongolia region because of its proximity. The Japanese had no choice, Mitsukawa argued, because, bottled up in a narrow territory and deprived of natural resources, the natural population increase in Japan was 1.2 million a year.[130]

But in addition to this "proximity" argument for colonial expansion, Mitsukawa also borrowed Kita Ikki's well-known division of the world into "capitalist" and "proletarian" nations. Just as class injustices should be redressed by redistributing individual wealth, redistribution, if necessary by force, ought also to remove the disparities in wealth between the "have" nations, such as Britain and the United States, and "have-not" nations, such as Japan and Germany.[131] Mitsukawa found historical precedents for this colonization. The Europeans had colonized the Americas in this way. Likewise, "in Africa and Australia, the Europeans conquered" large territories, "subduing the autochthonous population and setting up colonies."[132] Since Japan was merely following in their footsteps, the Europeans had therefore no grounds to condemn or criticize Japan. Without territorial redistribution, Mitsukawa argued, one could "not expect world peace to continue."[133]

Ishihara Hiroichirō, a millionaire who sponsored right-wing extremists in the 1930s and after Japan's defeat in 1945 joined the Japan Socialist Party, entertained equally grand schemes for Japan's expansion on the Asian continent and beyond.[134] In his view this was the only solution given the fact that Japan could not be self-sufficient as a "small country" without resources and with "an extraordinarily high population density." The object of such expansion should be Manchuria, with an area three times the size of Japan and a population of 34 million. Ishihara calculated that it could easily accept 24 million new immigrants from Japan without raising the population density to more than 50 per square kilometer.[135] But Ishihara did not limit his ambitions only to Manchuria. He also believed the American Philippines, British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, and Australia were suitable for Japanese colonization. By his calculations, those territories were capable of absorbing 270 million settlers and since Japan could only send a million per year, settling this *Lebensraum* would take two or three centuries. There was, however, a problem that prevented the realization of this grand scheme. The territories that he hoped to colonize with Japanese immigrants were Western colonies or, in the case of Australia, a white man's dominion. This, he recognized, presented an obstacle to Japanese colonization, but he believed it a violation of "the laws of Nature for the whites to dominate these sparsely populated territories in the East" and "prohibit East Asian immigration."[136]

As Ishihara unfolded his expansionist schemes in 1934, Japan had already set up the puppet state of Manchukuo and, like Hitler's Germany, had quit the League of Nations. Grandiose visions of expansion no longer seemed like idle dreams; they appeared close to realization.

Such expansionist dreams rested on the premise of Japan being engaged in a racial conflict. Unlike Nazi Germany, Japan never officially adopted explicitly racial policies and on the official level the emphasis was on slogans such as *gozoku kyōwa* (cooperation among five nationalities inhabiting Manchuria: Manchurians, Mongolians,

Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese), but the issue of race was nevertheless ubiquitous. Not only did Ishihara, as we have just seen, think in racial terms, but members of the radical Yūzonsha, for example, almost without exception, subscribed to a racialist concept of history. Ōkawa Shūmei entertained visions of a final racial conflict between Japan, "the strongest state in Asia," and America, "the strongest state of the West."[137] The notion of Japanese racial superiority was always close to the surface. Though he publicly fought for the liberation of Asia, in his diary Ōkawa dismissed Asians as "people without states," who "must not be regarded as equal to the Japanese."[138] Even Mitsukawa, who always made it a point to condemn racial prejudice, could not help thinking in racial categories. Like Ōkawa, he subscribed to an interpretation of history of "eastern and western races battling against each other."[139]

It would be a mistake to assume that only radical members of the right wing thought in racialist terms, however. Race-based thought dominated the DaiAjia kyōkai (Greater Asian Association) founded in 1933. The organization insisted that Asia constituted "racially a single community that shares the same fate."[140] Members included not only radicals like Mitsukawa and Kanokogi but also members of Japan's political and intellectual elite, such as Prince Konoe, writer and journalist Tokutomi Sohō, historian Hiraizumi Kiyoshi, Generals Honma Masaharu and Matsui Iwane and Admiral Viscount Ogasawara Naganari.[141] Even the conservative Baron Hiranuma, who apparently kept aloof from pan-Asianist associations, also saw history as a war of races. In the 1910s, he told Prince Yamagata Aritomo that "as soon as they have a chance, the whites will join forces to conquer the people of color." Yamagata readily agreed.[142]

Admiral Kamiizumi also regarded race, or more accurately racial homogeneity, as an important factor in international relations. By the criterion of racial homogeneity, he believed, Japan was superior to a multiethnic power such as the United States. This ethnic homogeneity ensured national solidarity and cohesion, wherein Japan's advantage lay. Japan should use this "racial" advantage, the Admiral held, to realize its mission to transform the world into a "true paradise" by means of "moral unification."[143]

Advocacy of Fascism and Nazism in Japan

After cataloguing at great length points of convergence between Fascism and Nazism and the ideas espoused by various Japanese thinkers, it is now necessary to take a look at advocates of fascism in Japan. By the mid-1930s, and in some cases even before, the apparent successes of Mussolini's Fascism in Italy and the stunning rise to power of Adolf Hitler led many Japanese to advocate fascist methods for Japan. Japan may not have become a fascist state, but in Japan there were many fascists and an even greater number of fascist sympathizers.

Contemporaries routinely acknowledged the presence of fascism in Japan. The leftist philosopher Tosaka Jun (1900–1945) fulminated against "constitutional fascism."[144] Liberal academics such as Yoshino Sakuzō, Minobe Tatsukichi (1873–1948), and Ōyama Ikuo (1880–1955), who would subsequently be forced to seek refuge in the United States, criticized "fascism in Japan."[145] Not only progressives and liberals, however, addressed the issue of Japanese fascism. Right-wing

commentators also recognized the growing influence of fascism in the 1930s. "Fascism has now penetrated every part of Japanese society and every social class, and is gaining a powerful foundation here," observed one of them in 1934.[146]

Sympathy and admiration for fascism and fascist solutions appeared early in Japan. Immediately after the future dictator's March on Rome in 1922, *Kokuhon*, for example, heaped accolades upon Mussolini's government, which it described as "the pride of Southern Europe."[147] *Kokuhon* admired in particular Mussolini's "ardent statist spirit"[148] that had led the Italian dictator to reject Wilsonian values. The *Duce*, *Kokuhon* noted, had restored "the atrophied [Italian] national polity,"[149] reaffirmed his loyalty to the Italian monarchy, and repudiated the International Labor Organization.[150] The lawyer Takeuchi Kakuji (1875–1946), a central figure in the Kokuhonsha, even alluded to the need for a Japanese equivalent of Mussolini, some unnamed "great man" who would lead in the construction of "a new Japan"[151] by eradicating postwar liberalism and individualism and smashing party politics. Although Baron Hiranuma was too prudent to declare himself in favor of fascism in print, he seems to have been less discreet in his conversations. On December 2, 1926, after listening for the first time to Hiranuma's political views, Prince Saionji remarked that "Japan is not yet ready for her Mussolini."[152] This enthusiasm for fascism and fascist methods predated by many years Hitler's rise to power.

As Hitler gained popularity in Germany, he too attracted attention from Japanese admirers. In 1931, Nakatani Takeyo (1898–1990), whose right-wing career had started in the early 1920s when he attended Yūzonsha and Kokuhonsha meetings as a Tokyo University student, was even more explicit. He wanted to "fundamentally restructure [Japan's] domestic organization." "Given the appalling situation of parliamentary politics," he could only achieve this, he believed, by "starting a fascist movement."[153]

By next year, 1932, Nakatani gloated over the great strides fascism had made in Japan in the previous six months. Rejecting the Marxist definition of fascism as "the last political stage of capitalism," Nakatani defined it simply as "a radical, active [*kōdōteki*] nationalism with anti-socialist, anti-capitalist tendencies," which was also "anti-international, anti-individualistic and anti-class."[154] Economically, he added, fascism stood for the control economy.[155] Fascism, Nakatani recognized, had many varieties. "Italian Fascism strives to realize the spirit of the great Mazzini in modern-day Italy. German fascism is a national movement that strives to realize the spirit of the great patriotic philosopher Fichte active a century ago. And the essence of Japanese fascism is clear without any explanation." "Like it or not," he wrote, "the advent of fascism is now inevitable. At present, even in Japan the current of fascism represents the main current of social and political thought."[156]

Hayashi Kimio (1883–1947), a Waseda University professor, was also convinced about the forthcoming victory of fascism, which he described as "an historical inevitability at the present stage of social development."[157] Hayashi saw fascism as a reaction to "international pressure, specifically, the Versailles Peace Treaty, the activities of the League of Nations, the aggression by foreign finance capital, political pressure by foreign powers, and so on."[158] The new Japan, he insisted, would "obviously have to be fascist" and "national socialist."[159]

Fellow Waseda professor Sugimori Kōjirō (1881–1968) agreed with Hayashi's assessment. He too noted that the League of Nations, the Washington Treaty, and

the Kellogg–Briand Treaty existed exclusively for the benefit of the Great Powers with vast territories and rich natural resources. Under the circumstances, it was incumbent upon Japan to revise these treaties and create its own self-sufficient economic bloc, just as it was necessary to limit selfish actions by individuals within Japan. It was also essential, he insisted, "for small patriotic organizations full of determination to come into being and steer public opinion at a time when the political parties and parliamentarism have lost the people's trust to a remarkable degree."[160]

The large number of pro-fascist articles written in its journal by the likes of Nakatani, Hayashi, and Sugimori, combined with the undisguised hatred of liberalism, individualism, and party politics characteristic of the Kokuhonsha from the day of its founding, gave the organization a fascist reputation. By the early 1930s this had become so widespread that Baron Hiranuma felt compelled to issue a formal denial in public.[161] Nonetheless, the Kokuhonsha continued to publish articles praising the achievements of Nazism and Fascism and extolling the virtues of Japan's homegrown fascism. For example, Tsukida Hiroko, a professor at Japan's Women's University, in an article entitled "The Nazis and Their Families," found Hitler's educational policies "merit consideration."[162] She was particularly impressed by Hitler's "fundamental policy" "to return to the family" and by his "scientific and practical" approach to education.[163]

Some articles, however, criticized German and Italian versions of fascism in asserting the superiority of Japan's indigenous version. For example, Makino Yoshirō in "A Basic Philosophical Study of Fascism" took Italian Fascism to task for its failure "to grasp the true concrete essence of the state—life"[164] and "the national socialism of the German Nazis" for being "egocentric" and "anti-foreign." He contrasted these two failed ideologies with "Japanese fascism," which "must grasp the true concrete life of man and society and stand on the source of the loftiest and most profound ideals of mankind." Interestingly, Makino equated fascism with Japanism (*Nihonshugi*), which in his view possessed a special individuality (*tokushu kosei*) and was "capable of realizing the ideals of international society."

While rejecting "a hollow kind of nationalism [*kokuminshugi*]," Makino also rejected "the abstract internationalism" that "cannot grasp in concrete terms the individual character of national history."[165] But though he insisted upon the superiority of the Japanese version of fascism, he nevertheless recognized many positive achievements of Italian and German fascisms. Mussolini "put the basis of unified developed of all political and economic structures in spiritual unification of the nation," while "Hitler's Nazis, having raised the flag of the national revival in behalf of the German people . . . engage in a daring and profound struggle against the three enemies that obstruct this [national revival]: Marxism, parliamentarism, and financial capital."[166] According to Makino, fascism stood for spiritual values in a struggle against the tide of evil materialism. Fascism, he explained, restored the dignity of the German people, liberated them from "a totally slave-like dependency upon the League of Nations and armament reduction treaties" and freed them from "exploitation by selfish blood-sucking financial capitalist Jews."[167] Although in Makino's view fascism had neither "systematic unity" nor "a scientific basis," he hoped "it would gain scientific reality by discovering creativity based upon actual existence."[168]

Makino was not alone in making a distinction between Japanese fascism (good) and foreign fascism (flawed). In a 1937 collection of essays, various Japanese "experts"

went to great lengths to explain how the fascism they favored differed from what they termed "national socialism."[169] In this endeavor, undertaken in the wake of the failed February 26, 1936 *coup* attempt by a group of young army officers, they made a distinction between Hitler's Nazism and Mussolini's Fascism on one hand and "national socialism" on the other.[170] While they praised the former, they condemned the latter as simply a disguised version of Bolshevism, and therefore beyond the pale. Failure to distinguish between fascism and "national socialism," the editor of the volume, Kita Reikichi, averred, revealed "the shallowness of one's consciousness."[171] Kita, no doubt mindful of his imprisoned brother's impending fate, stipulated that property rights must be protected and no ceiling on private property imposed.[172] Kita also made a concerted effort to explain that while in Japan the term "socialism" brought to mind Kōtoku Shūsui and Nanba Daisuke (a student who attempted to assassinate the Crown Prince in December 1923), as used by the Nazis in Germany it had no such left-wing connotations.[173] Kita insisted that since the Nazis took power they had pursued policies completely unlike "national socialism."[174]

Shimoi Harukichi (1883–1954), famed for his unlimited admiration for Mussolini, defined fascism as "an extreme statism" that "realizes tasks necessary today with the spirit that respects the national polity and national character and thereby unifies the national spirit."[175] Fascism, he proclaimed, was "a spiritual revolution that arose in opposition to modern Western materialistic civilization."[176] According to Shimoi, "national socialism" [*kokka shakaishugi*] is not fascism."[177] Gorai Kinzō saw no difference between "national socialism" and communism. Both, he wrote, "went against human nature."[178] Sugimori Kōjirō equated "national socialism" in Japan with the Stalinist "socialism in one country."[179] Ayakawa Takeji noted that "national socialists" in Japan were those who had apostatized from communism. They were closet communists, he warned.[180] Most of the contributors deplored lack of understanding of Hitler's policies in Japan and tried to prove he was no "national socialist" in the Japanese meaning of the word.

Such tortured distinctions serve only to reveal the degree of right-wing factionalism in Japan. Quarrels among fascists about the meaning of "national socialism" bring to mind the ideological battles between Stalinists and Trotskyites that at one time raged in the communist movement.

Yet, like with the debates within the Communist Party, such hair-splitting must be perceived in its historical context. For what appears meaningless to outsiders was often a matter of life-and-death to those directly involved. The articles cited above were published a year after the failed putsch of February 26, 1936. Though the rebellion, instigated by the Kōdōha (Imperial Way Faction), resulted more from army factionalism than from ideological differences, the rebel officers and their civilian associates, such as Kita Ikki and Nishida Mitsugi, were perceived as dangerous radicals, not unlike Bolsheviks. Not without reason, either. Kita Ikki's banned 1919 blueprint for reforming Japan, *Kokka kaizō hōan daikō*, from which some of the rebel officers drew inspiration, called for a radical change of the national polity, including introduction of dictatorship, planned economy along socialist lines, limits on the amounts owned by individuals and corporations, suspension of the Diet, and so on. Soon after the articles in question were published, Kita Ikki and Nishida were executed for their iconoclastic views.[181] To advocate radical ideas, even to be

suspected of advocating radical ideas, had become dangerous. In this context, the hairsplitting by Kita Reikichi and others in defining national socialism becomes understandable. Japanese fascists and their sympathizers were now eager to demonstrate they were not Bolshevik-like national socialists. But under the strange logic prevalent in Japan in 1937, while "radical" national socialism was beyond the pale, Hitler's "moderate" National Socialism was acceptable, as was Mussolini's Fascism. Both were, after all, Japan's anticommunist allies.

If one unintended result of the failed February 26 rebellion was the taming of the radical language of Japanese fascists and sympathizers, the dissolution of the Kokuhonsha was another. Contemporary commentators and modern historians relate the Kokuhonsha's dissolution to Saionji's insistence that Hiranuma resign from the organization as a condition for his appointment as president of the Privy Council. But other factors were at play, including the radical reputation the Kokuhonsha had managed to acquire since its founding in 1920.

As we have seen above, fascists and their sympathizers propounded radical views in the pages of the Kokuhonsha's publications. By 1936, moreover, such leading Kōdōha figures as Generals Araki Sadao and Masaki Jinzaburō, who were involved in the rebellion, had come to dominate the Kokuhonsha. After the failure of the rebellion, (which given his proximity to Araki and Masaki, he may have wished to succeed), the blatant advocacy of radical policies in the organization put Hiranuma's political career in jeopardy. Having concluded that the disadvantages of running the Kokuhonsha outweighed the advantages, Hiranuma had no qualms about accepting Saionji's condition: he resigned as president and withdrew his backing. Without Hiranuma's support, the Kokuhonsha could not exist. In June 1936, three months after Hiranuma resigned from the presidency of the organization on becoming the president of the Privy Council, the Kokuhonsha disbanded.[182]

Yet a few years later, after Pearl Harbor, Japanese no longer saw any need for ideological hairsplitting. For example, Okumura Kiwao, who wrote at the end of the 1930s and in the early 1940s, made no effort to hide the fact that his ideas were inspired by national socialism. On the contrary, Okumura stressed similarities between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan at every opportunity. In 1943, for instance, he wrote:[183]

> It is no coincidence that we have concluded an alliance with Germany led by Führer Hitler and Italy led by Prime Minister Mussolini. Both Hitler and Mussolini are phoenixes risen out of the ashes of the First World War. Their spirit of leadership, absolutely superior to the modern Anglo-American spirit, closely resembles the guiding principles of our nation, which are based on the great ideals of the national foundation.

As this shows, Okumura had no doubt as to the fascist character of the Japanese state. He stressed the commonality of values and goals between Japan and its allies. Each nation, Okumura noted, was engaged in the construction of a new order in its respective sphere of existence. Such efforts, in his view, formed one integral whole and, "from a world historical perspective," the fate of fascism and imperial Japan could not be separated. "The conclusion of a tripartite alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy . . . shows this most eloquently."[184]

In other words, if fascism perished, so would Japan. Fascism had become so ingrained in Okamura's mind that he could no longer envisage a divergence of destinies between Japan and its fascist allies. Given the fact that writers like Okumura were allowed to publish hymns praising fascism, it is small wonder that Japan acquired a reputation as a fascist country. Admittedly, Okamura issued the aforementioned remarks at the height of wartime hysteria, but this alone is not sufficient to account for the extremity of his views for, as already shown, such ideas had clear antecedents in the Japan of the 1920s and the 1930s. The wartime climate merely accentuated a trend.

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed some of the ideas that made up what is sometimes referred to as Japanese right-wing ideology (or Japanism). These included a Japanese version of totalitarianism, social Darwinism (with its adjuncts, eugenics, and glorification of war), anti-Semitism, hatred of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, extreme dislike of parliamentarism, and expansionism. None was exclusively fascist, but all were also present in Fascism and Nazism. Cumulatively, they strongly point to a convergence between Japanese right-wing thought and European fascism or national socialism. Advocates of these ideas became enthusiastic propagators of fascism in Japan in the 1930s.

The examples given earlier, mostly from mainstream publications, represent the views of significant figures in the political and military establishments, academia, and journalism. The pervasiveness of such ideas created a societal consensus that fascism was the ideology of the future. Not only were these ideas all part of European fascism, they all were opposed to liberalism, accounting for the "commonsensical" acceptance of the former and rejection of the latter.

The examples provided indicate beyond doubt that proto-fascist and fascist ideas constituted an important current of thought in prewar Japan. Indeed, having received a boost from the triumph of National Socialism in Germany, in the latter half of the 1930s fascism became Japan's leading ideology, penetrating the corridors of Japanese power, the mass media, and academia. Fascist views became so widespread that many who espoused them did so without being aware that they were such.

It is possible to attribute the popularity of fascist ideas in Japan to the prevalence of authoritarian and elitist traditions in Japanese society. The origins of these traditions can be traced back to the Confucianism that formed the core of Tokugawa ideology. Authoritarianism, elitism, or Confucianism cannot of course be equated with fascism. However, they too were anti-individualistic, socially conservative, *dirigiste*, and generally illiberal. This overlap goes some way toward explaining the misjudgment of Japanese who saw nothing more than fascism's elitism and authoritarianism and either refused or were unable to discern its other aspects.

In their seminal essay denying the applicability of the concept of fascism to Japan, Peter Duus and Daniel Okimoto argued that fascists in Japan were almost irrelevant. They represented only "a minor side current" and, far from determining government policies as in Germany and Italy, were in fact themselves victims of government oppression. Thus, for example, General Nagata Tetsuzan was assassinated in 1935; Kita Ikki was executed in 1937 for his alleged involvement in a failed military *coup*; General Araki was shunted off from a position of power and never attained the heights that

he would have, had he not been a fascist; and Nakano Seigo committed *harakiri* in 1943 under pressure from General Tōjō. The references to the Japanese fascists' victimhood, however, far from disproving the case for fascism in Japan, on closer inspection, suggests the opposite.[185]

On closer inspection one realizes that in fact the references suggest the opposite: namely, that fascists were in charge in prewar Japan, even if they themselves spurned this label. After all, it is not the labels that are important, but the ideological content. True, the fascist Kita Ikki was executed for his alleged association with young officers of the so-called Kōdōha, which engineered the 1936 rebellion. True, Generals Araki and Masaki, considered by many to be fascists, headed the Kōdōha. As a consequence of the failed 1936 *coup*, the Kōdōha lost out to another faction, the Tōseiha (Control Faction) and the two generals were ousted. But a few month before the *coup* a Kōdōha officer had assassinated General Nagata Tetsuzan, regarded as the guru of General Tōjō and other Tōseiha men. If one recognizes Nagata as a fascist—a characterization that even Duus and Okimoto concede as plausible—then one must deal with the fact that Nagata's followers, who shared his totalitarian views, came to dominate senior positions in the army after the February 1936 rebellion. The army's enhanced political clout in the wake of the failed *coup* is acknowledged by everyone, and its new leaders, who shared Nagata's views and general outlook, can with equal plausibility be described as fascists.

In any event, as the aforementioned examples amply show, fascism became a powerful current in the mainstream of Japan's politics in the 1930s. It was not a marginal phenomenon. Accordingly, it requires further study, for only a detailed analysis of this important ideology in Japan and its impact on Japanese politics can give us a proper and complete understanding of Japanese motives in embarking on the road to the greatest disaster in Japanese history, the Pacific War.

Notes

1. Representative of this viewpoint is Peter Duus and Daniel I. Okimoto, "Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan: The Failure of a Concept," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 39:1 (November 1979): 65–76.
2. Kanokogi's career and views will be discussed at a greater length in a forthcoming paper of mine.
3. Kanokogi Kazunobu, "Zentaishugi," *Rinrikyōkai rinri kōenshū*, 187 (March 1918): 28.
4. Ibid., p. 29.
5. Kanokogi, "Chōetsushugi," p. 26, cited in Miyamoto Moritarō, *Shūkyōteki ningen no seiji shisō: Abe Isoo to Kanokogi Kazunobu no baai* (Tokyo: Bokutakusha, 1984), p. 122.
6. But Nagata Tetsuzan was no simplistic technocrat. On his idealistic views, see e.g., Arisue Seizō's reminiscences in Nagata Tetsuzan kankōkai, ed., *Hiroku Nagata Tetsuzan* (Tokyo: Fuyō shobō, 1972), p. 72.
7. See, e.g., General Hata Shinji's book entitled *Teikoku no kokubō* (Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1932), pp. 186–187.
8. Mori claimed in "Hijōji no hijō shudan" (Extraordinary Measures for Extraordinary Times), June 18, 1932, reprinted in Yamaura Kan'ichi, *Mori Kaku* (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1982), p. 32, that his views differed from national socialism because the policies he advocated would be introduced by "free will," and not, like the latter, by coercion. He did not however define his concept of "free will."
9. Ibid., p. 20.

10. Ibid., pp. 32–35.
11. Both Professor Itō Takashi, *Shōwa shoki seijishi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1969) and Richard Yasko, "Hiranuma Kiichirō and Conservative Politics in Pre-War Japan," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1973, regard the Kokuhonsha as a conservative organization that stood for traditional right-wing (*fukko uyoku*) values.
12. "Henshūshitsu yori," *Kokuhon*, 4:6 (June 1924): 140.
13. "Henshūshitsu yori," *Kokuhon*, 5:3 (March 1925): 136.
14. Hata Eitarō, "Kokka sōdōin no hituyō ni tsuite," *Kokuhon*, 5:12 (December 1925): 11.
15. Ibid., pp. 11–17.
16. Ibid., p. 13.
17. On this point see, e.g., Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism, Comparison and Definition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), p. 12.
18. Kanokogi, *Eien no tatakai* (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1915), p. 58.
19. Ibid., p. 60.
20. Ibid., p. 120.
21. Kanokogi, *Sentōteki jinseikan* (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1917), p. 218.
22. Kanokogi, *Eien no tatakai*, p. 57.
23. Kanokogi was not the only person to glorify war. Ōkawa Shūmei, Kanokogi's colleague in the radical Yūzonsha also did so, regarding it as the dynamic creative force behind civilization and progress. See Christopher W. A. Szpilman, "The Dream of One Asia: Ōkawa Shūmei and Japanese Pan-Asianism," in Harald Fuess, ed., *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy* (Munich: Iudicium, 1998), p. 57. Kita Reikichi also stressed the value of war for human culture. "National struggles" (*minzoku tōsō*), he pointed out, had "always preceded the creation of a new culture." A strong state was necessary, he believed, to produce a superior culture and a strong state must resort to war. See his *Shōwa ishin* (Tokyo: Sekai bunko kankōkai, 1927), p. 143 and his *Jinshin itten no michi* (Tokyo: Kyōbunsha, 1931), pp. 190–191.
24. Kanokogi, *Eien no tatakai*, p. 115.
25. Ibid., p. 116.
26. Tsunoda Jun, ed., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki* (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1968), 1: 393.
27. Ibid., p. 401.
28. Ibid., p. 435.
29. See, e.g., Ibid., p. 308, entry for 1920, in which, in what is almost certainly a reference to the Morito incident, Ugaki typically, if not very originally, likens propagation of subversive ideas to the deliberate spreading of dangerous bacteria. See also p. 350, entry for 1920, where he writes, "circulation of ideas is similar in its workings to the spread of malignant bacteria in an organism."
30. Ibid., p. 338, entry for 1921.
31. Ibid., p. 393.
32. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920).
33. For example, Tsunoda, ed., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, 1: 336, entry for early 1921 and 1: 367, entry for 1922. This line of reasoning follows faithfully the argument made by Prince Konoe Fumimaro in his article in the December 15, 1918 issue of *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* entitled "Ei-Bei hon'i no heiwashugi o haisu" (I reject Anglo-American–centered Pacifism). On this, see Oka Yoshitake, *Konoe Fumimaro: unmei no seijika* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972), pp. 10–13.
34. Tsunoda, ed., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, 1: 367, entry for 1922.
35. Ibid., p. 363, entry for 1922. Also, Itō Ken in "Genbundan no byōsei o shindan-su," *Kokuhon*, 2:6 (June 1922).
36. Ikeda Shigenori, "Kōkokusaku to shite yūsei undō," *Kokuhon*, 6:5 (May 1926): 20.
37. Ibid., p. 24.
38. Ibid., p. 21.

39. Suzuki Zenji, *Nihon no yūseigaku: sono shisō to undō no kiseki* (Tokyo: Sankyō shuppan, 1983), p. 154. In English see Sumiko Otsubo Sitcawich, "Eugenics in Imperial Japan: Some Ironies of Modernity, 1883–1945," Unpublished Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1998. Chapter 6 is on Nagai.
40. For example, Nagai, *Seimeiron* (Tokyo: Rakuyōdō, 1913; third expanded edition, 1915) was followed by Nagai, *Seibutsugaku to tetsugaku to no sakai* (Tokyo: Rakuyōdō, 1916, fifteenth printing, 1922). Both titles were run-away bestsellers that went through several editions.
41. Since the word "yūseigaku" was not yet coined, Nagai used the word "jinrui kairyōgaku" (science of mankind improvement).
42. "Jinshu kaizengaku no ronri," *Jinsei*, vol. 11 (1915), quoted in Suzuki, *Nihon no yūseigaku*, pp. 93–94.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., pp. 161–162.
45. Nagai Hisomu, "Kantōgo," *Minzoku eisei*, 5:1–2 (1936) cited in Oguma Eiji, *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen: Nihonjin no jigazō no keifu* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 1996), p. 249.
46. See David O. Goodman and Masanori Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind: The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype, Expanded Edition* (Boston: Lexington, 2000) for an overview of this issue. Note however that they gloss over the popularity of such conspiracy theories in 1920s Japan.
47. Kitagami Baiseki (pseudonym of Higuchi), *Yudaya-ka* (Tokyo: Naigai Shobō, 1923). On Higuchi see Miyazawa Masanori, *Zōho Yudaya ronkō: Nihon ni okeru rongi no tsuiseki* (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1982), p. 22. One of Higuchi's earliest offerings was *Rōdō sōgi to Yudaya mondai* (Tokyo: Jikeikai, 1923). Higuchi wrote at least 13 books on the subject in addition to countless articles.
48. See "The Russian Extremists to Aim their Propaganda at Japan. The Lenin Government's Terrifying Program," *Jiji shinpō*, July 3, 1919.
49. On the subject of *The Protocols*, see Norman R. Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967). Such anti-Semitic views were by no means limited to Japan. After World War I, as Cohn points out, even well-informed Western observers (e.g., Winston Churchill) took *The Protocols* seriously, at least until the forgery was exposed.
50. Hō Kōshi (pseudonym of Colonel Yasue Norihiro, 1888–1950), *Sekai kakumei no rimen* (Tokyo: Nitorisha, 1924).
51. Kitagami, *Yudaya-ka*, p. 1 and Shiōden Nobutaka, *Shiōden Nobutaka kaikoroku* (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1964), p. 141.
52. Shiōden, *Shiōden Nobutaka kaikoroku*, p. 153. He gave lectures to the Imperial Household Agency and to the Imperial Prince Kanin.
53. Ibid., p. 150.
54. Imai Tokirō, "Sekaiteki ichidai kessha," *Gaikō jihō*, 33:393 (March 15, 1921): 30–51 (616–637).
55. Imai, "Gendai seijika ni sessō o semuru no gu," *Kokuhon*, 1:5 (May 1921): 69; Imai, "Sekaiteki ichidai kessha," p. 45.
56. Yoshino Sakuzō, "Iwayuru sekaiteki himitsu kessha no seitai," *Chūō kōron*, 36:6 (June 1921): 4.
57. Shōriki increased the circulation of *Yomiuri* from 40,000 copies to several hundred thousand. In a few years, it vied with *Asahi*. *Yomiuri* grew most spectacularly in the 1930s when all the major Japanese newspapers stirred war hysteria in an attempt to expand their circulation. Today, *Yomiuri* is the world's largest newspaper with a circulation of ten million. After the war, after a brief imprisonment and a purge as a war criminal, Shōriki was elected to the Diet and served as a minister in the third Hatoyama and the Ikeda cabinets.
58. On the Minzoku kenkyūkai, see Shiōden, *Nokutaka kaikoroku*, p. 141. General Masaki gives a list of members in Itō Takashi et al., eds., *Masaki Jinzaburō nikki* (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1981), 2: 33, entry for March 5, 1935.

59. Hata, "Osorubeki sekai kakumei inbō no shinsō," *Kokuhon*, 8:4 (April 1928): 7–12 ("Pigs and dogs," p. 10; the massacres, p. 12; the argument, p. 5). Hata obtained his information from a "German right wing, that is, a nationalist party" so, he conceded, the statistics might be "exaggerated to some extent," but that apparently did not affect the thrust of his argument.
60. Shiōden, *Shiōden Nobutaka kaikoroku*, p. 105.
61. Kitagami, *Yudaya-ka*, p. 108.
62. Tsunoda, ed., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, 1:247, after January 21, 1920.
63. Ibid., p. 246.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., p. 257, an undated entry between February 23, 1920 and March 13, 1920.
66. Imai, "Sekaiteki ichidai kessha," p. 50.
67. Ibid., p. 51.
68. Yoshino, "Iwayuru sekaiteki himitsu kessha no seitai," pp. 2–3, gives "the Jewish peril" as one of the Rōninkai's reasons for opposing the Crown Prince's tour. The background of the incident can be found in, e.g., Nezu Masashi, *Nihon gendaishi* (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1972), 3:268. *The London Times*, March 7, 1921, contains a fascinating account of right-wing efforts to prevent the Crown Prince from leaving Japan.
69. Miyake Daizō, "Yudayajin no inbō," *Kokuhon*, 4:1 (January 1924): 50.
70. See Katō Hiroharu (Kanji), "Kokka minjin no seishinka," *Kokuhon*, 6:1 (January 1926): 11. Quoted in C.W.A. Szpilman, "Conservatism and Its Enemies in Prewar Japan," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 30:2 (December 1998): 128.
71. Quoted in Nagao Ryūichi, *Nihon kenpō shisōshi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996), p. 97.
72. Mitsui Kōshi, "Yudaya-teki Marukusu shisō gekimetsu hōhō," *Kokuhon*, 5:11 (November 1925): 17–23.
73. Ibid., p. 21.
74. The Genri Nihonsha and their sympathizers received subsidies from the Army. For evidence, see, e.g., *Masaki Jinzaburō nikki*, 1:268, entry for August 12, 1934.
75. "Waga kuni ni okeru bōkoku undō no keitō," published as an appendix to *Daitō Bunka* (October 1927), Hiranuma Kiichirō kankei monjo #1155, Kensei shirōshitsu, National Diet Library.
76. Kanokogi Kazunobu, "Kōkokushugi to Dai-Ajiashugi," *Sumera Ajia* (Tokyo: Dōbun shoin, 1941), pp. 126 and 194. On the KMT, see Miyamoto, p. 204.
77. Hiranuma Kiichirō hensan iinkai, ed., *Hiranuma Kiichirō kaikoroku* (Tokyo: Gakuyō shobō: 1954), p. 129. The book was published in 1955, but Hiranuma dictated most of it, including the words quoted earlier, during the latter stages of the Pacific War. See introduction, p. 2.
78. On this point, see e.g., Itō Masanori, *Gunbatsu kōbōshi* (Tokyo: Bungei shunjū shinsha, 1958), pp. 158–160.
79. For example, Kanokogi, "Chōetsushugi," pp. 21–22, quoted in Miyamoto, *Shūkyōteki ningen no seiji shisō*, p. 121.
80. *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, 1:182.
81. Kanokogi Kazunobu, *Busseki junreikō* (Tokyo Daitōkaku, 1920), p. 187.
82. Tsunoda, ed., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, 1:195.
83. Ibid., 1:362.
84. Letter from Fukunaga Ken to Mitsukawa Kametarō, May 18, 1923?, MM 5-16-1, Fukunaga 3. All letters to Mitsukawa Kametarō cited here are contained in Mitsukawa Kametarō kankei monjo (hereafter, MM). The collection, provisionally catalogued by Mrs. Hara Mari, Mitsukawa's grand daughter, is in the process of being donated to the National Diet Library, and will be open to the general public in two years' time. I am indebted to Mrs. Negishi Keiko (Mitsukawa's daughter) and Mrs. Hara for permission to use the collection.
85. Nishida Mitsugi to Mitsukawa Kametarō, February 7, 1925, MM 5-5, Nishida 10.
86. Yamaoka Mannosuke et al., eds., *Suzuki Kisaburō* (Tokyo: Suzuki Kisaburō denki hensankai, 1955), pp. 235–237.

87. Mori, "Hijōji no hijō shudan" June 18, 1932, reprinted in Yamaura Kan'ichi, *Mori Kaku* (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1982), p. 38.
88. Ibid., p. 6.
89. Ibid., p. 8.
90. Ibid., p. 39.
91. For example, Yamaoka et al., eds., *Suzuki Kisaburō*, p. 242.
92. Yamaura, *Mori Kaku*, p. 35.
93. Ibid., p. 36.
94. Kita Reikichi, *Jinshin itten* (Tokyo: Kyōbunsha, 1931), p. 114.
95. Yamaura, *Mori Kaku*, p. 35.
96. This was, e.g., Kita Ikki's argument.
97. Tsunoda, ed., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, 1:225–226.
98. Fukunaga Ken to Mitsukawa, dated September 26, 1924?, MM, 5-16-1, Fukunaga 5.
99. "Hyōron," *Tōa no hikari*, April 1919, 74.
100. Ibid.
101. "Ōshū sensō to kokumin shisō," Ō*saka Mainichi*, August 18, 1917.
102. "Narikin shisō o haisu," *Yorozu chōhō*, July 23, 1917.
103. *Yomiuri shinbun*, September 25, 1917.
104. *Kokumin shinbun*, August 6, 1917.
105. *Asahi shinbun*, January 3, 1920.
106. Yokoi Tokiyoshi, "Kaizō mondai ni tsuite," *Tōa no hikari*, January 1920, p. 12.
107. Ibid., p. 11.
108. Tazaki Hitoyoshi (Jingi), "Kōkoku Nihon wa gojin no dai-ichi genri nari," *Kokuhon*, 7:9 (September 1927): 3–4.
109. Ibid., p. 4.
110. Nishida Mitsugi to Mitsukawa Kametarō, October 25, 1922, MM 5-5, Nishida 4.
111. Itō Ken, "Genbundan no byōsei o shindan-su," *Kokuhon*, 2:6 (June 1922): 115–116.
112. Ibid., pp. 116–7.
113. Okumura Kiwao, *Sonnō jōi no kessen* (Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1943), pp. 79–80.
114. Kamiizumi Tokuya, *Dai Nihon shugi* (Tokyo: Kōbundō shoten, 1918), p. 176.
115. Kita Ikki, *Shina kakumei gaishi*, reprinted in *Kita Ikki chosakushū*, II (Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1965), pp. 262–264. For Kita and Nazism and fascism, see, e.g., Miyamoto Moritarō, "Kita Ikki," *Kindai Nihon shisō* (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1978), 3:55 and Kuno Osamu and Tsurumi Shunsuke, *Gendai Nihon no shisō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971), p. 178.
116. Tsunoda, ed., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, 1:285.
117. Fukunaga Ken to Mitsukawa Kametarō, October 12, 1922, MM 5-16-1, Fukunaga 1.
118. Ibid.
119. Nishida to Mitsukawa, October 25, 1922, MM 5-5, Nishida 4.
120. Kanokogi, *Sumera Ajia*, p. 48.
121. Fukunaga to Mitsukawa, October 12, 1922, MM 5-16-1, Fukunaga 1.
122. Nishida to Mitsukawa, October 25, 1922, MM 5-5, Nishida 4.
123. Yamaura, *Mori Kaku*, p. 26.
124. Ibid., p. 26.
125. Kamiizumi, *Dai Nihon shugi*, p. 175.
126. Ibid., p. 175.
127. Ibid., p. 180.
128. Ibid., p. 180.
129. Mitsukawa Kametarō, *Man-Mō tokushusei no kaibō* (Tokyo: Kō-Akaku, 1931), pp. 1–6 and 24.
130. Ibid., p. 23.
131. Mitsukawa also took up this theme in *Gekihen kachū no sekai to Nihon* (Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1932), p. 248.

132. Mitsukawa, *Man-Mō tokushusei no kaibō*, p. 27.
133. Ibid., p. 23.
134. Ishihara Hiroichirō, *Shin Nihon kensetsu* (1934) reprinted in Akazawa Shirō and Awaya Kentarō, eds., *Ishihara Hiroichirō kankei monjo* (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 1994), 2: 22.
135. Ibid., p. 25.
136. Ibid., p. 27.
137. Szpilman, "The Dream of One Asia," p. 58.
138. Ibid., pp. 58–59.
139. See Mitsukawa Kametarō, *Tōzai jinshu tōsō shikan* (Tokyo: Tōyō kenkyūkai shuppan, 1924).
140. Shimonaka Yasaburō-den kankōkai, ed., *Shimonaka Yasaburō jiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1965), p. 243.
141. Ibid., p. 244.
142. Hiranuma Kiichirō kaikoroku hensan iinkai, ed., *Hiranuma Kiichirō kaikoroku*, p. 119. Also cited by Matsui Shinichirō, "Sūmitsuin to shisō mondai" in Yui Masaomi, ed., *Sūmitsuin no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003), p. 101.
143. Ibid., p. 176.
144. For example, Tosaka Jun, "Jiyūshugi, fashizumu, shakaishugi," *Nihon ideorogii ron* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1985), p. 413.
145. For example, Ōyama Ikuo et al., "Nihon fuashizumu no tenbō," *Chūō kōron*, 46:3 (June 1931) and Minobe Tatsukichi, "Gikai seido no kiki," *Chūō kōron*, 46:3 (March 1931).
146. Furuzono Kanji, "Sekai gonin otoko o kataru," *Kokuhon*, 14:1 (January 1934): 108.
147. "Henshūshitsu yori," *Kokuhon*, 2:12 (December 1922): 136. See also Ōta Kōzō, "Nan-Ō ni tatsu Mususorini," in the same issue, pp. 29–35.
148. See also, e.g., Ishiyama Iwao, "Mususorini no kokka-kan," *Kokuhon* (September 1924): 61.
149. "Henshūshitsu yori," *Kokuhon*.
150. Nagai Zenzō, "Fuashisuchi shūseika no Itari rōdō kumiai," *Kokuhon*, 4:3 (March 1924):58–66. See also "Henshūshitsu yori," *Kokuhon*, 2:9 (September 1922): 138.
151. Takeuchi Kakuji, "Mondai no kenkyū," *Kokuhon*, 5:6 (June 1925): 34.
152. See Oka Yoshitake et al., eds., *Taishō demokurashii-ki no seiji: Matsumoto Gōkichi seiji nisshi* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969), p. 544.
153. Letter from Nakatani to Mitsukawa Kametarō, July 27, 1931, MM, 5-13-1.
154. Nakatani Takeyo, "Fasshizumu no honshitsu to sono kokka kannen," *Kokuhon*, 12:3 (April 1932): 19–20.
155. Ibid., p. 21.
156. Ibid., p. 23.
157. Hayashi Kimio, "Fashizumu no honshitsu to Nihon no shôrai," *Kokuhon*, 12:3 (March 1932): 29.
158. Ibid., p. 30.
159. Ibid., p. 32.
160. Sugimori Kōjirō, "Fashizumu no shidō mokuhyō," *Kokuhon*, 12:3 (March 1932): 33.
161. For example, Ishihama Tomoyuki, "Nihon kokumin shakaishugi no shochōryū," *Kaizō*, 14:5 (April 1932): 54 described the Kokuhonsha as a fascist organization. The text of the statement by Hiranuma was published in *Kaizō* (May 1932): 94, and in *Kokuhon*, 12:5 (May 1932): 2–3.
162. Tsukida Hiroko, "Nachisu to sono katei," *Kokuhon*, 14:1 (January 1934): 71.
163. Ibid., pp. 69 and 71.
164. Makino Yoshirō, "Fasshizumu no tetsugakuteki kiso kentō," part 2, *Kokuhon*, 14:3 (March 1934): 45.
165. All quotes from Ibid., p. 46.
166. Ibid., p. 47.
167. Ibid., p. 40.
168. Ibid., p. 43.

169. Kita Reikichi, "Preface," in Kita Reikichi, ed., *Fassho to kokka shakaishugi* (Tokyo: Nihon shosō, 1937), p. 9.
170. Kita, "Nachisu to kokka shakaishugi," in ibid., p. 151.
171. Ibid., p. 152.
172. Ibid., p. 9. Charges of Bolshevism against Kita Ikki were made by his erstwhile comrade, Professor Kanokogi Kazunobu. See "2.26 jiken no shisōshiteki kentō," *Ishin*, 3:4 (May 1936): 6–7.
173. Kita, "Nachisu to kokka shakaishugi," p. 166.
174. Ibid., p. 167.
175. Shimoi Harukichi, "Fassho to kokka shakaishugi," in Kita, ed., *Fassho to kokka shakaishugi*, p. 20. Shimoi, one-time professor at the Oriental Institute, Naples, lived in Italy for many years. He apparently had sufficient connections to help arrange a meeting between *Il Duce* and Kanō Jigorō, the inventor of judo, during the latter's visit to Italy in 1928. Kanō Jigorō, *Watakushi no shōgai*, edited by Ōtaki Tadao (Tokyo: Shin-jinbutsu ōraisha, 1972), p. 201. Shimoi's extensive right-wing connections were recognized by the Italian Embassy, which used his services to stop pro-Ethiopian activities by some right-wing organizations. Valdo Ferreti, *Il Giappone e La Politica Estera Italiana, 1935–1941* (Milan: Giuffre Editore, 1995), p. 59.
176. Ibid.
177. Ibid., p. 30.
178. Gorai Kinzō, "Fashizumu to kokka shakaishugi," in Kita, ed., *Fassho to kokka shakaishugi*, p. 61.
179. Sugimori Kōjirō, "Kokka shakaishugi to tōsei keizai," in Kita, ed., *Fassho to kokka shakaishugi*, p. 75.
180. Ayakawa Takeji, "Junsei Nihonshugi undō to kokka shakaishugi undō," in Kita, ed., *Fassho to kokka shakaishugi*, pp. 100–101.
181. On Kita and his radical views, see, e.g., George M. Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969) and C.W.A. Szpilman, "Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion," *Modern Asian Studies*, 36:2 (2002): 474–482.
182. On Hiranuma and the Kokuhonsha, see, e.g., C.W.A. Szpilman, "Conservatism and Its Enemies in Prewar Japan: The Case of Hiranuma Kiichirō and the Kokuhonsha," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 30:2 (1998). In "Hiranuma Kiichirō no seiji shisō to Kokuhonsha: kōshitsu kan o chūshin to shite" in Itō Yukio and Kawada Minoru, eds., *Kindai Nihon no kōshitsu kan* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2004), I point out the ideological differences between Hiranuma and some of his followers that led to the dissolution of the Kokuhonsha.
183. Okumura Kiwao, *Sonnō jōi no kessen* (Tokyo: Ōbunsha, 1943), p. 290.
184. Ibid., p. 144.
185. It is also true that some German fascists were victims of the Nazi government, such as Ernst Röhm and a number of the SA leaders, the left wing of National Socialism represented by the Strasser brothers and others. Yet to my knowledge nobody has argued for the inapplicability of fascism as a concept in Germany on such a premise.

Chapter 4

The "Jewish Problem" in Japanese–German Relations, 1933–1945

Gerhard Krebs

Anti-Semitism took root in Japan before the rise of the Nazis to power in Germany, but Adolf Hitler's ascent gave new impetus to Japanese advocates of Jewish conspiracy theories. In addition to the anti-Jewish lobbying of domestic anti-Semites, the Japanese government, as it moved toward alliance with Germany, faced pressure from Berlin to adopt complementary, harsh policies toward the Jews. To the disappointment of the radical anti-Semites, Japanese officials proved reluctant to follow the German lead. Instead, they adopted policies that reflected conflicted Japanese attitudes about the Jews.

The Origins of Anti-Semitism in Japan

It is a curiosity that in Japan, a country which never had more than very few Jewish inhabitants, anti-Semitism ever should have existed. However, with the advent of Western culture since the Meiji Restoration, every conceivable intellectual tradition entered Japan. This included anti-Semitism, even though this happened relatively late and the Japanese came to view Jews in divergent and often contradictory ways.

In 1883 "The Merchant of Venice" became the first Shakespearean play to be translated into Japanese. It was later repeatedly staged with great success and Shylock, with his unyielding demand for a "pound of human flesh," became a symbol of the cruelty and avarice of "the Jewish people," making a deep and long-lasting impression on anti-Semitic activists.[1] He is still very well known in Japan and much later even became the hero of a modern comic story (*manga*).[2]

The conversion to Christianity of some Japanese, combined with their sense of national identity, contributed to the emergence of a variety of attitudes toward Jews. Views ranged from the radical anti-Semitism of the prominent nationalist Tokutomi Sohō[3] to a feeling of kinship with the Jewish people. A theory even developed that the Japanese were descendants of exiled Jews.[4]

Early in the twentieth century, contacts with Jews proved very favorable for the Japanese. During the war against Russia 1904–1905, Japan ran into severe financial difficulties, which could have easily led to military defeat. At that time, accounts of Jewish pogroms had damaged Russia's reputation and the vice president of the Bank of Japan, Takahashi Korekiyo, persuaded the Jewish agent of the New York investment

bank Kuhn, Loeb and Company, to grant Tokyo much-needed credit. This representative was Jakob Schiff, an American of Jewish-German descent. As other American and British banks followed suit, Japan's financial situation recovered so that the war could be continued until its victorious end. Schiff later traveled to Japan where he was received and decorated by the emperor.[5] Schiff's action laid the foundation for the Jews' reputation for financial and political power in twentieth-century Japan, a reputation of mixed blessing. Japanese anti-Semites viewed the subsequent tensions between Japan and the West, including the Pacific War, as a result of machinations by the "almighty" Jews. They saw the great war in December 1941 as not with the "United States" but with the "Jewnited States."[6]

At the Versailles Peace Conference, as well as during the following years, Japan supported the Balfour Declaration and the Zionist agenda,[7] and Jewish organizations repeatedly sought support from the Japanese government.[8] Japan did not have a clearly articulated policy on Jews, but under the influence of European, particularly Russian, propaganda, Japanese increasingly viewed Jews as a driving force behind revolutions; not only the French (1789) and German (1918), but especially the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917). The religious–ethnic backgrounds of Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky, Karl Radek, and Rosa Luxemburg seemed to provide evidence for such a view.

Many Japanese officers who fought along with Western and anti-Bolshevik Russian troops in the Siberian intervention from 1918 were influenced by their contacts with these Russians. They began to understand anti-Semitism as part of a wider counterrevolutionary spirit. The so-called *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a fake of Russian origin that accused the Jews of striving for world domination, served as a standard book for indoctrination. Since the Jews lacked a nation-state of their own, they were accused of aiming to destroy all others. To bring down these already weakened nation-states, the Jews were said to use not only trade and financial transactions but also political and military means such as: democracy, liberalism, socialism, class-struggle, wars, and revolution. Russian exiles in Manchuria, most of them impoverished as a result of the revolution, hated their Jewish countrymen and influenced Japanese activists. In their propaganda, accusations against "Jewish Bolshevism" and "Jewish capitalism" were broadly and alternately used.[9] These were often seen as the two sides of the same coin.[10]

The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the holy book of anti-Semites, was taken seriously by broad strata of the populations of many countries of the world, including the United States where the "automobile king" Henry Ford acted as a leading anti-Semitic propagandist through his own newspaper *The Dearborn Independent*. These articles were later published as a book,[11] which was soon translated into German and was extensively used by Adolf Hitler for his book *Mein Kampf*. Hitler admired Ford, who had financially supported his election campaigns, and was so much influenced by him that he called him "my inspiration."[12] Ford's anti-Semitic campaigns also attracted attention in Japan, so Consul General Kumazaki Kyō in New York found it sufficiently important to report the fact when Ford published an English translation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.[13]

Anti-Semitic propaganda soon began to gain ground. In March 1921, Mori Kenkichi, a member of the Information Bureau (Jōhōbu) in the Foreign Ministry,

finished "A Study about the Jews" (Yudayajin ni kansuru kenkyū) that argued for more research on the subject. Citing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and an 1896 speech by Theodor Herzl, founder of the Zionist movement, Mori warned of the Jews' domination of world finance and industry. He also noted their influence on education and their potential ability to confuse public opinion, stir up revolutionary sentiments, and take political control of countries all over the world.[14] Based on this and similar studies from his Information Bureau, Foreign Minister Uchida Yasuya instructed Japan's diplomatic representatives abroad to do research on Jewish power and publications.[15] Subsequently, reports by embassies and legations on the "Jewish problem" began to flow in.

A Japanese translation of the *Protocols* appeared in 1924. The assumed translator was an army officer named Yasue Norihiro, who became the most influential anti-Semitic propagandist based on his experiences during the Siberian intervention. He was sent by the General Staff to Palestine in 1927–1928 to further investigate Jewish problems. Though he did not change his anti-Semitic convictions, Jewish determination and energy to build a fatherland there impressed him. In 1938, he was appointed head of the intelligence division of the (Japanese) Kwantung Army in Manchuria. He was considered the Japanese army's highest authority until the end of World War II. Though he and many of his fellow officers saw the danger of Bolshevism behind Jewish aims and activities, they also saw a chance for Japan if Jewish favor could be won.[16] So his attitude, and that of other anti-Semites, had a double face in the years ahead.

This two-sided view also developed among anti-Semitic Christian ministers in Japan, like the prominent Protestant Sakai Shōgun who had spent several years in the United States and who traveled to Palestine with Yasue in 1927–1928. Though he stressed the peril arising from the alleged Jewish aim of world domination, he believed that good relations with the Jews could possibly pave the way to closer relations with the United States and Great Britain.[17]

Anti-Semitism also took root in nationalist circles, such as in the Kokuhonsha (National Foundation Society), founded by Hiranuma Kiichirō, a prominent bureaucrat in the Ministry of Justice who became justice minister in 1923. The society, which Hiranuma led, had a strong antiliberal and anti-Semitic tendency and counted many prominent civilians and military men among its members.[18] Hiranuma, who would hold many high positions in Japan through the late 1930s, including service as president of the Privy Council and as prime minister, always feared a Jewish-inspired revolution[19] and fought against any democratic tendencies, which he believed would pave the way for such a development.

Still, some Japanese actively opposed anti-Semitism. One of the admirers of the Jews and a supporter of Zionist thought was the influential Christian theologian Uchimura Kanzō, a humanist and pacifist.[20] Also intellectuals like Yoshino Sakuzō, a liberal professor of constitutional law at Tokyo University, criticized anti-Semitism, anticipating that it could be abused as an instrument to oppress democratic thoughts.[21] Japanese nationalists, too, were by no means unanimously anti-Semitic, as the example of Mitsukawa Kametarō demonstrates. Mitsukawa, an active propagandist for Japanese colonialism and for several years professor at Takushoku University, repeatedly criticized such attitudes.[22]

Following the conquest of Manchuria in 1931, more than 10,000 Jews—most of them Russian exiles—came under Japanese rule and the ambivalent attitude the Japanese held toward these subjects soon became apparent. The Jews frequently suffered from blackmail and violence meted out by Russian criminal gangs that often cooperated with members of Japan's military secret police and by the Russian Fascist Party. Therefore, Jewish organizations appealed to the Japanese government for protection.[23] Finally, in 1937, they were placed under the control and observation of the newly established National Council of Jewish Communities in the Far East (Kyokutō Yudaya minzoku kaigi). The Japanese thereby sought to protect and control the Jews as they did other Russians. For some time, this organization secured the cooperation of the Jews, who regularly expressed their loyalty to Japan and the Manchurian administration. From 1937 to 1939, three annual conventions of the Jewish communities in the Far East were held in Harbin. Such Japanese representatives as Major General Higuchi Kiichirō, chief of Kwantung Army military intelligence in Harbin, and Colonel Yasue, the army's liaison officer with the Jewish community, sought the cooperation of the Jews, hoping to improve relations with the United States and attract capital. They repeatedly delivered speeches favorable to the Jewish cause.[24]

German Meddling Begins

Nazi diplomats were annoyed by such demonstrations of harmony between the Japanese and the Jews.[25] In his book *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had maintained that the destruction of Germany during World War I reflected not so much British but Jewish interests, just as the intended annihilation of Japan would serve the purposes of the Jewish leaders who were trying to establish a world empire. The Jewish–Bolshevist domination was making progress all over Europe and in the United States, he continued. However, a single independent nation within the growing number of denationalized colonial-style territories could undermine the whole Jewish plan. So the Jews had to fear Japan, since it had been able to avoid racial infiltration, thus preserving its racial "purity." Japan was the nation that could, according to Hitler, be a stumbling block against Jewish world domination.[26]

In 1937, the first Japanese translation of Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* was published, an abridged version that left out some of his more extremist racist views, particularly those insulting to the Japanese. This was followed by other right-wing German books, like those of Nazi-ideologist Alfred Rosenberg, who had published the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in German translation in the 1920s. Rosenberg's main publication, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in which he warned that China could serve as a base for Jewish aggression against Japan, was translated into Japanese in 1938.[27] A book produced by a member of World War I Field-Marshal Erich von Ludendorff's circle also stressed the "Jewish conspiracy" against Japan.[28] Although these publications did not have any substantial impact on the Japanese public, they provided new material and new impetus for anti-Semitic propaganda in nationalist and militarist quarters.

As a radical racist, Hitler was far from recognizing the Japanese as equals to the Germans. In *Mein Kampf* he only conceded to them the status of a people preserving

foreign culture (*kulturtragend*) while they had never created their own culture (*kulturschöpferisch*) as the Aryans had done, nor had destroyed other cultures (*kulturzerstörend*) like the Jews.[29]

During the early years of Nazi rule, tensions between Germany and Japan repeatedly arose because the Nazis' racist ideas had led to acts of discrimination against offspring of Japanese–German as well as of Chinese–German marriages.[30] Ambassador Herbert von Dirksen in Tokyo in his annual report for 1933 mentioned that the Jewish problem and the race question had led to a certain strain in German–Japanese relations.[31] One year later he reported that the race question was still an obstacle, though Germany had gained more sympathy and understanding in Japan.[32] The quarrels largely ended in 1935, when the so-called Nuremberg Racial Laws clarified that the expression "non-Aryans" should be understood as a legal term for Jews only. To a degree, however, mistrust remained because Japanese had been the object of racial prejudice themselves and therefore had developed an aversion against racism. Furthermore, many regarded the Jews as fellow Asians. This provided a certain protection for the Jews in the Far East and thus limited the efficiency of German propaganda in Japan.

The German Embassy in Tokyo itself had come under pressure from local representatives of the Nazi Party who observed the rather tolerant attitude of the Japanese with uneasiness. It was particularly obvious that the Japanese music scene was dominated by Jewish exiles, among them Klaus Pringsheim, who, besides activities such as working as a conductor, taught at the National Music Academy in Tokyo. He happened to be the twin brother of Katja Mann, the wife of the famous German novelist (and Nazi-critic) Thomas Mann, and was therefore a well-known figure. The Tokyo branch of the Nazi Party (a part of the so-called Nazi *Auslandsorganisation*) protested at the German Embassy against these artists' performances, but in 1934 Ambassador von Dirksen refused to intervene. In his opinion, the distinction between Aryans and non-Aryans was unknown in foreign countries and the effort to separate them had been criticized in Japan. Even the Jewish exiles would be seen as representatives of German music. In the months and years ahead, this dispute further intensified when Joseph Rosenstock, a Jewish musician, became conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra.[33]

When a part of the Japanese press praised the Jewish musicians and their "fight against the despotic cultural policy of National Socialism," a German diplomat called to protest to Tōgō Shigenori, ministerial director of European affairs (Ō-A-kyokuchō) in the Foreign Ministry in August 1936. Tōgō maintained that it was beyond his power to influence the employment or removal of musicians, especially since these "expelled musicians" were very popular in Japan. Therefore, the Japanese government could do nothing that could be interpreted as an act of racial discrimination.[34] It should be mentioned here that Nazi officials were suspicious that Tōgō's German wife Edith was not of pure Aryan origin.[35]

Despite Tōgō's stand, in the long run, increasing German pressure seems to have overcome official Japanese reluctance. Pringsheim's contract with the Music Academy was not renewed in 1937. He accepted a position in Bangkok, but returned to Japan in 1939 when he obtained employment in a smaller private music school in Tokyo.[36] The Jewish German economist Kurt Singer experienced a similar fate and

left Japan for Australia in 1939. He blamed the "National Socialist Teachers' Union" for exerting pressure on the Japanese Ministry of Education.[37] The philosopher Karl Löwith, who faced increased pressure after the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact in 1940, ended his work at Tōhoku University in Sendai and emigrated to the United States in 1941.[38]

German Naval Attaché Paul Wenneker participated in the anti-Semitic propaganda activities of the German Embassy, though apparently not on his own initiative. In May 1935, Naval Captain Inuzuka Koreshige called on him to elaborate on his anti-Semitic convictions and boast that the Japanese navy had entrusted him with the task of exposing the Jewish peril to the world. When Inuzuka asked for propaganda material, Wenneker gave him whatever was available.[39]

Inuzuka, who had been influenced by European anti-Semites during his sojourn in France in World War I and his subsequent participation in the Siberian intervention, was constantly engaged in studies on every kind of question involving Jews. Within the Naval General Staff, he published his findings in a series called *Jewish Information* (Yudaya jōhō) some of the publications also titled *Jewish Information—Secret* (Yudaya jōhō hi) or even *Jewish Information—Top Secret* (Yudaya jōhō gokuhi), which apparently were also distributed to other institutions. Besides that, he gave many lectures to younger navy officers. In these, he made the Jews and the Freemasons responsible for the alleged policy of encirclement against Japan by the Western powers and China (ABCD), as well as for revolutionary maneuverings resulting in the popular front, against which Japan, Germany, and Italy had initiated a countermovement. In Inuzuka's opinion, Hitler had no other choice but to follow the political line he had initiated. Inuzuka saw the whole of world history as shaped by a Jewish conspiracy against Japan.[40] As usual in anti-Semitic propanganda all over the world, Inuzuka considered Freemasonry a Christian tool of the Jews.

Major General Shiōden Nobutaka, who had also served in France and in Siberia and retired from the army in 1930, became another major source of anti-Semitic propaganda. In February 1936 Shiōden became the founding president of a research institute called Association for International Politics and Economy (Kokusai Seikei Gakkai), sponsored by the Foreign Ministry, which expected the institute to supply the government with reliable information on Jews. In this function, Shiōden participated in anti-Semitic conferences in Germany and brought home voluminous propaganda material for translation into Japanese. His institute published a journal named *Kokusai himitsuryoku kenkyū* (Studies on International Secret Forces), which appeared once or twice a year and was often stamped "secret." The first four editions contained the full text of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Renamed *Yudaya kenkyū* (Jewish Studies), the journal became a monthly in 1941.

Studies indicate that from the mid-1930s the Japanese Home Ministry took the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* seriously.[41] Japanese anti-Semites like Inuzuka and Yasue gained new influence after the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany in 1936. As the cases of the musicians and scholars and the growing contacts between nationalists of both countries have demonstrated, Japan's growing interest in concluding a military alliance with the European Axis powers meant that from the autumn of 1938 Germany could more easily exert pressure concerning the "Jewish question." In a report of March 1939 the German Embassy official in Tokyo

responsible for the press expressed hope that due to the German–Japanese Cultural Agreement, signed on the second anniversary of the Anti-Comintern Pact (November 25, 1938), Jewish professors, teachers, and artists would be denied further sojourn in Japan. He further stressed that the editor of the *Japan Advertiser*, the American Jew Wilfrid Fleisher, was publishing anti-German articles at every opportunity.[42] In October 1940, two weeks after the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact, Ambassador Eugen Ott happily reported that the *Japan Advertiser*, considered by him to be "the American-Jewish main organ of Anglo-Saxon propaganda," would come into the possession of its former rival, the *Japan Times*, and would henceforth be published as *Japan Times and Advertiser*.[43]

A Shelter in the Far East: Shanghai

In autumn 1937, shortly after the outbreak of the war with China, Japanese troops conquered Shanghai, a city harboring a considerable Jewish minority of various national backgrounds in its population. When the Nazi government in Germany intensified its pressure on the Jews in 1938, the Jewish community in Shanghai grew further because most countries had closed their borders to refugees, while for Shanghai, due to its international status, no visa was necessary. At first, the Japanese, being the *de facto* masters of Shanghai, were not at all happy about this development, but they soon found a way to capitalize on it. The city's Japanese consul general received orders to draw the resident Jews, along with their considerable financial resources, away from Great Britain to the Japanese side. Particularly targeted were the Sassoons, a Sephardic-Jewish family called *the Rothschilds of East Asia*.

In April 1938 a research committee on "Muslim and Jewish problems" was founded on the initiative of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. It included the vice ministers of the Foreign (Horinouchi Kensuke), Army (Umezu Yoshijirō), and Navy (Yamamoto Isoroku) Ministries,[44] but the real work was done by officials of all three ministries as well as officers of the army and navy General Staffs, including such leading anti-Semites as Inuzuka and Yasue. Several months after its foundation the committee decided to dissuade Jews from immigrating to Japan.[45] At the same time Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, who at the time also temporarily held the foreign minister's portfolio, informed the Japanese diplomatic representatives abroad that Japan would use the same conditions for Jews who applied for visas as for all other applicants.[46] He also instructed his consul general in Shanghai to use those Jews in the city who were interested in good relations with Japan. Konoe reasoned that these persons had substantial financial resources and it would be good if they disassociated themselves from England. Here he was thinking especially of the Sassoon family,[47] which held British citizenship.[48]

In November 1938, after the annexation of Austria, the German government started nationwide pogroms against Jews that resulted in a wave of emigrants. Since this could affect areas under Japanese control, in December a conference of the top five cabinet ministers in Tokyo decided that Japan should not try to attract Jews expelled by Nazi Germany. Other than that, Japan would not adopt Germany's extremely hostile attitude toward Jews because such a policy would contradict Japan's long-standing demand for equal treatment of all races. Also, hostile acts

against Jews should be avoided lest they impair the relations with the United States. The costs of warfare in China made it necessary to attract foreign investment in areas under Japanese control. Therefore, Jews should be treated like other foreigners. Furthermore, exceptions to the policy of discouraging Jewish immigration could be made for rich entrepreneurs and technicians whose skills could be useful for Japan. Even the army minister, a protagonist for a military alliance with Germany, backed this policy wholeheartedly.[49] Foreign Minister Arita Hachirō transmitted this decision to all Japanese diplomatic representatives, confirming Konoe's telegram of October and adding that the policy would apply not only to Japan itself but also to Manchuria and Japanese-controlled areas of China.[50]

At the end of 1938, and in contrast to Japan's policy, the Shanghai Municipal Council, an international committee of local residents under British domination, recommended barring any further Jewish refugees from coming to Shanghai in order to avoid worsening the financial strains on the international community.[51] The Japanese Foreign Ministry, however, warned its consulate general in Shanghai not to participate in this harsh policy. Not only would such a stance strain relations with Germany, since the Nazi government had an interest in getting rid of the Jews, it would also have repercussions on relations with the United States. Therefore, the Foreign Ministry issued an order to make the Municipal Council the scapegoat for all restrictive actions taken against the Jews in Shanghai.[52] As a result of the discussions within the Council, the German government let this body know that it had no means to hinder Jews from emigration, noting that many of them had booked their passages to foreign countries after they had left Germany.[53] Furthermore, the German government did not ban emigration until late autumn 1941.

The question of how to treat Jews in areas under Japanese control also became the subject of discussion in the House of Peers at the end of February 1939. One of the members, Akaike Atsushi, known as the author of anti-Semitic publications, asked the opinion of Foreign Minister Arita concerning the situation in Shanghai. In Akaike's view the Municipal Council and the police were controlled by Jews (including Victor Sassoon) who were siding with Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang government and therefore had to be considered as part of the enemy camp by Japan. Another member of the House of Peers and former ambassador to the United States, Debuchi Katsuji, drew attention to the recent increase in the number of Jews in the Far East, especially in Shanghai, as result of the anti-Semitic campaign in Germany. He pointed out that great concern had been expressed about this by some sections of the Japanese public, but stressed the traditional tolerance of Japan toward foreigners and the necessity to make the attitude of the Japanese nation toward Jews quite clear. Foreign Minister Arita confirmed Japan's policy in his reply, saying that Japan had never discriminated against aliens either through legislation or as a matter of fact. Viewing the present situation, the government had decided on a definite policy toward Jews on the basis of nondiscrimination. The Jewish residents in Japan would be treated just like other foreign residents, all of whom were free from discrimination. Jews arriving in Japan would be subjected to the immigration law like other foreigners, but would never be denied entry simply because they were Jews.[54]

In the winter of 1938–1939 Tokyo's negotiations for a military alliance with Berlin and Rome deadlocked because Japanese leaders, with the exception of army

officers, wanted a pact against the Soviet Union exclusively, while the Germans and Italians demanded an alliance directed also against Great Britain and France. To the delight of the German Embassy in Tokyo, many radical propagandists in Japan supported Germany's policy, energetically exerting pressure on their government. It is small wonder that anti-Semitic slogans were included in this agitation.[55] Among the propagandists were Nakano Seigō,[56] journalist and leader of the small radical party Tōhōkai; Shiratori Toshio,[57] career diplomat and during 1938–1940 ambassador to Italy; Tokutomi Sohō,[58] aged nationalist ideologue; Major General Shiōden[59] and Naval Captain Inuzuka.[60]

There were no influential politicians among the anti-Semitic propagandists and significantly, though an anti-Semite himself because he had feared a Jewish-inspired revolution for many decades,[61] Hiranuma did not join the pro-Nazi camp and did not make anti-Semitic statements in his new role as prime minister from January 1939. He had had to dissolve Kokuhonsha in 1936 to avoid reproach for having made common cause with the circles responsible for the army revolt of February that year. Hiranuma, whose whole life had been dedicated to securing the *tennō*-centered state of Japan, now feared that with liberalism and socialism under control, another "un-Japanese" ideology, European-style fascism, would get a grip on Japan.

On the military side, only middle-ranked officers joined in making anti-Semitic propaganda. Among them was Inuzuka, who would hold the position of commissioner in charge of Jewish questions in navy-administered Shanghai from 1939 to 1942. Even the Foreign Ministry financially supported his work.[62] Foreign Minister Arita, referring to a common decision by the Army, Navy, and Foreign Ministries, informed his consul general in Shanghai in April 1939 about the subjects to be researched by Inuzuka and his army counterpart Yasue. These included a living zone to be established for the Jewish refugees, the policy toward the Jewish capitalists (*zaibatsu*) in Shanghai, the chances of successfully inviting Jewish capitalists to invest, and the use of Jewish power in China for improving Japanese–American relations.[63]

The two officers formed a committee together with Consul Ishiguro Shirō and started investigations. One of Inuzuka's early studies warned the Foreign Ministry that 1,000 refugees, all of them extremely poor, were expected each month. Japan, he declared, must take precautions against this movement but should avoid any impression of discrimination against Jews.[64] A joint report was sent to Tokyo in July that advised using the power of the Jews in China to influence American public opinion and policy in a pro-Japanese direction and to attract Jewish capital. For that purpose at least 30,000 Jews should be settled in Manchuria or in China, while immigration to Japan proper should be barred. The committee members had held conferences with Victor Sassoon and other Jews about potential investment of Jewish capital in Manchuria. Furthermore, according to their recommendation, Germany should be persuaded to cut off Jewish emigration to Shanghai. In any case, those parts of the city under the control of the Japanese military should be closed off, while Jews already residing in Shanghai should be concentrated in a special zone with autonomous administration. It should also be considered if such a zone should be established outside Shanghai, perhaps on the island of Hainan.[65]

Of all these recommendations only the closing off the Japanese-controlled parts of Shanghai to Jewish immigration was realized immediately. In August letters to the

consul generals of the other powers, including Germany, Japan advised that it would not tolerate further immigration of refugees to the zone under its control and would introduce compulsory registration for those already living there.[66] In same month, a few weeks before war erupted in Europe, Foreign Minister Arita appealed via his ambassador in Berlin, Ōshima Hiroshi, to the German government to forestall Jewish emigration to Shanghai in the future. He made clear that Japanese authorities in the occupied part of China, especially in Shanghai, would not tolerate further Jewish immigration. Germany promised to consider cooperation.[67]

When Japan several days later announced its determination to bar Jewish immigrants from those parts of Shanghai it directly controlled, effective from August 22, the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, having already proposed such a measure in the previous year, immediately followed suit.[68] The French Concession soon joined in this policy, too, but all allowed exceptions, for example, for family members.[69] The introduction of a system of entry permits was considered as the solution to the problem. Representatives of Germany and Italy protested against the restrictions, and because they ignored the new regulations, Jewish immigration continued for a while,[70] mainly via Italian liners.

When Germany concluded a treaty of nonaggression with the Soviet Union on August 23, the dialogue with Japan on a military alliance broke down. In October, after Germany had defeated Poland and Polish refugees started to arrive in the Far East, the Japanese intensified controls in Shanghai and introduced compulsory registration.[71]

Inuzuka continued to publish his anti-Semitic writings, but because he had to act in accord with the more moderate national policy of Japan, his publications now appeared under his pen name Utsunomiya Kiyo. He justified not only Hitler's policy of suppression against the Jews, but also blamed the Jews for the China War and the anti-Japanese mood in the West, particularly in the United States, and viewed them as the driving force behind Marxism and all revolutionary movements.[72] Nonetheless, his adherence to the relatively moderate policy of the Japanese government helped the Jews of Shanghai to survive World War II. After the war, he would describe this period in an article with the evocative title "The Japanese Auschwitz was a Paradise."[73]

Despite Japan's unwillingness to adopt a German-style policy toward the Jews in China, the Japanese-sponsored puppet government in Nanking, established in 1940 under Wang Ching-wei, adopted anti-Semitic rhetoric and anti-Semitic campaigns in the name of fighting the American–British–Jewish imperialists, especially Roosevelt, the "puppet of the Jews." The leading organization was the Chinese League Against U.S. Aggression, headed by Tang Liang-li, the chief of Wang's Department of International Publicity, who had gotten his training in Nazi Germany. Propaganda campaigns were also organized against the "Jewish parasites" in Shanghai.[74]

A Special Case: Manchuria

The Japanese pursued a slightly different policy in Manchuria, an area controlled by the Kwantung Army together with the South Manchurian Railway Company, an important economic as well as political enterprise of which the Japanese government held many shares. Major General Higuchi, chief of Kwantung Army military

intelligence in Harbin since August 1937, decided to allow a certain degree of Jewish immigration to Manchuria in order to use the alleged wealth and influence of the Jews.[75] The friendly speeches he, Yasue, and other Japanese participants regularly delivered at the conventions of the Council of Jewish Communities in the Far East aimed at this purpose, and in Shanghai Inuzuka struggled to pursue the same policy.[76] Indeed Matsuoka Yōsuke, the long-time president of the railway company, and entrepreneur Ayukawa Gisuke, the founder of the Nissan company, not only aimed at encouraging American-Jewish investment but also at developing German-Jewish technical know-how.[77] In pursuit of these goals Matsuoka employed the Presbyterian minister Kotsuji Setsuzō, an authority on Old Testament and Jewish history, as an advisor from 1938 to 1940. Allegedly Matsuoka even saved, on his own responsibility, 5,000 Jews by personally enabling them to transit through Manchuria and Japan.[78] Ayukawa kept contact with Inuzuka in Shanghai,[79] who, as already mentioned, had joined with Colonel Yasue in suggesting efforts to attract Jewish settlers to regions under Japanese domination, particularly Manchuria.

German diplomats, especially those in Manchuria, regarded the Japanese interest in Jewish economic potential and the show of harmony between the Japanese and the Jews with great mistrust. The anger intensified when Dr. Abraham Kaufmann, the president of the National Congress of Jewish communities in the Far East, declared at their third convention at Harbin in December 1939, that the group would side with Great Britain in the European War. At that time Japan was still a neutral country. Even Colonel Yasue, who previously had been held in high esteem by the Germans because of his anti-Semitic publications, was criticized and accused of attempting "to make a good impression on Jewish finance and government circles in the U.S.A. by demonstrating an eye-catching pro-Jewish attitude."[80]

After Matsuoka became foreign minister and concluded the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy in 1940, he continued his pragmatic attitude regarding Jewish problems. He even endeavored to get Jewish support for his policy to seek a peaceful solution for the strained relations with the United States by contacting a Polish Jew residing in Manchuria and inviting him to his private residence in late December.[81] Pressure exerted by Germany, however, led to the cancellation of the fourth convention of the Jewish communities in the Far East, scheduled for December 1940. By this time German officials viewed Colonel Yasue and Naval Captain Inuzuka with disdain as "friends of the Jews." Shortly thereafter the Japanese army put Yasue on the inactive list.[82]

Inuzuka became a particular target of German criticism when he showed deep understanding of the refugees' plight in radio speeches on the problem of immigrants in Shanghai under the title "Japan's Attitude Towards the Jewish Problem." He maintained that Japan acted under the principle of "equality of all races" in granting shelter to the Jewish refugees. The fact that the Jewish community in Kobe sent a letter of gratitude to Inuzuka irritated the German diplomatic representative in Shanghai even more.[83] At the time the German Embassy in Tokyo did not know that Inuzuka was the same person who was writing, under the pseudonym Utsunomiya Kiyo, anti-Semitic books that were effusively praised by the Germans.[84]

As mentioned above, the committee of members from the Japanese Army, Navy, and Foreign Ministries had recommended Jewish investment and Jewish settlers for

Manchuria in 1939. Planning for an autonomous Jewish zone there, for which the Soviet "autonomous region" of Birobidjan might have stood as a model, continued until 1940.[85] Nothing developed from these plans, however, as potential Jewish investors hesitated and the issue became controversial among the Japanese.[86]

A Loophole: Kaunas

With Mussolini's decision to enter the European War in June 1940 it was no longer possible to travel from Europe to Shanghai using Italian steamship lines. The only route left was via the Soviet Union on the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The Japanese consul in the Lithuanian capital of Kaunas, Sugihara Chiune, interpreting Foreign Ministry regulations quite generously, issued thousands of Japanese transit visas, which were the precondition for traveling through the Soviet Union and Japan. Most of those who got visas and finally reached Shanghai were Polish Jews who had escaped their home country ahead of the German occupying forces. Among those who escaped were 250 students of a Yeshiva School (a Jewish theological high school). Sugihara had acted under extreme time pressure because Japan had to dissolve its consulate in Lithuania when that country fell to the Soviet Union several days later. He spent the remaining war years in diplomatic positions in Berlin, Prague, Königsberg, and Bucharest.[87]

Sugihara had initiated an exchange of telegrams with Foreign Minister Matsuoka, who clearly had given his consent under the usual conditions to issue visas to entrepreneurs who would be useful for Japan, persons with sufficient financial funds or those in possession of a visa for a third country.[88] Sugihara's fictional destination for the refugees to whom he issued visas was the Dutch island of Curaçao in the Caribbean where no visa was required, but in practice landing was not permitted. Questioned later by Matsuoka about the number of visas he had issued, Sugihara mentioned 2,132, among them 1,500 to Jews.[89] A list with their names still exists in the Japanese Foreign Ministry Archives.[90] It seems, however, that a total of 6,000 persons reached Shanghai with Sugihara's help because in several cases more than one person traveled under a single passport, including children accompanying their parents.[91]

Though Sugihara had exceeded the bounds of Foreign Minister Matsuoka's instructions, there is no evidence that he was ever blamed during his active service. Rather Sugihara, who had started his career as a mere interpreter and later became engaged in intelligence activities, had a remarkable career. There might have been a secret understanding with Matsuoka to interpret the regulations rather generously. That would explain the passage in the memoirs of Matsuoka's former advisor on Jewish questions quoted above claiming that the Foreign Minister had saved 5,000 Jews on his own responsibility by personally enabling them to make transit travels through Manchuria and Japan.

Japan sent Sugihara to positions in Kaunas, Prague, Königsberg, and Bucharest primarily to collect intelligence material on the Soviet Union and in regard to an eventual German war against the USSR. For this purpose he cooperated with many Poles, former officers as well as civilians, including Jews. Some provided him with information in return for a chance to leave the German-controlled regions of Europe with Japanese or Manchurian passports.[92] Not only was Sugihara able to engineer the safe escape of his own agents together with the Jews, but the Polish secret service,

Sugihara's former partner, now operating underground, faked a number of visas that enabled more Jews to escape. These persons, too, were allowed to enter Japanese-controlled areas,[93] leading the Japanese consul general in Shanghai to complain about the problems created by the appearance of so many faked visas in the city.[94]

German authorities, unable to intervene against persons with Japanese or Manchurian passports, viewed Sugihara's activities with suspicion.[95] Particularly the Forschungsamt (Research Office) of the air force, which had among its tasks the deciphering of Japanese telegrams, demanded several times that Japan recall Sugihara.[96] Only when he was transferred to faraway Bucharest did the tensions lessen. Germany's unhappiness reflected the fact that Sugihara's Polish agents were not only spying for Japan against the Soviet Union but also for the Polish government-in-exile and therefore for Great Britain, Germany's active and Japan's potential enemy.

At the end of the war Sugihara was interned by the Soviets and returned to Japan only in 1947. There he was dismissed from diplomatic service. Although the Foreign Ministry denied it for many decades, his family has claimed that the dismissal was dishonorable as a result of his unauthorized action issuing visas to Jews and that he had lost his right to receive a pension.[97] This explanation has been widely accepted among historians and journalists, but doubts remain. Some believe that his activities in Lithuania did not contradict the policy of the Japanese government, did not harm his career, and led him to be entrusted with intelligence tasks again when after the war he went from Japan to the Soviet Union, ostensibly for business purposes.[98] Furthermore, other Japanese diplomats also had issued visas to Jews in the Soviet Union, Vienna, and Prague, although in smaller numbers.[99] In any case, the Japanese government officially rehabilitated Sugihara in 1991—five years after his death—and apologized to his widow.

The Pacific War Years and After

Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 closed the last open door for transit passengers. In the increasingly aggressive atmosphere in Japan, anti-Semites intensified their campaigns, which became even more hostile after the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941. In Shanghai, the Municipal Council continued to function at a certain level, though in January 1942 the members of the Anglo-Saxon nations lost their seats. When the Japanese took over the International Settlement, a certain number of Allied nationals were arrested, but most were not interned until 1943. The Jewish population had risen to 18,000 by this time, later peaking at about 20,000 as many Jews moved from Manchuria and other parts of China to Shanghai. Their living conditions worsened since American financial support ended.

After the expansion of the war in East Asia and the Pacific, it was no longer necessary for Japan to consider the reactions of the United States, Great Britain, and other countries. Rather it seemed ever more advisable to avoid provoking Germany. Mistrust of the Jews intensified since this group sympathized more or less openly with the Anglo-Saxon powers, Japan's enemies. Germany strengthened this tendency by depriving all Jews, including former Austrians, of German citizenship effective from January 1, 1942.[100] It is an irony of history but German citizenship until that

time had granted a certain degree of protection to the Jews in Japanese-controlled areas. After the outbreak of the China war in 1937 German Jews residing in China had even inquired if they would be allowed to hoist the Swastika flag for their protection in case of approaching Japanese troops, as proposed by the Japanese consul general in Tientsin.[101] The German Foreign Ministry decided that they would not be allowed to do so and should hoist a white flag or wear an armband with an adequate inscription instead.[102]

In January 1942 the Japanese Liaison Conference between the government and the supreme command drafted a new policy toward the Jews. This updated the Five Ministers Conference decision of December 1938 and the various studies by the committees composed of staff members from the Foreign, Army, and Navy Ministries in 1939. The reasons for a lenient treatment—to attract Jewish investment and avoid provoking the Anglo-Saxon powers—had disappeared with the outbreak of war. Furthermore, Japan's allies Germany and Italy had taken strict measures against the Jews, and Germany had stripped them of citizenship. Foreign Minister Tōgō informed his top diplomats in Manchuria, Peking, Shanghai, and Nanking of the new policies, instructing them to treat German Jews as stateless. They were to show kindness to Jews from neutral countries if they could be useful for Japan, but all others were to be observed strictly so that they would not be able to engage in espionage.[103]

The details were decided by the Liaison Conference on March 11, 1942. Now the immigration of Jews into the portion of Asia under Japanese domination—an area that was rapidly expanding—was prohibited, although there was still some room for exceptions. The Jews were to be closely observed and hostile actions by them prevented. Nevertheless, a policy entirely hostile toward the Jews was considered incompatible with the principles of the "Eight corners of the world under one roof" (*hakkō ichiu*)—that is, under the humane rule of the Japanese emperor—and should hence be avoided. Furthermore, the Japanese worried that severe measures would provide ammunition to enemy propagandists.[104]

It was clearly evident that the anti-Jewish mood was growing in Japan and a part of the press and the official radio promoted this. Especially the dailies *Mainichi Shinbun* and *Hōchi Shinbun* (which merged with *Yomiuri Shinbun* in 1942) glorified Nazi ideology and blamed the Jews for instigating wars.[105] In 1938 *Mainichi* had organized an exhibition on "Greater Germany" under the auspices of Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. In 1942–1943 the right-wing papers organized symposia and exhibitions on "Jews and Freemasons" in department stores of the Matsuya and the Takashimaya chains. These activities were partly financed by the German Embassy and backed by the information bureau of the Japanese government.[106] The programs of the national broadcasting corporation stressed the alleged Jewish conspiracy aiming at world domination. They maintained that the Anglo-Saxon nations and China were led, or at least controlled, by Jews.[107]

Certain anti-Semitic traits also can be found in the 1942–1943 postwar planning activities of the Welfare Ministry (Kōseishō). These studies expressed sympathy for Hitler's policy of suppression against the Jews and assumed that the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, dominated by Japan, would have to be protected against

Jewish intrigues in the future. They quoted long passages from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as proof of the alleged Jewish peril. Nevertheless it was recommended that the "Jewish problem" be solved in the spirit of morality typical of the Japanese Empire despite treaty bonds with Germany and Italy. The study was conducted under the subtitle "Research on World Policy with the Yamato Race as Nucleus" (*Yamato minzoku o chūkaku to suru sekai seisaku no kentō*).[108]

It is also noteworthy that in the April 1942 general elections, many successful candidates ran on anti-Semitic platforms: Major General Shiōden, diplomat Shiratori, journalist and party politician Nakano, and Colonel Hashimoto Kingorō to name but a few. German Propaganda Minister Goebbels commented on the results with great delight since it allegedly proved that the Nazi movement had initiated a world revolution.[109] Throughout the war, however, no cabinet minister made anti-Semitic remarks and the agitation of the extreme anti-Semites in Japan quite often was a means of criticizing the government for being too moderate. Inuzuka was also attacked for being too lenient toward the Jews and was recalled to active navy service in 1942. This was apparently the result of German pressure as well as agitation against him by more radical Japanese anti-Semites like General Shiōden. Thus, Inuzuka no longer participated in the shaping of the Japanese policy regarding the Jews in Shanghai, a removal comparable to that of Colonel Yasue from his similar post in Manchuria some time earlier.

In February 1943, a "designated zone" (*shitei chiku*) was established in the Shanghai ward of Hongkew, sometimes called a "ghetto," in which those "stateless" Jews who had arrived in Shanghai since 1937 had to live. They were required to move into this small part of the International Settlement by May 18 and were not allowed to leave the area without special permission. These "stateless people" in fact were Jewish refugees who escaped the Holocaust: German Jews, including those from Austria, who where stripped of their citizenship in 1941, and Jews from countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic states that no longer existed according to Japanese contemporary understanding of world politics. It did not affect most of the Russian Jews, however, since they had arrived before 1937 and because Japan did not wish to provoke the Soviet Union, still a neutral power in the Pacific War.

Often, the establishment of the "designated zone" has been interpreted as a result of German pressure,[110] but actually the reason seems to have been Japanese fear of sabotage or other hostile actions by the Jews. As mentioned earlier, to concentrate the Jews in a restricted zone had been considered in Japanese planning since 1939, and perhaps Russian "advisers" of the Japanese authorities in Shanghai had played a certain role.[111] Furthermore, the establishment of the designated zone was carried through at about the same time when the majority of Allied nationals were interned. Joseph Meisinger, German "police attaché" and representative of the SS in Japan traveled several times to Shanghai and is said to have expressly recommended the extermination of all Jews under Japanese control.[112] So far, however, no document has been found to prove that he influenced the Japanese policy in Shanghai. Meisinger, better known as the "butcher of Warsaw," had the primary task of controlling the German community in the Far East and indoctrinating the Nazi spirit. His charge also included collecting intelligence material and to preventing anti-German espionage, but he failed completely in the case of Soviet spy Richard Sorge and his ring.[113]

It seems unlikely that the German ambassador to Tokyo appointed in December 1942, Heinrich Georg Stahmer, had much interest in pushing the Japanese toward a more extreme anti-Jewish policy. He had been a Freemason until 1931 and for that reason the "Greater Berlin Branch" of the Nazi Party in 1935 considered stripping him of the party membership he had held since January 1, 1932. It was decided that he might stay in the party but he was not allowed to engage in party activities.[114] No reason was given for a decision to exclude him from membership in the SS in February 1938,[115] but after World War II Stahmer claimed that it was because of his former membership in the Freemason organization.[116] There might have been another reason though, as Stahmer's wife Helga was half Jewish.[117] In November 1937 Stahmer and all other staff members of the Nazi Party's "Bureau Ribbentrop" that was to be integrated into the Foreign Ministry in 1938 were instructed by Ribbentrop to submit within four months documentary evidence that they and their wives had only Aryan ancestors.[118] The deadline of March 1, 1938 was preceded by Stahmer's exclusion from the SS by one month, perhaps because he could not submit the evidence demanded. He maintained after the war that he returned his membership book to the Nazi party, but did not mention when this had happened.[119]

There is proof that German Minister for Occupied Territories of Eastern Europe Alfred Rosenberg attempted to influence Japanese policy. In May 1942, he advised Ambassador Ōshima in Berlin to segregate the Jews in Shanghai before they moved to various regions of the Far East where they could create problems for Japan.[120] Rosenberg's books were published continuously in Japanese translation, including at this time *The Truth about the Jewish-Zionist Movement*, foreworded by Major General Shiōden. Rosenberg's accusations that the Jews were responsible for the war[121] obviously had their greatest influence on critics of the "weak-kneed" government policy in the lower echelons rather than on the cabinet or the highest military leaders who formulated policy.

Accordingly, the Japanese decision to concentrate all Jews in one quarter seems to have been made by Tokyo alone, just as similar plans in 1939 had resulted from interservice liaison. The motivating fear of hostile acts by the Jews, some of whom were convinced communists, was not completely absurd, because several acts of espionage, sabotage, and cooperation with the Chinese resistance are documented.[122] Other communist immigrants, not all of them Jews, cooperated with the Soviet Union.[123]

If the Jewish refugees who lived in overcrowded Hongkew among 100,000 Chinese and their counterparts in other parts of China had nothing to fear from the Germans directly, they were often treated harshly by the Japanese. Nevertheless they survived the war, to some extent because of the absence of a clear-cut Japanese policy for handling the "Jewish problem." This had made the government itself an object of attack by such radical anti-Semites as Major General Shiōden, since 1942 member of the Diet.[124]

In Japan proper, Jews were treated according to their nationality. Citizens of enemy countries were interned, but those with former German citizenship or citizenship of countries conquered by Germany were only placed under observation. From February 1945, however, the group of "enemy aliens" to be interned was widened to include Jews from Germany, France, Spain, and Poland. The internment meant in many cases incarceration in a regular prison, as happened to the previously

mentioned musician Klaus Pringsheim and his two sons Hans and Klaus. Their internment ended only with Japan's defeat.[125]

Anti-Semitism in the Postwar Period

After the war, Japan's anti-Semites behaved as discreetly as possible, trying to disguise their dark past. Although accused of war crimes, Inuzuka was released because some Jews testified in his favor. In 1952 he even became the founder and president of the Japan–Israel Society, a position he held until his death in 1965. He and other "friends of the Jews," who actually had personal histories as anti-Semites, were honored by the state of Israel. The highest decoration, however, was granted to a true friend of the Jews, namely Sugihara Chiune.

Diplomatic relations between Japan and Israel were established in 1952, and in 1963 the respective legations were upgraded to embassies. Relations were friendly but not very close. The oil crises of the 1970s, however, led Japan to seek closer relations with the Arab countries and adopt a cooler attitude toward Israel. This change occurred more quickly than similar shifts in the foreign policies of some Western countries.

In the mid-1980s, Japan witnessed a sharp increase of anti-Semitic literature. At this time, the country experienced extreme American pressure to open its home market for imports. Furthermore, this was the early stage of the rising yen that led to difficulties for the export industry. Many authors suspected an economic war against Japan spearheaded by the United States. Some writers believed that the Jews started an intrigue, using their financial power in order to lead an international conspiracy to destroy Japan.

Shiōden's 1941 publication *Jewish Thought and Movemen*t, including the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and the foreword by Hiranuma Kiichirō, was reprinted. The reissue contained no new commentary.[126] The *Protocols* were especially widely read and taken seriously at the time. Uno Masami, a Protestant Minister, had initiated the boom. He wrote many anti-Semitic books, which sold more than one million copies each.[127]

When a medical doctor, unknown to the public until that time, published a long article in the monthly *Marco Polo* in February 1995 expressing doubt that the Germans had exterminated the Jews with poison gas,[128] the Simon Wiesenthal Center counterattacked. The publishing company, Bungei Shunjū, became defensive and reacted in panic. Not only were the copies still in the shops withdrawn, but leading members of the editorial staff lost their positions. Finally the publication of the journal was discontinued completely.[129] What seemed to be a victory of political correctness became a dubious victory, however. For many Japanese it once more confirmed their image of the almighty "international Jew."

Ironically, one anti-Semitic group in Japan recently made not the Jews, but their fellow Japanese its victims. When in March 1995 the extremist religious sect Aum-Shinrikyō spread poisonous sarin gas in subways in Tokyo killing 12 and sickening an estimated 5,500 persons it claimed it was fighting sinister forces like international Jewry. The sect drew its convictions not only from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* but was also familiar with the anti-Semitic publications popular in Japan since the 1980s, including Uno Masami's books.[130]

Conclusion

Japanese came in contact with anti-Semitic ideology since the Meiji era via Christian thought and Western culture in general. Their own first experience was of a positive nature, however, when a Jewish banker provided foreign loans at a time when Japan had been on the brink of financial collapse during the war with Russia. This action ironically reinforced the idea of Jewish omnipotence, and raised the fear that one day this power could be directed against Japan. After World War I many Japanese military officers came in contact with anti-Semitic White Russians during the Siberian intervention and in Manchuria. In their propaganda the Jews stood behind all revolutions from the French Revolution to the Chinese Revolution and particularly the Russian Revolution. They allegedly used socialism, communism, liberalism, democracy, and Freemasonry as their tools. The holy book in these circles was the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a work of anti-Semitic propaganda of nationalist Russian origin that accused the Jews of striving for world domination. After the Manchurian Incident of 1931 the Japanese for the first time brought a significant number of Jews under their domination, most of them Russians in exile in Manchuria.

A new chapter of Japanese anti-Semitism started when Hitler took over power in Germany in 1933. Also influenced by the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, he claimed that the Jews were aiming at destroying Japan as the last remaining nation-state that had resisted Jewish infiltration. Several Japanese officers who had been already influenced by anti-Semitic propaganda from the Russian side sought closer relations and cooperation with Nazi Germany. They were joined by certain party politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, and nationalist leaders. The Japanese government, however, resisted the pressure from these demagogues as well as pressure from the German side, even after the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936 and the Tripartite Alliance in 1940. The Foreign Ministry refused to discriminate against exiled German Jews, most of them musicians, who were working in Japan, though in several cases some of these persons lost their positions. Harmonious relations that had developed between Jewish organizations and Japanese authorities in Manchuria also irritated the Germans.

After the Japanese invasion of Shanghai, many more Jews came under Japanese domination. Their numbers were increasing because Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria could enter that internationalized city with no visa. Though the Municipal Council, the international administration of the city, was considering measures to restrict the number of Jews, Japan refused to cooperate, the more so since befriended Germany wanted to get rid of the Jews and was interested in keeping Shanghai open. The Five Ministers Conference in Japan, composed of the most important cabinet members, decided in October 1938 to treat Jews the same as all other foreigners, which meant granting or refusing visas for Japan and occupied China as well as for Manchuria under the same conditions. There was even some hope that Jews could contribute to the development of Manchuria by investment or mediate concerning Japan's worsening relations with the United States and England. It was decided in 1939, however, to concentrate all Jews in Shanghai in a restricted zone.

The situation in Shanghai changed to a certain degree after the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941. There was no need any more to fear American

reaction against harsh treatment of the Jews by Japan, nor reason to expect Jewish investment. Most Jews in Japanese-controlled areas sympathized more or less openly with Japan's enemies, so controls became stricter and the anti-Jewish mood in Japan deepened. Japan took over the International Settlement in Shanghai immediately after the outbreak of the war and in February 1943 a designated zone was established to concentrate all stateless Jews who had arrived after 1937 from which they were not allowed to leave without special permission. Though most of the Jews had a hard time during the war, under Japanese domination they were able to survive.

Certainly, it would be wrong to consider Japan an anti-Semitic country as David G. Goodman and Miyazawa Masanori do in their study. On the contrary, most Japanese are very tolerant toward other religions. They are, however, easily influenced by new trends, homemade Japanese as well as foreign ones. In most cases, they are just curious and often the interest in the Jews and anti-Semitic literature is based purely on sensationalist appeal. Periodically the long-standing fear of being isolated or victimized by sinister forces revives. In other cases, naiveté is mixed with a feeling of uncertainty in an increasingly complex world. Therefore, studies on Japanese anti-Semitism today reveal little threat to Jews, but instead reveal the Japanese mentality and the degree of nationalist sentiment at a given time.

Notes

1. See Shiōden Nobutaka, *Yudaya shisō oyobi undō* (Jewish Thought and Movement) (Naigai Shobō, 1941), p. 59. All Japanese books and journals are published in Tokyo.
2. Tezuka Osamu, "Benisu no shōnin" (The Merchant of Venice) in *Niji no pureryuudo* (Prelude for a Rainbow) (Kōdansha, 1977), pp. 107–148. This is one in a series of comic stories written by Tezuka in this book.
3. See e.g., Tokutomi Sohō, *Hisshō kokumin tokuhon* (People's Reader for Certain Victory) (Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1944). Tokutomi (p. 71) called America a Jewish den, from where the triumphant advance to world domination by Jewish finance capital was planned under the cover of democracy.
4. See e.g., Nakada Jūji-jutsu and Okamoto Fumiko-hen, eds., *Nihonjin to Yudayajin* (Japanese and Jews) (Tōyō Senkyōkai Hōrinesu Kyōkai Shuppanbu, 1935).
5. Cyrus Adler, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters, vol. I* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), chapter VII and Gary Dean Best, "Jacob Schiff's Early Interest in Japan," *American Jewish History*, 69 (1980): 355–359. Takahashi was Japanese Prime Minister during 1921–1922. While serving as minister of finance, he was murdered during a 1936 revolt by young army officers.
6. Kajima Ken, *Beikoku ni okeru Yudayajin mondai* (The Problem of Jews in the United States) (Dōbunkai, 1942), p. 4. On Schiff's activities see pp. 69–75.
7. Maruyama Naoki, "Japan's Response to the Zionist Movement in the 1920s," *Bulletin of the Graduate School of International Relations, International University of Japan*, 2 (December 1984), pp. 27–40 and Ben-Ami Shillony, *The Jews and the Japanese: The Successful Outsiders* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1991), chapter 17.
8. Exchange of letters of the "Shanghai Zionist Association" with the Japanese Foreign Ministry, unpublished documents in: Gaimushō Gaikōshiryōkan (Diplomatic Archive of the Foreign Ministry), I.4.6.0.1-2, "Minzoku mondai kankei zakken. Yudayajin mondai" (Various Documents on Ethnic Problems: The Jewish Problem), vols. 1–2 (henceforth: Gaimushō, Minzoku and volume number). This collection consisted of nine volumes, but obviously it was later rearranged in 13 volumes. This study is based on the nine-volume arrangement.

9. John J. Stephan, *The Russian Fascists: Tragedy and Farce in Exile 1925–1945* (London: Hamilton, 1978), pp. 47, 79.
10. See Shiōden, *Yudaya shisō*, p. 72.
11. See Henry Ford, *The International Jew. The World's Foremost Problem* (Dearborn, MI: Dearborn Publishing Co., 1920).
12. Albert Lee, *Henry Ford and the Jews* (New York: Stein & Day, 1980), p. 46.
13. Kumazaki Kyō telegram of December 1, 1920, Gaimushō, Minzoku 1.
14. Gaimushō, Minzoku 1.
15. Uchida telegram of April 16, 1921, Gaimushō, Minzoku 1.
16. Yasue Norihiro, *Kakumei undō o abaku—Yudaya no chi o fumite* (Unveiling Revolutionary Movements—Setting Foot on Jewish Soil) (Shōkasha, 1931), p.1 and a very favorable monograph written by his son, Yasue Hiroo, *Dairen tokumukikan to maboroshi no Yudaya kokka* (The Special Organ in Dairen and the Illusion of a Jewish State) (Yahata Shoten, 1989). The latter covers the trip to Palestine on pp. 39–54.
17. For example, Sakai Shōgun, "Yudaya minzoku kenkyū shiryō" (Documents for the Study of the Jewish People), 1922, sent to the Japanese Foreign Ministry by the South Manchurian Railway Company, Gaimushō, Minzoku 1 and a report by Ono Rokuichirō, police chief of Tokyo, April 5, 1932 to the foreign and home ministries and several prefectural governors in the same collection, vol. 2. Sakai's main publication was *Yudaya minzoku no dai-inbō* (The Great Conspiracy of the Jewish People) (Naigai Shobō, 1924).
18. See Christopher W. A. Szpilman, "The Politics of Cultural Conservatism: The National Foundation Society in the Struggle Against Foreign Ideas in Prewar Japan 1918–1936," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1993 and Szpilman's "Conservatism and Its Enemies in Prewar Japan: The Case of Hiranuma Kiichirō and the Kokuhonsha," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 30 (1998): 101–133, especially p. 127.
19. Hiranuma Kiichirō kaikoroku hensan iinkai (Committee for Compiling Hiranuma Kiichirô's Memoirs), *Hiranuma Kiichirō kaikoroku* (Memoirs of Hiranuma Kiichirō) (Hiranuma Kiichirō kaikoroku hensan iinkai, 1955), pp. 129–140. See also Hiranuma's foreword in Shiōden, *Yudaya shisō*.
20. Doron B. Cohen, "Uchimura Kanzō on Jews and Zionism," *The Japan Christian Review*, 58 (1992): 111–120.
21. Yoshino Sakuzō, "Yudayajin no sekaiteki tenpuku no inbō no setsu ni tsuite" (The Theory of a Jewish Conspiracy for Worldwide Subversion), *Chūō Kōron* (May 1921): 65–72 and Yoshino, "Iwayuru sekaiteki himitsu kessha no shōtai" (The Truth About So-Called Worldwide Secret Societies), *Chūō Kōron* (June 1921): 2–42.
22. See Takushoku Daigaku sōritsu 100 nen–shi hensanshitsu (Editing Committee for the History of 100 years of Takushoku University), *Mitsukawa Kametarō—chiiki—chikyū jijō no keimōsha* (Mitsukawa Kametarō: Pioneer of Area and Global Studies), 2 vols. (Takushoku Daigaku, 2001), especially vol. 1, pp. 353–406.
23. Exchange of letters in Gaimushō, Minzoku 3. See also Bandō Hiroshi, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku* (Japan's Policy Toward the Jews) (Miraisha, 2001), pp. 45–54.
24. Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 54–61, 107–113, 130–132; Avraham Altman, "Controlling the Jews, Manchukuo Style," in Roman Malek, ed., *From Kaifeng . . . to Shanghai: Jews in China* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2000), pp. 279–317. See also Higuchi's sympathetic speech addressing the Jews at the Conference of the Jews in the Far East at Harbin on December 26, 1938, where he called Japan the only paradise for the Jewish people: Gaimushō, Minzoku 4.
25. Report of the German Consulate in Harbin, January 29, 1939, see Françoise Kreissler, "Japans Judenpolitik (1931–1945)," in Gerhard Krebs and Bernd Martin, eds., *Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin-Tōkyō* (München: iudicium, 1984), pp. 187–210, especially p. 203.
26. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (München: Eher, 1932), pp. 723–724.

27. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1934), p. 655.
28. Alfred Stoβ, *Der Kampf zwischen Juda und Japan. Japan als Vorkämpfer freier Volkswirtschaft* (München: Ludendorffs Verlag, 1934). Japanese translation: Arufuredo Sutossu, *Yudaya to Nihon no tatakai*, foreword by Akaike Atsushi (Seikyōsha, 1938).
29. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 318–319.
30. Harumi Shidehara Furuya, "Nazi Racism Toward the Japanese: Ideology vs. Realpolitik," *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur—und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, vols. 157–158 (1995): 17–75.
31. Dirksen's political report, January 22, 1934, Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv (Political Archive of the German Foreign Ministry, Berlin; henceforth: AA PA), File: Abt. IV, Innere Politik, Parlaments—und Parteiwesen in Japan, vol. 8.
32. Ibid., Political Report, 31 December 1934. Ambassador Nagai Matsuzō in Berlin had had an interview with State Secretary (i.e. vice minister) von Bülow about the race problem in which he expressed his country's uneasiness, after having bad experiences with American racism, that the Japanese were counted among the "colored" races being discriminated against by the new German administration (Bülow's memo of October 11, 1993, AA PA, Büro Reichsminister, Akten betreffend Japan October 22, 1920–May 27, 1935).
33. See Detlev Schauwecker, "Musik und Politik: Tokyo 1934–1944," in Krebs and Martin, pp. 234–243; Klaus Pringsheim, Jr. (mit Victor Boesen), *Wer zum Teufel sind Sie?* (Bonn: Weidle Verlag, 1995); Hayasaki Erina, *Berurin-Tōkyō monogatari—ongakka Kurausu Puringusuhaimu* (Berlin–Tokyo Story—the Musician Klaus Pringsheim) (Ongaku no Tomosha, 1994) and Irene Suchy, "Deutschsprachige Musiker in Japan vor 1945. Eine Fallstudie eines Kulturtransfers am Beispiel der Rezeption abendländischer Kunstmusik," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wien 1992.
34. Noebel's Report, August 29, 1936, AA PA, Politische Beziehungen Japans zu Deutschland, vol. 1.
35. Memorandum Erdmannsdorff's for Rintelen, October 1941, AA PA, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Japan, Vol. 5. Tōgō served as Japanese Foreign Minister from 1941 to 1942 and in 1945.
36. See Klaus Pringsheim, Jr., *Wer zum Teufel sind Sie?*.
37. Richard Storry's foreword to Kurt Singer, *Mirror, Sword and Jewel: A Study of Japanese Characteristics* (New York: G. Braziller, 1973), pp. 9–11.
38. Karl Löwith, *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933. Ein Bericht* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1986) and Birgit Pansa, *Juden unter japanischer Herrschaft. Jüdische Exilerfahrungen und der Sonderfall Karl Löwith* (München: iudicium verlag, 1999).
39. Wenneker's report to the German naval command, May 13, 1935, Bundesarchiv/Militärarchiv, Freiburg/Br. (German Military Archive), Berichte Marineattaché Tokio (RM 11); copy in AA PA, Marineattaché Tokio.
40. Several of his studies are found in the Archives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry in: Gaimushō, Minzoku. See also Inuzuka's main publication (under the pseudonym: Utsunomiya Kiyo), *Yudaya mondai to Nihon—tsuki kokusai himitsuryoku no kenkyū* (The Jewish Problem and Japan—Including Studies on International Secret Powers) (Naigai Shobō, 1939). On Inuzuka's ideology and activities see also David G. Goodman and Miyazawa Masanori, *Jews in the Japanese Mind: The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype. Expanded Edition* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), pp. 128–133 and Pamela Rotner Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees: A World War II Dilemma* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), passim.
41. Naimushō Keihokyoku hen, *Gaiji keisatsu shiryō* (Documents on Foreign Police Subjects), vols. 1 and 2 (Fuji Shuppan, 1994).
42. *Die Juden in Japan*. Memo of the press counselor at the German Embassy in Tokyo, de La Trobe, as attachment to the report of 3 June 1939, AA PA, Jüdisch-japanische

Beziehungen 1939–1943. Inuzuka attributed the tendency favorable to China of the *Japan Advertiser* to the fact that Fleisher was a Jew. Inuzuka's speech of May 26, 1933 in the Navy Administration School (Kaigun keiri gakkō), revised text of December 1938, Gaimushō, Minzoku Bd. 2.

43. Ott's telegram to the German Foreign Ministry, October 12, 1940, AA PA, Jüdisch-japanische Beziehungen 1939–1943.
44. Gaimushō, Minzoku Bd. 4.
45. Decision of October 15, 1938, Gaimushō, Minzoku 4.
46. Konoe's telegram of October 7, 1938, text in Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 362–363.
47. Konoe's telegram to Consul-General Hidaka October 15, 1938, Gaimushō, Minzoku 4. Victor Sassoon is often mentioned in Inuzuka's studies as a propagandist in an anti-Japanese sense. See e.g., *Judaya-jōhō hi*, 9, February 7, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 5.
48. Investigation by the cabinet of July 1, 1940, Gaimushō, Minzoku 7.
49. Decision of December 6, 1938, in Sanbōhonbu hen (ed., General Staff), *Sugiyama memo. Daihon'ei seifu renraku kaigi-tō hikki* (Sugiyama's Notes. Secret Records of the Liaison Conferences Between Imperial Headquarters and the Government, etc.), vol. 2 (Hara Shobō, 1967), pp. 60–61.
50. Arita's telegram December 7, 1938, text in Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 365–367.
51. Circular of the "Chairman S.M.C" (Shanghai Municipal Council), Cornell S. Franklin, December 23, 1938, Gaimushō, Minzoku 4.
52. Arita's telegram to Consulate-General Shanghai, December 30, 1938, Gaimushō, Minzoku 4.
53. Protocol of the Council meeting of January 27, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 5.
54. Interpellations of the members of the House of Peers Akaike Atsushi on February 23 and Debuchi Katsuji on February 27, 1939; Arita's answer in Gaimushō, Minzoku 5 and related newspaper clips in Gaimushō, Minzoku 9. See also Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 113–115, 368–369. Among Akaike's publications see: *Shina jihen to Yudayajin* (The China Incident and the Jews) (Seikei Shobō, 1939) and his foreword to Arufuredo Sutossu, *Yudaya to Nihon no tatakai*.
55. "Die Juden in Japan," attachment to the report of the German Embassy March 6, 1939, AA PA, Jüdisch-japanische Beziehungen 1939–1943; report of the news agency Transocean, June 16, 1942, ibid.
56. See e.g., Nakano's remarks in a conversation with Mussolini and his son-in-law, Foreign Minister Ciano, in December 1937: Graf Galeazzo Ciano, *Tagebücher 1937/38* (Hamburg: W. Krüger, 1949), p. 67.
57. Shiratori Toshio, "Kokusai jōsei no shōrai" (The Future of the International System), *Yudaya Kenkyū*, 1:2 (June, 1941): 68–83; "Nihon to Yudaya" (Japan and Judah), *Yudaya Kenkyū*, 2:8 (August 1942): 112–124 and Stahmer's telegram to the German Foreign Ministry, April 23, 1942, AA PA, Jüdisch-japanische Beziehungen 1939–1943.
58. Tokutomi Sohō, *Hisshō kokumin tokuhon*, pp. 70–77, 122–125.
59. See Shiōden, *Yudaya shisō*.
60. See Inuzuka's speech of May 26, 1933 in "Yudaya mondai to 'furii meeson' " (The Problem of Jews and Freemasons), revised February 15, 1938, Gaimushō, Minzoku 2 and his *Yudaya jōhō*, 2 (January 1938), ibid. vol. 3.
61. *Hiranuma Kiichirō kaikoroku*, pp. 129–140.
62. Arita's telegram to Consulate-General Shanghai, December 21, 1938, Gaimushō, Minzoku 4.
63. Arita's telegram to Consul-General Miura, April 17, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 5.
64. Telegram of Consulate-General Shanghai to Arita, January 3, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 5.
65. Joint report of July 7, 1939, text in Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 371–388. On June 11, 1939 Inuzuka had sent a 14-page report to the admirality in Tokyo with

proposals on how to prevent further Jewish immigration, Gaimushō, Minzoku 5. On Inuzuka's hope for mediating activities of Jews for improvement in Japanese–American relations see also the book written by his wife, Inuzuka Kiyoko, *Yudaya mondai to Nihon no kōsaku. Kaigun—Inuzuka no kiroku* (The Jewish Problem and Japan's Strategy: The Record of the Navy and Inuzuka) (Nihon Kōgyō Shinbunsha, 1982), pp. 375–380.

66. Letters of August 10, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 6.
67. Arita's telegram to ōshima, August 4, 1939 and Ōshima's telegram to Arita, August 14, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 6; Woermann's memo, August 12, 1939, AA PA, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Japan vol. 1.
68. Letter of the Council to the Japanese Consulate-General, August 14, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 6. Inuzuka's report of January 1940 on the situation of Jewish refugees in Shanghai and the revised regulations of the Shanghai Municipal Council of June 1, 1940, Gaimushō, Minzoku 7.
69. Arita's telegram to Ōshima, August 19, 1939, Gaimushō, Minzoku 6.
70. Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 253–257.
71. Ibid., pp. 277–278.
72. See Utsunomiya, *Yudaya mondai to Nihon*.
73. Inuzuka Koreshige, "Nihon no 'Aushubittsu' wa rakuen datta," *Jiyū* (February 1973): 228–235. See also the extremely favorable portrayal by his wife Inuzuka Kiyoko, *Yudaya mondai to Nihon no kōsaku*.
74. Zhou Xun, *Chinese Perceptions of the "Jews" and Judaism: A History of the Youtai* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon, 2001), pp. 145–151.
75. Kawamura Aizō, "Kaisetsu—Man-So kokkyō no Yudaya nanmin kyūshutsu ni tsuite" (Explanations—on the Rescue of Jewish Refugees at the Manchurian-Soviet Border), in Higuchi Kiichirō, *Attsu-Kisuka gunshireikan no kaisōroku* (Memoirs of the Commanding Officer of Attu and Kiska) (Fuyō Shobō, 1977), pp. 346–370.
76. Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 115–129.
77. Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees*, p. 85.
78. Abraham Kotsuji, *From Tokyo to Jerusalem* (New York: Bernard Geis Associates, 1964), p. 166. On Matsuoka's alleged pro-Jewish attitude see also pp. 147–149, 162–163. After World War II Kotsuji converted to the Jewish faith using the name Abraham Kotsuji hence.
79. Inuzuka Kiyoko, *Yudaya mondai to Nihon no kōsaku*, pp. 153–164.
80. Report of the German Consulate in Harbin, January 23, 1940, see Kreissler, "Japans Judenpolitik (1931–1945)," pp. 203–204. On the friendly attitude of Japanese officers at this conference see also *The Jewish Tribune* (Bombay) of March 1940, Gaimushō, Minzoku 7.
81. Letter of Polish Ambassador Tadeusz Romer in Tokyo to U.S. Ambassador Joseph C. Grew, January 3, 1941, in *Tadeusz Romer Papers*, A. Diplomatic Activities 1913–1975, National Archives of Canada (Ottawa), and Grew's note of January 1, 1941 in *The Papers of Joseph Clark Grew*, Personal notes, 1941, Harvard University, Houghton Library. On the idea to make use of the Jews as mediators see also the book, which is in parts more a novel than a historical study: Marvin Tokayer and Mary Swartz, *The Fugu Plan: The Untold Story of the Japanese and the Jews during World War II* (New York: Paddington Press, 1979). On plans "to use the Jews" for Japanese purposes see the more scholarly work of Altman, "Controlling the Jews."
82. Report of the German Consulate in Harbin, January 23, 1940; Kreissler, "Japans Judenpolitik (1931–1945)," pp. 203–204 and Yasue Hiroo, *Dairen tokumukikan*, p. 207.
83. Report of the German Consulate-General in Shanghai, November 27, 1940, AA PA, Jüdisch-japanische Beziehungen 1939–1943.
84. Stahmer's telegram to the German Foreign Ministry, September 15, 1942, AA PA, Jüdisch-japanische Beziehungen 1939–1943.
85. See Takao Chizuko, "Nihongawa kara mita 'Birobijan' keikaku —ryōtaisenkanki Nihon ni okeru Sobieto-Yudaya ninshiki" (The "Birobijan" Plan as Seen from Japan—the

Soviet-Jewish Perception in Japan Between the Two World Wars), *Shakai Kagaku Tōkyū*, vol. 43, 1:126 (December 1997): 59–85.

86. Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 132–139.
87. See Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*; Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees*; David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis & Jews: The Jewish Community of Shanghai, 1938–1945* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976); Cheryl A. Silverman, "Jewish Emigrés and Popular Images of Jews in Japan," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1989; Sugihara Yukiko, *Rokusennin no inochi no biza* (Visas for the Lives of 6,000 People) (Asahi Sonorama, 1990); Pamela Shatzkes, "Kobe: A Japanese Haven for Jewish Refugees, 1940–1941," *Japan Forum*, 3 (1991): 257–273; Chū-Nichi Shinbun Shakaibu hen, *Jiyū e no tōsō—Sugihara biza to Yudayajin* (Escape to Freedom—Sugihara's Visas and the Jews) (Tokyo: Shinbun Shuppankyoku, 1995); Hillel Levine, *In Search of Sugihara: The Elusive Japanese Diplomat who Risked his Life to Rescue 10,000 Jews from the Holocaust* (New York: The Free Press, 1996) and Sugihara Seishirō, *Chiune Sugihara and Japan's Foreign Ministry* (Lanham, MD.: University Press of America, 2001).
88. Documentation by Shiraishi Masaaki, "Iwayuru 'inochi no biza' hakkyū kankei kiroku ni tsuite" (Documents Related to Issuing so-called "life-visas"), *Gaikōshiryō Kanpō*, 9, (1996): 60–69; also attachment to Chū-Nichi Shinbun, *Jiyū e no tōsō*, pp. 187–196.
89. Sugihara's (deputy consul-general in Prague) telegram to Foreign Minister Matsuoka, February 5, 1941, in Chū-Nichi Shinbun, *Jiyū e no tōsō*, p. 193.
90. On February 28, 1941 Sugihara sent this list of 32 pages with the names of 2,139 persons, including also the nationality, reason for immigration or transit, date of issue and the fees that have been paid, in Gaimushō, Gaikōshiryōkan: J,2.3.0.J/X 2–6, Gaikokujin ni taisuru zaigaikōkan hakkyū ryokensashō hōkoku ikken. ōshū no bu (*Reports on the Issue of Visas to Foreigners by Missions Abroad: Europe*). Under no. 454 can be found the name of Zorach Wahrhaftig who later was to become minister of religion in Israel and who invited Sugihara to Jerusalem in 1969. See also Wahrhaftig's book *Refugee and Surviver: Rescue Efforts During the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Torah Education Department of the World Zionist Organization, 1988).
91. Thus the title of the book of Sugihara's wife Yukiko, *Rokusennin no inochi (6,000 People's Lives)*.
92. Ewa Palasz-Rutkowska and Andrzej T. Romer, "Polish-Japanese Co-operation during World War II," *Japan Forum*, 7 (1995): 285–316, especially p. 124 and Chū-Nichi Shinbun, pp. 139–141. Sugihara Yukiko also confirms her husband's activities in the field of intelligence on pp. 28, 74, 78, 82 of her book.
93. Palasz-Rutkowska and Romer, "Polish-Japanese Co-operation during World War II," pp. 290–292 and Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees*, pp. 113–114.
94. Miura's telegram to Matsuoka, August 12, 1940, Gaimushō, Minzoku 7.
95. Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees*, p. 124.
96. Letter of Schrötter (member of the staff of Reichsmarschall Göring), to Siegfried (Foreign Ministry), August 22, 1941, AA PA, Büro des Staatssekretärs, Japan, vol. 4.
97. So in the publications of Sugihara Yukiko and Levine; similarly Chū-Nichi Shinbun.
98. Marsha Reynders Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 140–141.
99. Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 173–175 and Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees*.
100. Ambassador Umezu's (Hsingking) telegram to Foreign Minister Tōgō, January 7, 1942, Gaimushō, Minzoku 8; information of the German Embassy in Tokyo Nr. K. 109/42, ibid.
101. Staller's (Tientsin) telegram to Embassy Nanking, September 4, 1937, Bundesarchiv Berlin, R 9208, Deutsche Botschaft in China, vol. 2185.
102. Telegram Schumburg (Berlin) to Embassy Nanking, October 8, 1937, ibid., vol. 2187.
103. Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, pp. 296–298.

104. Sugiyama memo, vol. 2, p. 60.
105. Kreissler, "Japans Judenpolitik (1931–1945)," p. 198.
106. Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, p. 109; Stahmer's telegram of September 15, 1942, AA PA, Jüdisch-japanische Beziehungen 1939–1943; Yasue Hiroo, *Dairen tokumukikan*, p. 85 and Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, p. 105.
107. Otto D. Tolischus, *Through Japanese Eyes* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1945), pp. 90–92.
108. Kōseishō Jinkō Minzokubu (Ministry of Welfare, Section for Population and Ethnic Affairs), *Minzoku jinkō seisaku kenkyū shiryō* (Research Documents on Policy Concerning Ethnic and Population Affairs) (Bunsei Shoin, 1982), 6: 1608–1647, 1682–1685, 1746–1888.
109. Josef Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Josef Goebbels. Teil 2: Diktate 1941–1945* (München: Saur, 1995), 4: 234.
110. For example, Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis & Jews*, pp. 478–479, 488.
111. Bernard Wasserstein, *Secret War in Shanghai* (London: Profile Books, 1998), pp. 148–149.
112. Tokayer and Swartz, *The Fugu Plan*, pp. 222–226; Kohno Tetsu, "Debates on the Jewish Question in Japan," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Liberal Arts*, Hosei University, 46 (January 1983): 1–33, especially pp. 18–19 and Alfred Dreifuss, "Shanghai—eine Emigration am Rande," in Eike Middell, et al., eds., *Exil in den USA* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1979), pp. 449–517, 553–555, especially pp. 479–480. On the German pressure on Japan concerning the Jews in Shanghai see also: Astrid Freyeisen, *Shanghai und die Politik des Dritten Reiches* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000), pp. 458–475. Freyeisen came to the conclusion that no evidence exists to prove the "zone" being the result of German intervention. Similarly, see Wasserstein, *Secret War in Shanghai*, pp. 147–149.
113. Also the opinion of Ristaino, *Port of Last Resort*, pp. 178–179.
114. Decision of N.S.D.A.P. Gau Gross-Berlin of July 25, 1935, Bundesarchiv Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten, Folder ZA I 4272.
115. Decision of Reichsführer-SS of February 2, 1938, Bundesarchiv Berlin (formerly: Berlin Document Center), Folder RS F 5621.
116. Stahmer's interrogation by Robert Kempner in Nuremberg (OCCWC) on November 6, 1947, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, Record Group 238, Pretrial Interrogations, s.v. Stahmer.
117. The maiden name of Helga Stahmer's mother Olga was Horschitz (Papers in possession of Stahmer's son Heinz-Dieter Stahmer, Koblenz). Stahmer maintained after the war that he had aimed at a position abroad since 1934 in an effort to find a safer place for his wife (Stahmer's interrogation in Nuremberg).
118. Letter of the "Chef des Sippenamtes," November 8, 1937, Bundesarchiv Berlin, Folder RS F 5621.
119. Stahmer's interrogation in Nuremberg.
120. Ōshima's telegram to Tōgō, May 5, 1942 and Bandō, *Nihon no Yudaya seisaku*, p. 299.
121. Rozenberugu Arufureddo, *Yudaya-Shion undō no jissō* (The Truth about the Jewish-Zionist Movement) (Fukyō Nihon Kyōkai, 1943), pp. 1–3.
122. Pan Guang, "The Relations between Jewish Refugees and Chinese in Shanghai during War-time," in Georg Armbrüster. et al., eds., *Exil Shanghai 1938–1947* (Teetz: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2000), pp. 77–83 and Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis & Jews*, pp. 530–535.
123. See Dreifuss, "Shanghai—eine Emigration am Rande;" Günter and Genia Nobel, "Als politische Emigranten in Shanghai," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. 21 (1979): 882–894.
124. Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, pp. 122–124.
125. Pringsheim went to the United States after the war but returned to Japan in 1951 to take over a professorship at Musashino Music University. He died in 1962 in Japan.

126. Shiōden Nobutaka, *Yudaya shisō oyobi undō. Tsuki: "Shion no giteisho"* (Jewish Thought and Movement: Attachment: "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion") (Shinkōsha, 1987). Only an insignificant epilogue by Shiōden's daughter Yamaguchi Fumi is added.
127. See e.g., Uno Masami, *Yudaya ga wakaru to sekai ga miete kuru* (If you Understand the Jews the World Becomes Visible) (Tokuma Shoten, 1986).
128. Nishioka Masanori, "Sengo sekai saidai no tabū: Nachi 'gasu-shitsu' ga nakatta" (The Greatest Taboo of the Postwar World: the "Gas Chambers" of the Nazis did not Exist), *Marco Polo* (February 1995): 170–179.
129. See on this development: Herbert Worm, "Holocaust-Leugner in Japan: Der Fall 'Marco Polo'—Printmedien und Vergangenheitsbewältigung," in Manfred Pohl, ed., *Japan 1994/95. Politik und Wirtschaft* (Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1995), pp. 114–161; Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, pp. 271–276 and Rotem Kowner, "Tokyo Recognizes Auschwitz: The Rise and Fall of Holocaust Denial in Japan, 1989–1999," *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3:2 (2001): 257–272.
130. Goodman and Miyazawa, *Jews in the Japanese Mind*, pp. 261–269.

Chapter 5

Fascist Encounters: German Nazis and Japanese Shintō Ultranationalists

Walter A. Skya

In his comprehensive history of World War II, military historian John Keegan described it as "the largest single event in human history, fought across six of the world's seven continents and all its oceans. It killed fifty million human beings, left hundreds of millions of others wounded in mind or body and materially devastated much of the heartland of civilization."[1] Most educated Americans believe that this vast conflict began with Adolf Hitler's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, if not with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Very few would cite the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident" of July 8, 1937 or the "Manchurian Incident" of September 18, 1931 as the start of this greatest war of all times. Yet World War II arguably started with the 1931 Japanese attack in Manchuria, it became truly a global war with the entry of the United States following the 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and it ended in East Asia with Emperor Hirohito's surrender speech on August 15, 1945. Similarly, the majority of authors of the thousands of books and articles about this great struggle have a decidedly Western perspective, thus the importance of the Asian component of the conflict is often overlooked and some major issues are neglected.

The ideology of extreme nationalism in Japan and its relationship with the ideologies of Japan's allies, Germany and Italy, seem particularly neglected areas of research. This is a very curious oversight. In general, the Western public knows that the political ideology of Germany was Nazism, and that of Italy was Fascism, although in political discourse we often use the generic term "fascism" to refer to both the ideologies of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Further, the mere mention of these ideologies evokes a very emotional response. Accusing someone of being a Nazi or a Fascist is, without doubt, a serious allegation. But few educated Westerners know anything about the extreme nationalist ideology in prewar Japan. Even scholars in the field of modern Japanese studies have divergent opinions on this issue. Why have we not achieved clarity concerning the nature of the greatest ideological force in Japan that opposed liberalism and democracy and threatened the international order established by the Versailles and Washington treaties?

In order to begin to clarify the matter it is necessary to consider the development of ultranationalist Shintō ideology in the prewar period. An examination of theories concerning the emperor's relationship to the state reveals a shift from a German-inspired

theory of constitutional monarchy that infused the Meiji Constitution (promulgated in 1889), to a theory of absolute monarchy in the constitutional thought of Hozumi Yatsuka in the late 1890s, and finally to a totalitarian ideology centered on the emperor in the political thought of Uesugi Shinkichi and Kakehi Katsuhiko by the early Taishō period.[2] The latter two constitutional scholars not only saw the emperor and state as one, but developed a concept for merging the politicized Japanese masses with the emperor. Uesugi displaced the traditional patriarchal societal bonds central to Hozumi's theory of absolute monarchy by seeking to link people within in a horizontal, not a vertical, social structure.[3] Kakehi joined the emperor and the masses in an emperor-centered theocratic state.[4] In addition to promoting totalitarian ideology, both Uesugi and Kakehi advocated unlimited expansionism abroad, a further parallel with the ideology of European fascists. Extreme nationalists in the Taishō and Shōwa periods adopted this new totalitarian Shintō ideology, which can be referred to as "radical Shintō ultra-nationalism," to distinguish it from theories of absolute monarchy articulated by Hozumi and others in the late Meiji period.

This ideological shift has often been misunderstood or mischaracterized by scholars.[5] Further, when broadly examining the ideological parallels within the Axis alliance they often oversimplify the complex interaction between Japan and its European allies. A common misconception is that the German Nazis universally looked down on the Japanese and saw their alliance as something of an embarrassment. For instance, John Dower, in his widely read *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War*, wrote the following:

> While Germans such as Karl Haushofer and General Erich von Ludendorff admired Japan's racial homogeneity, its purely national religion, and its militaristic esprit, Hitler and most of his Aryan supremacists were embarrassed by their alliance with one of the *Untermenschen*. The Japanese humiliation of the British at Singapore actually appears to have caused the Führer considerable distress.[6]

Dower, however, provides no documents to support his contention that the alliance with Japan embarrassed Hitler and most Nazis. Furthermore, his contention that the British humiliation over the capitulation of British forces in Singapore in early 1942 caused Hitler considerable distress seems somewhat puzzling, because as early as spring 1941 he had wanted the Japanese to attack the British stronghold.[7] Moreover, Hitler personally contributed to the disaster of the British there, ordering secret British plans for Singapore's defense, captured on November 11, 1941 when the German naval vessel *Atlantis* captured a British merchant ship, be handed over to the Imperial Japanese Navy.[8] Also, just a month after Singapore fell to the Japanese on February 15, 1942, German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop prodded the Japanese to plan further attacks on the British Empire.[9]

The evidence suggests that the Nazis were quite eager to conclude an alliance with Japan and far from looking down on the Japanese, often regarded them with considerable envy, even awe. Still more, it suggests that Hitler, his racism notwithstanding, personally admired the Japanese and by the early 1940s he had even come to consider them as members of a fellow Teutonic race, the ultimate compliment from the Nazi leader. The ultimate purpose of this essay, however, is to draw attention to,

and present a glimpse of, little-known intellectual exchanges between Nazi Germans and Japanese radical Shintō ultranationalists in the prewar and wartime periods, a subject that demands further research.

The Japanese in *Mein Kampf*

It is well known that Adolf Hitler made some less than flattering references to the Japanese in his 1924 work *Mein Kampf*. In volume one, chapter 11, "Race and Nation," he discussed what he claimed to be the most patent rule in nature: "the inner segregation of the species of all living things on this earth."[10] "Every animal mates only with a member of the same species,"[11] Hitler asserted. But nature's urge for "inner segregation" of the species did not apply merely to the animal world. Hitler maintained that nature affirmed that humans too were to be segregated into races (species). There were higher and lower races and whenever a blending of higher and lower races occurred, it resulted in an overall lowering of the higher race. Accordingly, it diminished the higher race's inner capacity successfully to compete and improve itself in the Darwinian world of the survival of the fittest and diluted it of its inner character. Thus, the eternal racial struggle for power was an inherent part of nature in Hitler's worldview. As proof, he noted that the Aryans who mixed little with the inferior races on the North American continent came to be masters of the continent, while the Germans who mixed on a large scale with the native populations in South America evolved into a different (lower) culture.

For Hitler, "Everything we admire on this earth today—science and art, technology and inventions—is only the creative product of a few peoples and originally perhaps in *one* race. On them depends the existence of this whole culture. If they perish, the beauty of this earth will sink into the grave with them."[12] This one race, of course, was the Aryan race. Thus, all human progress depended on the Aryan race. Hitler had taken up this idea of the Aryan race earlier expounded on by the French writer Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau in the mid-1800s.[13] De Gobineau considered the white race superior to all other races and the Aryan superior among white races. Further, he identified the Teutons as the purest modern representative of the Aryans. Hitler went beyond this to equate the Nordic and Aryan races. The Aryan race was one of three types of human groups: "the founders of culture, the bearers of culture, the destroyers of culture."[14] From the Aryans, the founders of culture, "originate the foundations and walls of all human creation, and only the outward form and color are determined by the changing traits of character of the various peoples."[15]

It was in the context of this analysis that Hitler turned to a discussion of Asia and the Japanese role in Asia. He was very conscious of the power potential of East Asia and predicted that in a few decades it would "possess a culture whose ultimate foundation will be Hellenic spirit and Germanic technology, just as much as in Europe."[16] In other words, he asserted, "It is not true, as some people think, that Japan adds European technology to its culture; no, European science and technology are trimmed with Japanese characteristics."[17] That is to say, Japan, as the leader of the Asian peoples, had developed due to its ability to adopt and assimilate Aryan

culture. Accordingly, Hitler categorized the Japanese as a "culture-bearing" people, not a "culture-creating" people like the Aryans. He wrote:

> If beginning today all further Aryan influence on Japan should stop, assuming that Europe and America should perish, Japan's present rise in science and technology might continue for a short time; but even in a few years the well would dry up, the Japanese special character would gain, but the present culture would freeze and sink back into the slumber from which it was awakened seven decades ago by the wave of Aryan culture. Therefore, just as the present Japanese development owes its life to Aryan origin, long ago in the gray past foreign influence and foreign spirit awakened the Japanese culture of that time. The best proof of this is furnished by the fact of its subsequent sclerosis and total petrifaction. This can occur in a people only when the original creative racial nucleus has been lost, or if the external influence which furnished the impetus and the material for the first development in the cultural field was later lacking. But if it is established that a people receives the most essential basic materials of its culture from foreign races, that it assimilates and adapts them, and that then, if further external influence is lacking, it rigidifies again and again, such a race may be designated as "cultural bearing," but never as "culture-creating."[18]

The Jews, of course, were the destroyers of culture in Hitler's scheme. But it was this reference to Japan that irked many Japanese in the prewar era. Nevertheless, a close analysis of *Mein Kampf* shows that Hitler also made positive references to Japan.

For example, in volume one, chapter four, "Munich," Hitler discussed what he referred to as Germany's unsound alliance policy, four possible directions for German foreign policy, and the inner weaknesses of the Triple Alliance. He characterized Germany's alliance with decadent Austria–Hungary, which had been following an "internal policy of slowly eliminating Germanism,"[19] as a tremendous blunder. He asserted that the Triple Alliance had worked to prevent Germany from embarking on a foreign policy objective of acquiring new lands in Europe. If land was desired in Europe, "it could be obtained by and large only at the expense of Russia."[20] For such a policy "there was but one ally in Europe: England."[21] He adamantly believed that Germany should have done everything possible to win over the British to the German side. In this regard, he argued that Germany should have never have attempted to construct a powerful navy to challenge British sea power.[22] According to Hitler, German leadership, from "political stupidity,"[23] had helped "to chain the Reich to the corpse of a state which would inevitably drag them both into the abyss,"[24] and scuttled the opportunity to ally with the British, whose interests clashed with that of Russia.

In this context, Hitler noticed a country clever enough to have done the right thing: Japan. He wrote,

> Just suppose that an astute German foreign policy had taken over the role of Japan in 1904, and we can scarcely measure the consequences this would have had for Germany. There would never have been any "World War." The bloodshed in the year 1904 would have saved ten times as much in the years 1914 to 1918. And what a position Germany would occupy in the world today! In that light, to be sure, the alliance with Austria [Austrian-Hungarian Empire] was an absurdity.[25]

What Japan had done was to form an alliance with the British in 1902, thereby securing the support of a powerful European ally before launching into war with Russia in 1904. In Hitler's view, Germany should have followed the Japanese example and allied with the British in preparation for war with Russia. His citation of Japan's pragmatic, nationalistic foreign policy as a model for Germany's clearly indicated that Japan was very much on his mind.

In volume one, chapter five of *Mein Kampf*, "The World War," Hitler mentioned Japan's victorious war with Russia in 1904–1905. He claimed to have "at once sided with the Japanese" because "in the defeat of the Russians I saw the defeat of Austrian Slavdom."[26]

Hitler made a further reference to the Japanese in volume two, chapter 13, "German Alliance Policy After the War," charging that the German government in power since 1918 had failed the German people in terms of foreign policy. He then set down the principles that should guide Germany's future policy, emphasizing that "foreign policy is only a means to an end, and that the end is solely the promotion of our own nationality."[27] He explained, "The aim of a German foreign policy today must be the preparation for the reconquest of freedom for tomorrow."[28] He reiterated that prior to World War I Germany had pursued a mistaken colonial and commercial policy rather than a solid European land policy in alliance with the British against Russia.

In laying down the principles for a viable foreign policy, Hitler noted that England's basic policy toward the European continent was to prevent any one power from dominating it. France wanted to prevent a unified power in Germany, its mortal enemy. In a world in which the only rational premise for alliances was mutual expediency, only Italy and England were not inherently opposed to Germany's existence. He came to the conclusion, however, that English leaders had fallen under the devastating influence of the Jews who "desired the complete annihilation of Germany and its political enslavement."[29] According to Hitler, only Fascist Italy had been able to roll back the influence of the Jews and work truly for the interests of the Italian people. Noting strained relations between the British and Americans on the one hand and the Japanese on the other, he also contended that the annihilation of Japan would serve the "widespread desires of the leaders of the projected Jewish world order."[30] He declared, "the British-Jewish press already demands struggle against the ally [Japan], and prepares the war of annihilation under the proclamation of democracy and under the battle-cry: Down with Japanese militarism and imperialism!"[31] In this way Hitler linked Germany with Italy and Japan as prime targets of a Jewish conspiracy.

In volume two, chapter 14, "Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy," Hitler argued that a Volkish foreign policy "must safeguard the existence on this planet of the race embodied in the state, by creating a healthy, viable natural relation between the nation's population and growth on the one hand and the quantity and quality of its soil on the other hand." He believed that only "an adequately large space on this earth assures a nation of freedom of existence."[32]

Thus in 1924 Hitler articulated ambitions of large-scale expansionism and, having given much thought to foreign alliances, considered Italy and Japan the only suitable partners. England and France, both with world empires, and the giant states

of the United States, Russia, and China, each of which possessed territories more than ten times that of the German nation, had put Germany in a very unfavorable strategic situation. Hitler saw the relationship between Germany and Russia as especially significant, describing it as perhaps "the most decisive concern of all German foreign affairs."[33]

Another important component of Hitler's Nazi doctrine that must be stressed is his theory about the willingness of Aryans to sacrifice for the greater community. He noted that all living creatures have the instinct for self-preservation, but in primitive creatures this instinct did not extend beyond the self. "In this condition the animal lives only for himself, seeks food only for his present hunger, and fights only for his own life. As long as the instinct of self-preservation expresses itself in this way, every basis is lacking for the formation of a group, even the most primitive form of family."[34] In human groups, this instinct of self-preservation is invariably extended to the immediate family or to a broader kinship system. However, it is only when this instinct of self-preservation is extended to the larger community that the formation and the long-term cohesion of the nation is possible. Not surprisingly, Hitler saw the Aryan race as setting the standard:

> This self-sacrificing will to give one's personal labor and if necessary one's own life for others is most strongly developed in the Aryan. The Aryan is not greatest in his mental qualities as such, but in the extent of his willingness to put all his abilities in the service of the community. In him, the instinct of self-preservation has reached the noblest form, since he willingly subordinates his own ego to the life of the community and, if the hour demands, even sacrifices it.
>
> Not in his intellectual gifts lies the source of the Aryan's capacity for creating and building culture. If he had just this alone, he could only act destructively, in no case could he organize; for the innermost essence of all organization requires that the individual renounce putting forward his personal opinion and interests and sacrifice both in favor of a larger group.[35]

Thus German organizational power represented the key to national strength. The willingness of its people to sacrifice and die for the nation made it powerful. This is a crucial point that Hitler would pursue in developing a Nazi philosophy of death. It is noteworthy that he dedicated the first volume of *Mein Kampf* to 16 men who had fallen in the march to the Feldherrnhalle in Munich on November 9, 1923 during the famed Beer Hall Putsch.

In his work *To Die for Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon*, Jay W. Baird notes, "for centuries the beauty of death for the Fatherland had been an important theme in German literature and culture,"[36] and that in the Nazi movement "Death in battle not only guaranteed eternal life for the martyr but also acted as a resurgent life force for the Fatherland. Death in combat took on the ennobling force of a sacrament. Honor, even more than victory, was the ultimate goal of the hero."[37]

The glorification of death had even deeper roots in Japanese literature and culture than in Germany's, however, and Shintō ultranationalists would use this to trump claims of Aryan racial superiority. Hitler's 1924 remarks about Japan being only a "cultural-bearing" nation notwithstanding, as Klaus Antoni points out in an earlier chapter, many German Nazis subsequently would come to admire, even envy, the

cultural tradition of their Asian Axis ally, going so far as to identify the Japanese with the Teutonic race.

Hitler's Efforts to Engage Japan as an Ally

When Hitler became Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933, arguably World War II had already started. Japan had conquered Manchuria and was poised to expand further on the Asian continent into Jehol province, which would commence on February 23, 1933. Japanese forces overran Jehol, which was "approximately the size of Virginia, Maryland and West Virginia combined,"[38] with about 20,000 troops in about one week.

The Japanese ambassador to Germany, Nagai Matsuzō, in contrast to the American and most European ambassadors, instinctively felt comfortable with the new Nazi regime and had sympathy for it. In his work *The Extraordinary Envoy*, Carl Boyd noted that when Nagai visited Hamburg as a guest of the Ostasiatic Verein (East Asiatic Society), he spoke of the parallels between the Japanese and German states. At the association dinner for the Japanese ambassador, attended by National Socialist officials, the "group of Germans and Japanese 'burst forth with a 'Siegheil' for imperial Japan and its exalted ruling house, for the German Fatherland, the Reichs President Field Marshal [Paul] von Hindenburg, and the Reichs Chancellor Adolf Hiter."[39] Boyd also noted that Nagai was "warmly thanked by Hitler"[40] for his attendance at a party rally in 1934 celebrating the victory of National Socialism.

From this cordial beginning, an affinity developed between German Nazis and Japanese Shintō ultranationalists. But what did the two peoples have in common in the 1930s? Boyd writes:

> Both nations seemed to have a high regard for military force and considerable willingness to use it during their rapid rise to the status of world powers . . . In the turbulent years after the war both societies experimented with forms of democracy under the adverse conditions of social, political, and economic unrest. There were calls from German and Japanese activists who rebuked the principles of collective security and advocated the use of military force to satisfy national goals on the international scene. Their arguments had greater appeal among the nationalistic masses as the effects of depression became widespread and the political systems appeared inadequate to meet the challenge for the times. Militarism, that uncritical call for military power, was a force deeply embedded in the tradition of these two powers. Moreover, they were dissatisfied with the status quo in the 1930s. Their common tradition and their traditional martial spirit tended to enhance relations.[41]

Hitler closely followed Japan's conquests in East Asia in the next several years as Japan successfully nibbled away territory from China through a combination of diplomacy, alliances of expediency, and sheer military power. His interests and those of the Japanese leadership converged in various ways, including their common concern about the communist threat.

In that same year the National Socialists came to power, 1933, Japanese authorities had arrested thousands of alleged communists and members of other left-wing groups. For his part, Hitler held an intense hatred for the leaders of the new Soviet

Russian state, which he made crystal clear in *Mein Kampf*:

> Never forget that the rulers of present-day Russia are common blood-stained criminals; that they are the scum of humanity which, favored by circumstances, overran a great state in a tragic hour, slaughtered and wiped out thousands of her leading intelligentsia in wild blood lust, and now for almost ten years have been carrying on the most cruel and tyrannical regime of all time. Furthermore, do not forget that these rulers belong to a race which combines, in a rare mixture, bestial cruelty and an inconceivable gift for lying, and which today more than ever is conscious of a mission to impose its bloody oppression on the whole world. Do not forget that the international Jew who completely dominates Russia today regards Germany, not as an ally, but as a state destined to the same fate.[42]

Mutual opposition to communism would result in the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan in November 1936. Boyd mentions Hitler's determination to have a good relationship with Japan, and Japanese Military Attaché General Ōshima Hiroshi's "idea of making their common anti-Communist attitudes the subject of a German-Japanese pact" offered a means to that end.[43]

At the same time, the Japanese became increasingly fascinated with Hitler's new Nazi regime as evidenced by the popularity of German newsreels in Japan in the late 1930s. Further, Herbert Bix contends that the Anti-Comintern Pact "brought in Nazi ideologues who gained many Japanese supporters and injected Nazi-style anti-Semitic arguments into mainstream public discussion—where defamation of Jews was already widespread."[44]

Japan's full thrust into China following the so-called Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 8, 1937 impressed the Nazi leadership, and Hitler began to look at the Japanese military with greater admiration and respect. When the Chinese capital of Nanjing fell to the Japanese, he urged Minister of War General Werner von Blomberg to have the German army study thoroughly the tactics of Japanese military forces, a point duly noted by the Japanese media. On December 17, 1937, Hitler's picture appeared along side a report from Berlin in the leading Japanese newspaper, the *Asahi Shimbun*, with the headline: "The Führer Extols the Imperial Army" (*Hi sōtō kōgun o zessan*).[45]

The successful tactics and spirit of the Japanese military forces in China further convinced Hitler of the need to press for a German–Japanese military alliance, even though this would fatally damage the delicate diplomatic balance Germany had sought to maintain between China and Japan. Ernst Presseisen, in *Germany and Japan: A Study in Totalitarian Diplomacy 1933–1941*, provides insight on this matter:

> Nazi ideology adulated power and despised mercenary gain. The Chinese relationship, though profitable, was devoid of a forceful quality. But Japan, in Hitler's mind, represented the very sinew of strength—a soldier state ruled by heroic samurais. Or in less romantic terms, Hitler regarded Japan as a more valuable ally against Russia, or England, or even America than China could ever hope to be.[46]

In *The Reluctant Admiral: Yamamoto and the Imperial Way*, Agawa Hiroyuki noted that the Nazis took the initiative in seeking a military alliance with Japan:

> Testimony given by Oshima Hiroshi at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials shows that the question of a possible military alliance was first raised between the two countries in

> January 1938. Lieutenant General Oshima, who at the time was military attache at the Japanese embassy in Berlin and who was later to become ambassador there, called Foreign Minister Ribbentrop at his villa at Sonnenburg in early 1938, ostensibly to offer his New Year greeting. It was there that Ribbentrop asked him whether there was not some way of bringing Germany and Japan still closer together through the conclusion of some kind of treaty or other.[47]

As for the Japanese, Herbert Bix writes, "the army's interest in a military alliance with Nazi Germany had developed slowly until 1938, when, in response to German suggestions, a positive campaign for the alliance was initiated."[48] A new cabinet headed by Shintō ultranationalist Hiranuma Kiichirō, appointed on January 5, 1939, took up the issue of alliance with Germany and the politicking for a formal German–Japanese military alliance accelerated among top Japanese military policy makers. General Ōshima, who had served as military attachė in Germany since 1934, aggressively pushed the issue.[49] Ōshima wrote pro-German articles in such Japanese journals as *Bungei Shunjū* "in an attempt to sway Japanese public opinion."[50]

The movement for a German–Japan alliance soon stalled, however, because, as Mikiso Hane explains:

> . . . Germany, in anticipation of a possible conflict with England and France, wanted an alliance that would be directed against all potential enemies while the Japanese favored an agreement that would be restricted to deterring only the Soviet Union. The matter was debated back and forth and at great length between Minister of War Itagaki [Seishirō], who pushed for an alliance, even a comprehensive one, and the Minister of the Navy Yonai [Mitsumasa], who was against the alliance Germany was proposing for he feared it would draw Japan into a war with England as well as the United States . . .[51]

Bix also noted this and added that key Japanese admirals "believed a military pact with Germany would force Britain and the United States to increase their aid to Chiang Kai-shek and thus postpone resolution of the China Incident."[52] Hitler sought eagerly to cement an alliance, but the Japanese leadership remained sharply divided. Both countries saw the Soviet Union as a major threat, but the Japanese at the time were apprehensive about provoking Britain and the United States.

The outbreak of heavy fighting between Japanese and Soviet forces in May 1939 on the Khalka River along the Manchurian–Mongolian border reinforced the Japanese concern about the Soviet Union. Although known in Japan as the Nomonhan Incident,[53] this was no minor affair, as the fighting continued until September. In the period of August 20–25, General Georgi Zhukov, commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, launched a massive attack on Japanese positions along the Khalka River, touching off one of the largest battles since World War I, including the biggest tank battle to that point. By the time a truce was signed in September 1939, the Japanese had suffered the worst military setback in their modern history, sustaining over 18,000 casualties.

In the meantime, Hitler, frustrated by the Japanese failure to reach a decision on the military alliance, worked out a nonaggression pact with Stalin the same week Japan suffered tremendous losses at Nomonhan. On August 23, 1939 Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov and Ribbentrop signed the German–Russian pact in Moscow. The stunned Japanese formally protested against the agreement as a

violation of the Anti-Comintern Pact. This proved merely a temporary setback in the German–Japanese relationship, however, and the nonaggression pact itself proved to be not worth the paper on which it was signed.

On September 1, 1939 Hitler invaded Poland, opening World War II on the western side of the Eurasian continent. Germany's successful *Blitzkrieg* offensives in Poland and subsequently in France changed the minds of many of those in Japan opposed to the German–Japan alliance. One year later, on September 27, 1940, Japanese and Italian representatives in Berlin signed the Tripartite Pact. Under its terms Japan would recognize the leadership of Germany and Italy in creating a new order in Europe and Germany and Italy would recognize Japan's role in creating a new order in East Asia. An imperial rescript from Emperor Hirohito made clear the importance of the Tripartite Pact to the Japanese:

> The great principle of the eight corners of the world under the roof [*hakkō ichi'u*] is the teaching of Our imperial ancestors. We think about it day and night. Today, however, the world is deeply troubled everywhere and disorder seems endless. As the disasters that humankind may suffer are immeasurable, We sincerely hope to bring about a cessation of hostilities and a restoration of peace, and have therefore ordered the government to ally with Germany and Italy, nations which share the same intentions as ourselves . . .[54]

On December 8, 1941 the Japanese launched their own *Blitzkrieg* expansion of World War II. They fanned out into Southeast Asia and the Pacific Ocean, attacking almost simultaneously places from Singapore on the tip of the Southeast Asian peninsula to Hawaii in the mid-Pacific, bringing the United States into the war. Within the next six months, Japanese forces advanced northeastward to the Aleutian Islands, southeasterly to New Guinea in an effort to cut off and isolate Australia, and southwestward toward the Indian subcontinent via Burma.

Although not informed in advance, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor elated Hitler, who, on December 11, declared war on the United States. The reason for Hitler's decision, taken as Germany faced a crisis in its war with the Soviet Union, has been much debated. Gerhard Weinberg argues, "that war with the United States had been included in Hitler's agenda for years, that he deferred hostilities only because he wanted to begin them at a time and under circumstances of his own choosing, and that the Japanese attack fitted his requirements precisely."[55] Weinberg explained that "Because his [Hitler's] aims for Germany's future entailed an unlimited expansionism and because he thought the United States might at some time constitute a challenge to German domination of the globe, a war with the United States had long been a part of the future he envisioned."[56]

Germany wanted war with the United States, but faced practical problems in engaging American military power. Weinberg points out that the Germans were never able to build the long-range air and naval forces necessary to wage war with the United States. But while Germany did not have a large surface navy, Japan did. When the Japanese attacked the United States, they provided on their own initiative what Hitler had wanted for years: Japanese participation in a war with the West.[57]

Hitler thought that Japan's entry would tip the balance of global power in favor of the Axis because the Nazi leaders believed in the 1940–1941 period that the

Japanese had the strongest and the best navy in the world. The Japanese attack on the United States would also divert American resources from the Atlantic to the Pacific. According to Weinberg, Hitler, who was in East Prussia when he heard the news of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, rushed back to Berlin to declare war on the United States. The reason for his hurry? "His great worry, and that of his foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, was that the Americans might get their declaration of war in ahead of his own. As Ribbentrop explained it, 'A great power does not allow itself to be declared war upon; it declares war on others.' "[58]

After the Pacific War began, Germany continued to prod the Japanese leaders into attacking west to India with its ground forces and into the Indian Ocean with its naval power. As already noted, Ribbentrop said in March 1942 that Germany would eagerly welcome a Japanese invasion into the Indian Ocean whereby direct contact between German and Japanese forces might be established.[59] Japanese forces did in fact move into the Indian Ocean. Led by Vice Admiral Nagumo Chūichi's First Air Fleet, Japanese forces staged a raid into the Indian Ocean south of Ceylon on April 2 with the aim of driving British naval forces from the area.[60]

Hitler also pressed the Japanese to attack the island of Madagascar off the eastern coast of Africa, the only instance in World War II in which German and Japanese forces attempted to plan a joint military operation. However, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill made a decision to secure Madagascar and ordered the dispatch of a force from Gibraltar that took the capital of Diego Suarez. Although the Japanese submarine fleet did launch a small attack on Diego Suarez,[61] Hitler demanded that the Japanese do more in the Indian Ocean to cut Soviet Russia's lifeline from the south. Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, who had always opposed having Japan's naval power sent to the Indian Ocean, argued for shifting Japanese naval power back to the Pacific, however. Yamamoto contended that the fleet must be used to shield Japan from the Americans and not to support the Germans in the Indian Ocean. Yamamoto won the argument, but his initiative led to disaster when four Japanese aircraft carriers were lost during the Battle of Midway in June 1942.[62]

The aforementioned evidence clearly indicates that Hitler and the Nazis were eager to ally with Japan. More interested in active military and naval cooperation than the Japanese, they did all they could to get Tokyo's assistance. Furthermore, it is well documented that the Nazis remained supportive of the Japanese, supplying them with military technology and other forms of aid almost up to the day the Nazi regime collapsed on May 8, 1945.[63]

"Yamato" in the Nazi SS Journal *SS Leitheft*

The Nazis did not base their favorable attitude toward Japan on its military and naval power alone, however. A little-known dialogue between Japanese Shintō ultranationalists and German Nazis had begun in the late 1930s. As part of this dialogue the Japanese ultranationalists sought to inform their German Nazi allies about what they considered their superior cultural tradition and superior Volkish state, in part through German publications.

Japanese Shintō ultranationalists even contributed articles to a Nazi SS journal called *SS Leitheft (Ideological Guidelines for the SS)*. The office of *Reichsführer SS*

Heinrich Himmler, the *SS Hauptamt*, published this monthly journal between 1935 and 1945 specifically for SS members.[64] The pages of *SS Leitheft* provide insight into the hearts and souls of the elite of the Third Reich, but what did Japanese contributors say to this journal's readers?

One of them, Miura Kazuichi, published an article titled "Yamato" in the March 1942 issue of *SS Leitheft*. The editors, in a brief explanatory note, informed their readers that the term Yamato, a name for the Japanese state, had come to symbolize bravery and the fulfillment of duty for the Japanese people. The gloss added that while borrowings from a foreign *Volk* could not easily be adopted, Germans could nonetheless learn from the Japanese example how courage and bravery were deeply rooted in religious feeling.

Miura began his article with reference to an event during the so-called Shanghai Incident of 1932,[65] when the Japanese fought against Chinese troops. A Japanese major (not mentioned by name) sustained wounds, lost consciousness, and somehow fell into Chinese hands. Although Japanese forces later drove the Chinese out of the city and "liberated" him, a day later the officer committed suicide at the spot where the Chinese had taken him prisoner.

Miura then posed a question to his Nazi readers: "What does this incident tell us [about the Japanese]?"[66] "Why did this Japanese major end his life instead of fighting on for the fatherland, and serving it with his knowledge, experience, courage and spirit?"[67] In his explanation, Miura stressed that the major had been taken prisoner only because he happened to be wounded and unconscious at the time, implying that had he been conscious when captured, he surely would have committed suicide. Miura then suggested that the major's suicide could only be understood by those who truly knew the Japanese "Yamato spirit"[68] (*Yamato-Geist*), the spirit of the Japanese man[69] (*Geist des japanisch Menschen*).

Miura went on to write that this spirit, which was at the heart of the *bushi* (warrior) code, has been exceptionally strong in western Japan. He cited *Hagakure*, an early eighteenth-century treatise on *bushidō* (the "way of the warrior") as the most important piece of literature on the *bushi* spirit, noting that its ideas had served as foundation for education of the *bushi* of Saga feudal domain. He quoted a very well-known passage that declared that a *bushi*, "when faced with the choice between life and death, quickly chooses death."[70] Miura suggested that the Japanese major who had committed suicide must have held this teaching dear.

In an effort to force his Nazi SS readers to rethink their stereotypes of the Japanese soldier, Muira then again raised the question, "But why should one seek death?"[71] In answer, he explained that when the military aristocracy ruled Japan from the twelfth century to the middle of the nineteenth century the samurai viewed it as a great shame to live on in captivity; it was better to die. He correctly pointed out that the Japanese fighting man still honored this ethic under the *Senjinkun* (*field service code*) of the Japanese forces, issued in January 1941 under the direction of Army Minister Tōjō Hideki. It declared that "rather than live and bear the shame of imprisonment, a soldier should die and avoid leaving a dishonorable name."[72] Miura further noted that in the era of modern warfare, unlike in olden times, circumstances beyond the individual soldier's control, as in the case of this major, sometimes made capture unavoidable.

Keenly aware that some would consider it unnecessary to commit suicide after having done one's duty in battle, and would argue that one could serve the country better by remaining alive and fulfilling one's calling, Miura asserted that a Japanese soldier could not accept such rationalization. Living on in captivity in itself meant that he had not fought to the death. In this circumstance a soldier could not help feeling the deepest regret for having failed to give his life for the emperor, for the fatherland, and for the *Volk* (in Japanese, *minzoku*—one's race or ethnic group).

Miura then quoted directly from the *Man'yōshū*, an eighth-century collection of poems written long before the *bushi* appeared in Japanese history.

> By the sea our corpses shall steep in the water.
> On the hills our corpses shall rot in the grass.
> We will die by the side of our sovereign.
> We will never look back.[73]

This ancient poem taught, Miura declared, that it is inconceivable for a true soldier of the emperor to return to life after having been captured in battle.

Miura then cited some examples to illustrate Westerners' decidedly different outlook on war and death. First, he quoted the great British naval commander Lord Nelson as saying on his deathbed after the Battle of Trafalgar, "Thank God, I have done my duty."[74] Unlike the British admiral, he asserted, the Japanese soldier does not fight for the sake of duty alone, but to sacrifice his life.

To further illustrate his point, Miura cited the experience of Erwin von Baelz during the Russo-Japanese War. Von Baelz, a German physician who served the imperial family in the Meiji period, was, according to Miura, one of the best foreign authorities on Japan at the time. Baelz related that during the course of the war a Japanese acquaintance came to visit with his son, who was preparing to report to the front lines. After the young man had departed, Baelz conversed with the father about the war. The aged man told Baelz that he had lost his eldest son four years earlier during the Boxer Rebellion in China and now was sending his second son to war. He went on to say that he would soon no longer have anyone to uphold the honored family crest because he had no more sons. Trying to comfort the man, Baelz replied, "Not all those who go to the front lines are destined to die. I believe your son will return with great military honors."[75] The old man then shook his head and said, "No, my son is going into battle in order to find a hero's death, not to return home alive."[76] In Miura's view this demonstrated that even Baelz, one of the top Western authorities on Japan, had remained ignorant of this fundamental Japanese attitude toward war and death on the battlefield.

Miura cited the Japanese soldier's unique outlook on death as the fundamental reason that Japan had never lost a war. He tried to convince his readers that this was also the reason Japan had achieved its remarkable early successes in the present conflict. He mentioned that on December 12, 1941 the Japanese Imperial Headquarters reported that nine out of ten lost naval aircraft had successfully destroyed themselves, the pilots going down as suicide bombers. He implied that this death-defying spirit of Japanese soldiers and airmen protected the Japanese and made

theme invincible. He mentioned that this same spirit had enabled the Japanese to defeat the Mongols in 1274 and 1281 during the Kamakura period. With only 50,000 men, he said, the Japanese were able to defeat superior Mongol forces of 150,000 men. Likewise, this special Japanese spirit had made possible victories in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905.

Miura wrote that the contemporary soldiers fighting in the Pacific on land, in the sea, and in the air were prepared to defend their homeland to the last man and, as he put it, "enter into the ranks of the gods" (*in die Reihen der Götter einzugehen*).[77] In other words, the dead soilder would become a *kami*. In this case the *kami* is the dead person's spirit, a fundamental aspect of Shintō belief.

Miura declared that critics who would see purposefully seeking death on the battlefield as a senseless disregard of human life or a practice of primitive self-brutality showed their complete misunderstanding of the Japanese mentality. He emphasized that the Japanese value life as much as other people and have a high sensitivity to man and to nature. They were not, in other words, savage beasts. Nonetheless, Japanese civilization had produced a people with an immensely powerful willingness to make the ultimate sacrifice.

Miura also attempted to demonstrate to his Nazi readers that the Japanese soldier could be a very compassionate person. He first cited a highly questionable case, noting that during World War I Japanese volunteers served in the Canadian army on the Western front. In one instance, a Japanese soldier named Isomura came across a wounded German soldier. The wounded German let Isomura know through gestures that he was terribly thirsty. Without hesitation, Isomura give him the small amount of precious water that he had conserved for himself in his canteen. As the German soldier drank the water, a British soldier appeared and began to attack the German soldier with his bayonet. Isomura quickly threw himself between the two and shouted at the British soldier: "Don't you see that this man is seriously wounded?" "So what," he replied, "each enemy who is killed is our gain."[78] Thus Miura attempted to convince his German readers that the British considered them to be subhuman or animals while the compassionate Japanese saw them as human beings.

Miura mentioned another case of Japanese compassion for the enemy. In the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 the Japanese soldiers assigned the task of caring for the first Russian prisoners were ordered to acquaint themselves with the uniforms, insignia, and markings of the Russian soldiers, and to treat them with respect according to their rank. Nevertheless, there was the case of one company of enlisted men that refused to participate in this assignment. These soldiers told their superiors that "it was shameful to be taken prisoner as a soldier, and unbearable to have to show one's face to the enemy as a prisoner."[79] The true samurai understands the feelings of the enemy and spares him this humiliation. For that reason, Miura explained, these Japanese soldiers refused to participate in the inspection of captured Russian soldiers. Despite this, however, the Japanese treated the Russian prisoners humanely and with dignity.

By contrast, Miura commented that in early January 1942 U.S. troops in the Philippines had mercilessly massacred a number of Japanese civilians. He portrayed the Americans as harboring hatred toward the Japanese, a hatred that even drove them to kill innocent Japanese civilians. In the history of Japan, he claimed, such

atrocities had never occurred. This, of course, ignored recent Japanese actions in China. Also, bear in mind that Miura's article appeared in the March 1942 issue of *SS Leitheft* and in a few short weeks Japanese ground forces would take Bataan in the Philippines. Following the fall of Bataan, thousands of Americans and Filipinos would die a pitiless death during the infamous "Death March" and in subsequent captivity at Camp O'Donnell. These deaths resulted directly from malnutrition, disease, and the atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers on the forced march.

Miura's overall message to his German Nazi readers was perfectly clear: although the Japanese soldiers considered it a shame to be captured and would kill themselves rather than be taken prisoner, they still had a feeling of deep compassion for the prisoners they themselves took. One could interpret Miura's remarks on the Japanese determination to fight to the death as veiled criticism of Japan's Nazi allies, in that he seemed to suggest that not even the elite of the German Nazi movement could match the Japanese in their willingness to seek death on the battlefield. In Miura's eyes, Japanese soldiers were clearly the superior fighters.

Miura ended this essay by saying that the current fight is not only for the Japanese homeland, but for all the peoples of Greater East Asia. It was a fight in which the Japanese placed the harshest demands on themselves. Nonetheless, they had a deep compassion for their fellow human beings. He predicted that this war would go down in history as a great victory for Japan, and that the whole world would eventually come to know the real spirit of Japan, the "*Yamato tamashii*."[80] Such was the message that Japanese radical Shintō ultranationalists wished to convey to their Nazi allies.

Nazi Elites in Awe of Japan

There is no question that the message of the Japanese radical Shintō nationalists had considerable impact on the Nazi elite. Take, for example, Nazi propagandist Albrect von Urach who wrote a 128-page book about Japan in 1943, *Das Geheimnis japanischer Kraft (The Secret of Japan's Strength)*.[81] He declared: "The rise of Japan to a world power during the past eighty years is the greatest miracle in world history . . . After only eighty years it is one of the few great powers that determines the fate of the world."[82] He then raised the question, "What did the rest of the world, or we in Germany, know only two generations ago about Japan? Let us be honest. Very little."[83] In an effort to rectify this lack of knowledge, he provided a brief history of traditional Japan and went on to discuss Japan's industrialization; the Japanese military in the Russo-Japanese War, World War I, and the war in China; and the Japanese soldier and the cult of the emperor. In the final section, "The Strength of the Axis," he stated:

> National Socialist Germany is in the best position to understand. We and other nations of the Axis are fighting for the same goals that Japan is fighting for in East Asia, and understand the reasons that forced it to take action. We can also understand the driving force behind Japan's miraculous rise, for we National Socialists also put the spirit over the material. The Axis Pact that ties us to Japan is not a treaty of political convenience like so many in the past, made only to reach a political goal. The Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance is a world-wide spiritual program of the young peoples of the world. It is defeating the international alliance of convenience of Anglo-Saxon imperialist

> monopolists and unlimited Bolshevist internationalism. It is showing the world the way to a better future. In joining the Axis Alliance of the young peoples of the world, Japan is using its power not only to establish a common sphere of economic prosperity in East Asia. It is also fighting for a new world order. New and powerful ideas rooted in the knowledge of the present and the historical necessities of the future that are fought for with fanatical devotion have always defeated systems that have outlived their time and lost their meaning.[84]

Thus von Urach stressed that the Axis alliance was not just an alliance of political/military convenience as it is often portrayed. In his view, it was an alliance among three nations fighting with the same spirit and for the same goals: to destroy the world order controlled by the Anglo-Saxons and communists and establish a new world order in its place. Von Urach saw it as an alliance among nations with similar ideologies and a similar *weltanschauung*.

Ian Buruma, a Dutch author who read von Urach's writings, commented,

> In Hitler's Germany, Japan was admired for having achieved, instinctively, what German Nazism aspired to. In the words of one Albrecht Fürst von Urach, a Nazi propagandist, Japanese emperor worship was "the most unique fusion in the world of state form, state consciousness, and religious fanaticism." Fanaticism was, of course, a positive word in the Nazi lexicon. Reading Nazi books on Japan, one might think that German propagandists wished to instill in the German people, through propaganda, a culture like the one that was handed down to the Japanese by their ancient gods.[85]

The German Nazis surely envied the Japanese Shintō ultranationalists for having the ancient *Nihongi (Chronicles of Japan)* and the *Kojiki (Chronicle of Ancient Matters)* as bases for their mythology, while they had to rely on Tacitus's *Germania* to bolster their ideological doctrines. But not only did the Nazis look for inspiration to Japan in this regard, Italian fascists did too. For example, in his book *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy*,[86] Emilio Gentile wrote,

> At the beginning of this century, the search for a secular religion that would convert the masses to nationalism and actively involve the cult of the fatherland made new strides within the nationalism movement [in Italy]. The motivation—to defy the political mobilization of socialists and Catholics—was strong. It was a project, however, that definitely abandoned the humanitarian and liberal aspects of the Risorgimento tradition of the "patriotic religion." Instead, it moved, open-eyed and decisively, toward a *political religion*, an absolutist cult in which the fatherland became a *living divinity*. The impetus for this new faith came from the Far East. Enrico Corradini, the founder of the movement, greatly admired the "religion of heroes and nature" he found in Japan. Worshipping nature, heroes, and the Emperor, the Japanese had devised a rite of self-adoration. It integrated the individual into the collective and consolidated a national consciousness capable of defying and defeating the great Russian empire in war. "Japan is the God of Japan. The strength this people draws from religion is a strength drawn from its own bowels; its heroes are great men from the past, nature and the fatherland. It becomes auto-adoration."

It is noteworthy, too, that German Nazi writings were very popular in prewar Japan. *Mein Kampf* appeared in Japanese translation. Also, National Socialism's

leading ideologue Alfred Rosenberg's *The Myth of the Twentieth Century (Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts)*, which presented the historical, racial philosophy of German National Socialism, was published in a Japanese version in the late 1930s and was widely read.

These examples offer a glimpse into the interactions among Japanese, German, and Italian ideologues in the 1930s and early 1940s. Further studies on topics such as the relationship between Japanese emperor worship and the myths of the German *Volk* are sorely needed to achieve better understanding of both German National Socialism and Japanese radical Shintō ultranationalism.

Some Japanese remain enthusiastic about such comparative studies, although perhaps for the wrong reasons. Buruma states that in 1984 Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl agreed to restore the old Japanese embassy in Berlin as a Japanese–German scholarly center. To the chagrin of Germans eager to forget the Nazi past, "the Japanese proposed a seminar examining the parallels between Shintoist emperor worship and the myths of the German Volk" to celebrate its opening. The Germans, Buruma notes, "politely declined."[87]

Conclusion

Although Hitler had categorized Japan as a "culture-bearing" people, below the "culture-creating" Aryans, in *Mein Kampf* in 1924, over the next two decades, as Klaus Antoni has pointed out, he came to view the martial Japanese as another Teutonic race.[88] Other Nazi leaders, as we have seen, also expressed admiration for, even envy of, the Japanese. Japan's Volkish homogeneity and its Volkish religion captured their attention and they were awed by Japan's death-defying warfare, exemplified late in the war by the *kamikaze* air units.

As discussed earlier, in 1924 Hitler had asserted boastfully that the "self-sacrificing will to give one's personal labor and if necessary one's life for others is most strongly developed in the Aryan."[89] The soldiers of the SS were expected to be the model for the National Socialists. In *To Die for Germany* Baird wrote: "The fighting spirit of the Waffen SS resulted in part from their adherence to the mythical ideological precepts of Nazi ideology, which combined racism and elitism with medieval concepts of loyalty." He added, "Loyalty, honor, unconditional obedience, and readiness for self-sacrifice were the hallmarks of this ethos."[90] Baird also emphasized that the Reichsführer SS Himmler stressed the "importance of loyalty, the noble bond that obligated the SS man always to remain true to the Führer and the Reich ideal, to his comrades and to the Volk."[91] At gatherings of the Black Order, the attendees customarily sang the *Treuelied der SS*:

> When all others are disloyal, then we
> will remain loyal,
> so that there will always be
> a guard for you.
> Comrades of our youth, your images
> of a better time—which dedicates us
> to manly virtue and to love death.[92]

These lyrics are, of course, reminiscent of the Japanese poem from the *Man'yōshū* quoted earlier by Miura.

As Hitler and other Nazi leaders observed Japanese warfare in Asia and the Pacific, could they still believe with absolute conviction that Aryans were superior to all other Volk in their willingness to sacrifice their lives for others? Without doubt the Japanese proved themselves superior in this regard. While the German Nazis and radical Japanese Shintō ultranationalists had similar ideals of self-sacrifice in battle, the Japanese carried out the ideal to a fuller extent.

In this sense, one can say that despite the Italian role in establishing Fascist ideology and Hitler's development of a more extreme racialized form, the Japanese best exemplified its radical values of subordination to and sacrifice for the state. Thus the Japanese had a real basis for claiming ideological superiority within the loosely constructed Axis alliance. Perhaps it is time to move away from a Euro-centric viewpoint and, as Gavan McCormack suggested,[93] consider reexamining the German and Italian experiences as exceptional examples of the general phenomenon of a "fascist" state ideology centered on Japanese radical Shintō ultranationalism.

Notes

1. John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), foreword.
2. For a discussion of this ideological transformation of the intellectual structure of the ideology of State Shintō from Hozumi Yatsuka in the late Meiji period to Uesugi Shinkichi in the early Taishō period, see Walter A. Skya, "The Emperor, Shinto Ultranationalism and Mass Mobilization," in *Religion and National Identity in the Japanese Context,* ed., Klaus Antoni et al. (Hamburg and London: Lit Verlag, 2002), pp. 235–248.
3. Uesugi Shinkichi, *Kokka shinron* (Tokyo: Keibunkan, 1921).
4. Kakehi Katsuhiko, *Kokka no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shimizu shoten, 1913).
5. For example, in *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 36–37, Maruyama Masao wrote: "The basic characteristic of the Japanese state structure is that it is always considered an extension of the family . . . The insistence on the family system therefore may be connected with the failure of Japanese fascism as a mass movement." Other Japanese scholars, such as Ishida Takeshi and Irokawa Daikichi also see the prewar Japanese state in terms of an absolute monarchy that was characteristic of a traditional patriarchical family–state structure.
6. John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), p. 207.
7. In the broader context of Hitler's overall strategy to get Japan involved in the war against the British, Ernst L. Presseisen, in *Germany and Japan: A Study in Totalitarian Diplomacy 1933–1941* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958) noted (p. 287) that the "Fuhrer on March 5, 1941, issued Directive #24 on 'Cooperation with Japan.' Its objectives were to enlist Japan as soon as possible in the war against England, and thus to tie up a substantial part of the latter's forces in the Pacific." On von Ribbentrop's discussions on the matter with Matsuoka Yōsuke, see: Gerhard Weinberg, *A World at War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 251 and Mamoru Shigemitsu, *Japan and Her Destiny*, ed. F.S.G. Piggott, tr. Oswald White (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1958), p. 216.
8. Antony Best, *British Intelligence and the Japanese Challenge is Asia, 1914–1941* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 163 and S. Hatano and S. Asada, "The Japanese Decision to Move South, 1939–41," in R. Boyce and E.M. Robertson, eds., *Paths to War: New Essays on the Origin of the Second World War* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1989), pp. 393–394.

9. Carl Boyd, *Hitler's Japanese Confidant: General Ōshima Hiroshi and MAGIC Intellegence, 1941–1945* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), p. 53.
10. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, tr. Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), p. 284.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 288.
13. See Michael D. Biddiss, *Father of Racist Ideology: The Social and Political Thought of Count Gobineau* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1970), p. 258.
14. Ibid., p. 290.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., pp. 290–291.
19. Ibid., p. 129.
20. Ibid., p. 140.
21. Ibid.
22. Naval power began to be promoted aggressively in Germany by secretary of the German navy Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, who in 1900, pushed through a bill that called for a massive naval buildup clearly directed at countering the British fleet.
23. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 129.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p. 141.
26. Ibid., p. 158.
27. Ibid., p. 609.
28. Ibid., p. 610.
29. Ibid., p. 622.
30. Ibid., p. 638.
31. Ibid., p. 640.
32. Ibid., pp. 642–643.
33. Ibid., p. 641.
34. Ibid., p. 297.
35. Ibid.
36. Jay W. Baird, *To Die For Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 1.
37. Ibid., p. 2.
38. Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), p. 260.
39. Carl Boyd, *The Extraordinary Envoy: General Hiroshi Ōshima and Diplomacy in the Third Reich, 1934–1939* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1980), p. 7.
40. Ibid, p. 9.
41. Ibid, p. 13.
42. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 660–661.
43. Ibid, p. 26.
44. Bix, *Hirohito*, pp. 280–281.
45. *Asahi Shimbun*, December 17, 1937.
46. Presseisen, *Germany and Japan*, p. 162.
47. Agawa Hiroyuki, *The Reluctant Admiral: Yamamoto and the Imperial Navy,* tr. John Bester (Tokyo: Kodansha International, Ltd., 1979), pp. 141–142.
48. Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 368.
49. In his work *Hitler's Japanese Confidant*, p. xi, Carl Boyd noted that Ōshima was temporarily recalled to Tokyo from fall 1939 to December 1940.
50. Ibid., p. 5.

51. Mikiso Hane, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), p. 288.
52. Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 368.
53. This was not the first time that fighting had broken out between Japanese and Soviet forces. On July 11, 1938, a fight had occurred at Changkufeng, near the juncture of Manchuria, the Soviet Union, and Korea. The Japanese attempt to seize territory from the Soviets failed and they were forced to retreat. Alvin Coox wrote histories of both clashes: *The Anatomy of a Small War: The Soviet-Japanese Struggle for Changkufeng-Khasan, 1938* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977) and *Nomonham,* 2 vols. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).
54. Quoted in Bix, *Hirohito*, p. 383.
55. Gerhard L. Weinberg, "Why Hitler Declared War on the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Miltiary History*, 4:3 (Spring 1992): 18.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., p. 22.
58. Ibid., p. 23.
59. Boyd, *Hitler's Japanese Confidant*, p. 53.
60. The naval actions are described in Paul S. Dull, *A Battle History of the Japanese Navy 1941–1945* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1978), pp. 103–111.
61. Boyd, *Hitler's Japanese Confidant*, p. 54.
62. On the debate over Japanese options see: John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), pp. 89–121 and H.P. Wilmott, *Empires in the Balance* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1982), pp. 436–460.
63. For a fascinating account of how Germany tried to provide Japan with its latest weapons and military technology by way of the U-boat in the closing weeks of the war in Europe, see Joseph M. Scalia, *Germany's Last Mission to Japan: The Failed Voyage of U-234* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2000).
64. I am grateful to Clemens Philippi for providing me with a copy of the original German document.
65. After the outbreak of hostilities with the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931, fighting between Chinese and Japanese forces erupted in Shanghai in January 1932. An armistice was signed in May 1932. Donald A. Jordan, *China's Trial By Fire: The Shanghai War of 1932* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001) details this conflict.
66. "Was vermittelt uns dieses Vorkommnis?" Miura Kazuichi, "Yamato," *SS Leitheft*, 8:3 (March 1942): 27.
67. Ibid., p. 28. The translation is by Karl Hammer in *SS Ideology* (Hammer Books, 1991), 2: 38.
68. Ibid., p. 27.
69. Ibid.
70. Quoted in Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid. The German reads: "Lebend sollst du nicht die Schande des Gefangenen tragen; nach dem Tode sollst du nicht den schlechten Ruf von Schuld und Unheil hinterlassen."
73. I have used the translation of this poem that appeared in George Sansom's work *A History of Japan to 1334* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1958), p. 94.
74. Miura, "Yamato," p. 28.
75. Ibid. The German reads: "Niche alle, die zur Front gehen, sind zum Fallen bestimmt; ich glaube, Ihr Sohn wird mit grossem Waffenruhm heimkehren."
76. Ibid. Translation from Hammer, *SS Ideology*, 2:40.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid. Translation by Hammer, *SS Ideology*, 2:41–42.
79. Ibid. Translation by Hammer, *SS Ideology*, 2:42.
80. Ibid, p. 31.

81. Albrecht Fürst von Urach, *Das Geheimnis japanischer Kraft* (Berlin: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943).
82. This is from a partial translation of the von Urach book, including full translation of the introduction and the final chapter) by Randall L. Bywerk, http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/japan.htm, p. 1.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ian Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1994), p. 35.
86. Emilio Gentile, *The Sacralization of Politics in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 14.
87. Buruma, *The Wages of Guilt*, pp. 9–10.
88. Klaus Antoni, *Shinto & die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens (kokutai)* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 280.
89. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 297.
90. Baird, *To Die For Germany*, p. 212.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid., p. 213. The German reads: "Wenn alle untreu, so bleiben wir doch treu, dass immer noch auf Erden für euch ein Fähnlein sei. Gefahrten unsrer Jugend, ihr Bilder bessrer Zeit—die uns zu Mannertugend und Liebestod geweiht."
93. Gavan McCormack, "Nineteen-Thirties Japan: Fascism?," *Bulletin of Concerned Asia Scholars*, 14 (April–June 1982): 32.

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 6

Peculiar Characteristics: The Japanese Political System in the Fascist Era

E. Bruce Reynolds

In the numerous comparative studies of fascism produced over the past several decades, scholars have tended to place greater stress on differences than parallels in their attempts to classify "third way" movements of the 1930s. Because the Italian party gained power first and its name (in non-capitalized form) has become accepted as the generic term for the broader phenomenon, Italian Fascism serves as the prototype.[1] Strongly emphasizing governmental and political structures, the experts then proceed to develop complex definitions for a "fascist minimum" that, as Joseph P. Sottile pointed out in chapter 1, always exclude Japan from the fascist camp.

Given the contention by Zeev Sternhell and others that even Nazi Germany should not be considered fascist because of its racial determinism,[2] it is little wonder that scholars of comparative fascism, who invariably focus on Europe, have excluded Japan. Moreover, even more narrowly focused Japan specialists have reinforced the idea that Japan must be set apart from its Axis partners.[3]

The existence of real differences among the Axis states should surprise no one. While communists might have disagreed on various issues and had difficulty aligning ideology and implementation, all recognized the seminal importance of the writings of Karl Marx. In contrast, "third way" advocates had no such common font of ideas because each movement emerged out of particular historical and social circumstances and baldly reflected national ambitions and prejudices. Nationalism, as George L. Mosse has pointed out, provided the "bed rock" upon which all fascist movements were based, a fact that led a contemporary left-wing critic to characterize "international fascism" as "a contradiction in terms."[4]

Extreme nationalism ensured that fascist movements would have peculiar characteristics and proved a major stumbling block to cooperative relations between the Axis powers. It also goes far in explaining why, for example, the Japanese militarists and the ideologically like-minded Chiang Kai-shek fought an eight-year war that debilitated both sides and ultimately benefited only their mutual enemies, the Chinese communists.

While it is useful to study the real differences between fascist or "third way" movements, excessive focus on individual trees can obscure one's view of the forest.

It should not be forgotten that these movements shared fundamental ideological characteristics, influenced each other, and drew inspiration from each other's successes. Accordingly, a more global, world history perspective is needed to refocus attention on the significant parallels that seemed obvious to most contemporary observers and to many scholars writing in the immediate postwar period.[5] Otherwise, the power and impact of this important world political current of the 1930s cannot be accurately comprehended. Certainly it can never be fully understood by isolating Japan from its Axis allies, particularly Nazi Germany.

Axis Parallels and Mutual Admiration

In his 1938 book *Inside Asia* the peripatetic journalist John Gunther, who previously had written a widely read book on European affairs, outlined the reasons why Japan, Germany, and Italy were likely to become outright allies. The strongest basis for alliance existed, he suggested, not between Italy and Germany, but between Germany and Japan:

> Japan and Germany at least have strong community of interest. Both countries believe in race and Japan has begun to flirt with anti-Semitism; both are expansionist states, which were once put in the Have-Not category; both fear and dislike the U.S.S.R. on nationalist grounds. Japan borrowed its constitution from a German model, and built its schools and trained its army with German methods. In Japan, conversely, I felt I was beginning to understand something of Nazi religious impulses and ideas. Worship of the state, with Hitler as its prophet, is strikingly like Shinto and Emperor worship in Japan.[6]

The profound German influence on Japan is well known. Germany's military prowess, advanced technology, successful industrial development, and conservative politics attracted the attention of Japan's Meiji era leaders. Germany had become a world power even though it, like Japan and Italy, had started late.

Yamagata Aritomo shaped Japan's Imperial Army according to the German prototype and Itō Hirobumi based the Meiji Constitution on the Prussian model, with advice from such German constitutional law experts as Rudolf von Gneist, Lorenz von Stein, and Hermann Roesler. Mori Arinori modeled the Japanese education system on Germany's, including its central focus on the inculcation of patriotic values, and German adviser Albert Mosse influenced Yamagata's efforts, as the nation's first home minister, to establish the rural villages as bulwarks of loyalty and conservatism. During the Meiji period most of Japan's state scholarship students went to Germany, and a number of German professors came to teach at the Tokyo Imperial University.[7]

Accordingly, German visitors to Japan in the late 1880s and early 1890s found much they could relate to. "Here, too," Bernd Martin points out, "politics and society were centered around an imperial house, nationalism and patriotism prevailed and recent history culminated in the glorious foundation of the new state." In both states "the 'Dark Ages' had obviously been overcome and the newly unified national state was looking ahead to a bright future full of progress."[8]

In Germany and Japan "the State was the paramount and primary institution to which all personal needs and desires of the individual had to be subordinated," wrote

Herbert von Dirksen, the German ambassador in Tokyo in the mid-1930s. This "Spartan line of thought . . . led to the growth of an authoritarian State with a highly efficient executive administered by a hierarchy of soldiers and officials."[9]

Relations between the two countries soured after Germany joined in the 1895 Triple Intervention that deprived Japan of some of the fruits of its victory in the Sino-Japanese War, a move that reflected Emperor Wilhelm II's obsession with the "Yellow Peril." The Japanese exacted revenge in 1914 by declaring war and seizing German concessions in China and islands in the Pacific. Despite such clashes of interest and Japan's alliance with Great Britain, however, German-inspired institutions remained in place. As Martin aptly put it, "Meiji Japan had put on a German corset—by taking it off now she would have run the risk of collapsing."[10] Further, even during World War I, pro-German sentiments remained strong in certain quarters in Japan, particularly in the conservative Yamagata faction.[11]

As other contributors to this volume have already pointed out, neither the Germans nor the Japanese found the outcome of World War I to their liking. The Germans suffered a humiliating defeat and faced a harsh peace settlement, while the Japanese felt unappreciated by their allies. The Japanese resented efforts to roll back their wartime gains in China and opposition to the antiracism clause they sought to include in the charter of the League of Nations.[12] International demands for fleet limitations that culminated in the signing of the Five-Power Pact of 1922 angered Japanese naval officers.

The World War I hostilities and Germany's defeat did not, however, dampen Japanese admiration for German martial prowess. As an article written in 1936 put it, "the Japanese respected the German people for their patriotic feeling and military values which enabled them to put up a good fight for four long years without letting their enemies invade their country."[13] Japanese army officers concluded that naval blockade and the consequent collapse of the home front had cheated the Germany out of the victory that its battlefield performance merited. This evaluation led them to the fateful conclusion that Japan needed to expand its empire to gain vital resources and further centralize power to facilitate mobilization for future total wars.[14]

Accordingly, army officers would provide the activist core of the "third way" movement in Japan. During the 1920s these men were inspired in various measure by such countrymen as the national socialist Kita Ikki, the State Shintō ideologue Uesugi Shinkichi, the pan-Asianist Ōkawa Shūmei, the nationalistic journalist and popular historian Tokutomi Sohō, and the ultranationalist militarist General Araki Sadao. Externally, army officers admired Mussolini's apparent success in promoting patriotism and establishing order in Italy.

Heretofore Italy had not enjoyed a level of influence in Japan remotely comparable to Germany's, but its leaders, too, had become "catch-up imperialists."[15] Although, like the Japanese, they were on the winning side in World War I, the Italians felt disrespected and shortchanged at Versailles, disillusionment that, as Sottile pointed out, contributed greatly to Mussolini's rise to dictatorial power. The Japanese who admired the Italian dictator included no less a figure than General Tanaka Giichi, leader of the Seiyūkai party and Japan's prime minister in 1927–1928. Tanaka hailed Mussolini's achievements, declaring that "as a result of the victory of fascism over socialism, disputes gradually disappeared and production became prosperous."[16]

Japanese army factions disagreed on various matters, including the specific political changes needed, the means to bring them about, and the relative military importance of modern technology and the Japanese spirit. They were in accord, though, on other key issues, including opposition to liberalism and parliamentary politics. In league with elements of the navy and civilian patriotic societies that supported the key elements of their programs, these military activists would dramatically change domestic politics, push Japan into foreign adventures, and provide impetus for alliance with Germany.

German Ambassador von Dirksen pointed out that Japan's ultranationalists were able to launch overseas expansion in Manchuria in 1931 before gaining control of the government at home, while the Nazis had to gain power first before pursuing expansionism. Nonetheless, he believed that the fact that the two nations "were pursuing similar aims strengthened a feeling of sympathy and friendship which had developed since Japan had been forced to abandon her medieval seclusion."[17] Historian Ernest Presseisen adds that the two nations mutually promoted a "revolutionary doctrine"—a new order based on "regional or continental blocs of states led by a primary power."[18]

In an article written just before the two nations concluded the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1936, Tomoyeda Takahiko touted anti-Bolshevism as the key basis for accord between the two countries, but he also stressed long-standing Japanese admiration for Germany:

> The idealistic tendencies of German philosophy and the patriotic sentiment that formed the undercurrent of German thought called forth a ready response in the minds of the Japanese people. Germans then, as they do today, seem to count, among other things, sincerity, love of translating precept into practice, and respect for heroism as the outstanding traits of the northern race which constitutes the nucleus of the nation.[19]

In Germany, popular author Heinz Corazza had portrayed the two nations in a 1935 book as "natural allies" based on their "similar thoughts on the heroic conception of life, about Führer and followers, of racial purification and appreciation for the past." He also pointed to their shared enmity for "liberal-bolshevist materialism."[20]

Presseisen characterized Germany's Nazi leaders as "deliberately pro-Japanese" and Japan as "one country which the Nazis really desired as an ally."[21] They were inspired primarily by the geopolitical or strategic advantages of such a linkup,[22] but also felt an ideological affinity with Japan, as Klaus Antoni and Walter A. Skya have suggested in earlier chapters. The two support Ernst Nolte's contention that Hitler himself, despite his extreme racism and his view of Japan as a noncreative "culture-bearing" country, "really did sincerely admire the land in the Far East untouched as it was by Christianity, inaccessible to Jews, internally united and dedicated to hero-worship. Japan was for him a land of natural fascism, pointing the way for his own endeavor."[23] Presseisen adds, "Japan in Hitler's mind, represented the very sinew of strength—a soldier state ruled by heroic samurai."[24] When the Sino-Japanese war erupted in 1937, this bias would lead Hitler to pursue alliance with Japan despite Germany's more significant trade and military relations with China.[25]

In the wake of the 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact foreign correspondent William Henry Chamberlin opined that Germany and Japan were drawing together because

> Many Japanese officers have been sent abroad for training in Germany and have retained high respect for German fighting spirit, discipline, and economic efficiency. The younger officers in Japan, who are impatient with bureaucrats and capitalists and dream of remaking the country along lines of military state socialism, see much to admire in Hitler and his regime. Germany and Japan have both turned their backs on the League of Nations; both are in revolt against the static conception of unchangeable frontiers which, as they believe, strangles their legitimate aspirations for expansion. The Soviet Union is a common object of antagonism.[26]

Ambassador von Dirksen found that the Anti-Comintern Pact, which he viewed as providing a boost to the nationalists and militarists, had "tremendous" impact on Japanese public opinion:

> The broad masses felt relieved from an isolation that had been weighing heavily on them, and they were carried away by a wave of genuine sympathy and enthusiasm for Germany. Deputations appointed by mass meetings and presents made by individual patriots kept the Embassy staff busy. From now on the political going was even smoother than it had been before . . . It was an ideal time for a German Ambassador.[27]

Historian Nakamura Takafusa adds that in the wake of the pact Japan's "newspapers and magazines were full of reports that referred to 'our ally Germany.' "[28]

However, barriers to close and cooperative German–Japanese relations remained.[29] Beyond discomfort about Hitler's racial views, many Japanese naval officers and civilians had qualms about an alliance that might lead Japan into conflict with Great Britain and the United States. As Skya pointed out, such concerns delayed the consummation of a full alliance, much to the chagrin of its advocates.

Still, Japanese admiration for Fascism and Nazism was widespread, real, and frequently expressed. A 1933 article trumpeted the demise of communist ideas and the rise of "third way" alternatives:

> Enthusiasm for social and economic justice remains, but that enthusiasm is now directed towards a mitigation of the unquestioned evils of capitalism by means and in a spirit consonant with the historical development and fundamental characteristics of the nation . . . In other words, the communism of the past is giving place to the doctrines of Fascism which, while having close affinities with our historic traditions of the past, suggest a plan of ordered social and economic readjustment for the future.[30]

As this declaration suggests, many Japanese intellectuals and bureaucrats had come to view fascism as a means to achieve centralized planning, which they saw as the wave of the future. It is significant that the Director of the Cabinet Research Bureau Yoshida Shigeru ordered studies of the policies of Germany, Italy, *and* the Soviet Union.[31] Likewise, Richard J. Samuels emphasizes how not only German models, but also Stalin's First Five-Year Plan impressed the renovationist bureaucrat and future Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke.[32] Perhaps fascism, which seemed to offer "the latest and most effective Western models for economic and political reform,"[33]

might provide Japan with the perceived advantages of the Soviet Union's planned economy in an acceptable ideological framework.

In late 1936, a Japanese journalist who had spent eight years in Germany described Japan as "drifting, in more than one sense toward Fascism" despite divisions among pro-fascist elements. He described such divisions as "customary" and correctly predicted that in the absence of "some powerful force to check it" the trend would continue.[34] In early 1938 the antifascist writer Baba Tsunego accused the Japanese bureaucracy of seeking to "augment its power and influence" by "riding on the crest of the wave of Fascism."[35]

Chamberlin found that in Japan's ivory towers "intellectuals, always responsive to new foreign ideas and influences, were impressed by the sweep of Fascism in Europe." One professor told him that fascism had strongly influenced contemporary students.[36] One such pro-fascist student later recalled:

> Beginning in 1939, Hitler's newsreels were shown every day. When I played hooky, I always went to see them. I'd watch those stirring movies about Hitler and wonder, "What's the matter with the Japanese army in Manchuria? Why can't they just annihilate the British or the Americans? Hitler took all of Poland and united it with Germany!" Then I bought Hitler's heroic autobiography *Mein Kampf*. Japanese youth of that time adored Hitler and Mussolini and yearned for the emergence of a Japanese politician with the same qualities. We wanted decisive action.[37]

The Charismatic Dictator

The charismatic dictator the student longed to follow never emerged, and Japan specialists often cite this fact as a sufficient argument for excluding Japan from the fascist fold. They further point out that the emperor stayed at the center of the Japanese political system, the Meiji Constitution and the legal system remained in place, the Diet continued to meet, and elections were held, even in 1942 after Japan had gone to war against Britain and the United States. They also emphasize that relatively few Japanese explicitly called themselves "fascists" or even "national socialists."[38] Narrow focus on these factors, however, obscures more fundamental parallels between Japan, Germany, and Italy in the 1930s.

While some might argue that the centrality of Japan's monarchy in itself indicates the overwhelming influence of traditional conservatism, the Japanese monarchy was not really a "traditional" system, despite the royal line's long history. The Meiji leaders had purposefully constructed the post-1868 "emperor system," using the monarch as a convenient and indispensable focus of political loyalty for a modern nation-state.[39] By manipulating the myth-enshrouded imperial legacy they led the Japanese populace through revolutionary changes under the thoroughly misleading rubric of "restoration."[40]

The rationale behind the purposeful creation of a state religion centered on the emperor reflected a principle espoused by Niccolò Machiavelli, who declared: "where there is religion, a military power can be built up, but military power without religion, this can only be realized with difficulty."[41] The father of the Meiji Constitution, Itō, made clear his acceptance of this principle, advocated to him by

the German expert von Stein, in explaining the reasons for placing the emperor on a high pedestal:

> In Europe, not only have the people become proficient in constitutional government since it first took seed; there was also religion, and this constituted the axis, deeply infusing the public mind. In this the people's hearts found unity . . . In our country there is only the Imperial House that can become such an axis.[42]

Several decades later Chamberlin acknowledged the success of Itō's efforts, describing emperor worship as "a stabilizing force, a bond of unity which enabled the country to pass through a swift transition from old to new ways of life with a minimum of social disturbance and civil strife."[43]

A key to understanding why continued focus on the emperor seemed essential to Japan's "third way" advocates is George L. Mosse's argument that Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany "completed a sacralization of politics which has always been latent in modern nationalism," making fascism a "civic religion."[44] Mussolini manipulated imagery of a revived Roman Empire, while Hitler resurrected the Teutonic Knights and the spirit of the German *Volk* to create a basis for spiritual renewal and national revival. Japanese "third way" advocates, however, had at hand a fully developed and functioning "civic religion," State Shintō. As Victor Yakhontoff noted in 1936, the basic fascist assumption "that one's own nation is the best, the chosen of the gods, with a Messianic aim to realize, fits perfectly the Japanese idea . . . that their nation is blessed by the deities and governed by the descendants of heaven."[45]

An effort to co-opt, rather than to overturn, the existing structure made the "third way" advocates in Japan appear more conservative than their counterparts in Italy or Germany, but their ultimate intentions were hardly less radical. They sought to exploit the "civic religion" created by the Meiji oligarchs in a quest to suppress individualism and transform the nation into a fully mobilized total war machine.[46]

Utilizing State Shintō for these purposes meant that the Japanese "third way" advocates could not lightly advocate fundamental change in governmental structure because of the sacrosanct aura surrounding the Meiji Constitution, a gift magnanimously bestowed on the people by a revered emperor. In fact, the Meiji Constitution did not pose an insurmountable barrier to the achievement of their goals. While most constitutions are designed to make explicit the bounds within which a government must operate, the Meiji founding fathers (*genrō*) had created a document designed to mask the realities of how their regime would function. They vested supreme power in the emperor, but expected that he would follow their advice, not exercise power personally. They intended to obscure—and thereby protect—their own dominant role, using the throne as a screen.[47]

The constitution created an unusual separation of powers. The *genrō* sought to keep the cabinet, which in the early years they dominated, isolated from the elected lower house of the legislature (Diet). Further, they undermined the position of the cabinet and the prime minister by giving the top officers of the army and navy direct access to the emperor, permitting them to make "end runs." This odd constitutional structure demanded a strong mediating force when conflicts inevitably arose between different

organs of government. Although the wording of the constitution made it appear that this would be the emperor's task, in fact the *genrō* carried out this function.

The founding fathers were not immortal, however, nor could they transfer their special prestige to others. Their gradual departure from the scene left a power vacuum that various government organs competed to fill. A realignment over the first two-and-a-half decades of the twentieth century enhanced the importance and influence of the mainstream Japanese political parties. Then a more rapid and drastic realignment in the 1930s shifted the balance of power in favor of military officers and like-minded bureaucrats who were pushing Japan toward the "third way." Both realignments were possible because of the ambiguous framework of the Meiji Constitution and were heavily influenced by external events. The mainstream political parties benefited from a "pro-democracy" mood generated by the Japanese alliance with the victorious Allied Powers in World War I, but suffered from the backlash against liberal democracy that accompanied the onset of the Great Depression and the rise of Nazi Germany.[48]

The Imperial Army had laid the groundwork for the 1930s shift by establishing effective means for inculcating nationalistic and antiliberal ideas in the minds of young Japanese. Richard Smethurst, who studied this effort, beginning with the establishment of the Reservist Association in 1910, saw it as based on "an excessive but real fear [that national] unity was threatened by mass movements and Western ideologies."[49] An army-supported National Youth Association emerged in 1915. In 1925 the army assigned officers to conduct compulsory military training at middle schools. During the following year training centers were established for young men who did not go beyond compulsory elementary school education.

Writing about the Reservist Association and National Youth Association in the mid-1930s, Chamberlin noted, "the similarity of their activities to those of the Union of Communist Youth in Russia and to those of the young Fascist groups in Italy and Germany."[50] In Smethurst's view the army's system of indoctrination worked so well in rural areas that by the 1930s "loyalty to the army and loyalty to the hamlet and village had become synonymous."[51]

In the early 1930s the army, with support from civilian right-wing societies, further amplified propaganda emphasizing its role as selfless protector of the nation and executor of the imperial will.[52] The disastrous economic consequences of the Minseitō Party cabinet's decision to return Japan to the gold standard just after the 1929 New York stock market crash thoroughly discredited the leading advocates of liberal capitalism,[53] while the army enhanced its prestige by independently staging the Manchurian Incident in September 1931. The successful seizure of Manchuria, a strategic area touted as the "lifeline of the empire," had a profound effect on public opinion and led even reluctant political leaders to support the aggression. It also gave powerful momentum to the army's national defense *(kokubō)* propaganda campaign, as more than 1.5 million "wildly enthusiastic" citizens participated in army-led rallies in the first month after the Incident. The campaign would serve as a model for other army mobilization efforts throughout the 1930s.[54]

The *kokubō* campaign spawned "national-defense societies" led by local elites eager to demonstrate their patriotism. "Such groups provided a powerful political

tool for the army," notes historian Louise Young. "Looking out from Tokyo, policy makers who made crucial decisions about budget and foreign policy beheld a phalanx of national-defense associations, just as tenant farmers, shopkeepers, and housewives found that those to whom they looked for guidance seemed to be in full support of the army."[55] The army targeted the female population specifically, establishing the National Defense Women's Organization in 1932, a body that would claim nearly eight million members by 1938.[56]

Masayo Ohara points out that the army's expansionist program seemed to offer economic promise to a variety of socioeconomic groups. Even the *zaibatsu* (large, family-dominated conglomerates like Mitsui and Mitsubishi), which initially served as convenient scapegoats for the nation's economic ills, soon found it in their interest to lend support to the pro-military coalition.[57] Paul Brooker argues that the army's actions stimulated a popular nationalist upsurge that pushed the nation's political leadership toward "fraternalism," his term for the ideology of public mobilization characteristic of the Axis states.[58]

A recovering economy reinforced public enthusiasm for Japan's militant course, as the devaluation of the yen that accompanied the abandonment of the gold standard in late 1931 created a surge in exports. The government further boosted the recovery by adopting Keynesian policies, sustained by bond issues and high levels of deficit spending that particularly benefited the military services. Harold James notes: "The gold standard was discredited. The heroes of the 1930's were expansionists, who managed to find new ways of financing state deficits: Finance Minister Takahashi [Korekiyo] in Japan or Economic Minister Hjalmar Schacht in Germany."[59]

Given the usefulness of emperor-centered State Shintō as a focal point of national loyalty, the malleable nature of the constitution, the army's claim to a special role within the imperial framework, and widespread support for the imperial venture in Manchuria, Japanese "third way" advocates naturally chose to advance their programs by manipulating the existing structure. Their efforts to promote what Dooeum Chung calls, in the Chinese context, "elitist fascism"[60] should not, however, disqualify them from inclusion in the "fascist" camp. Mosse writes:

> Fascism always appropriated already existing, familiar, and popular ideas while manipulating them into its own world view. Fascism was a new political movement but not a movement that invented anything new; it annexed the long familiar and made it a part of its racism and nationalism. That was some of its real strength; it offered regeneration with security and revolution based on the already familiar.[61]

Fascism, Mosse declared, "needed a supreme leader in order to provide a sharp enough focus, a living symbol of nation and party" who "could do no wrong."[62] In Japan, the emperor filled that role in a way that no one else could, and in a fashion that no upstart fascist (or communist) dictator could match anywhere else. Hitler and Mussolini (not to mention Stalin) had to compete with deeply ingrained loyalties to traditional religion in their efforts to strengthen their grip on power. In contrast, in Japan, state and religion already had been merged, with the emperor playing the joint role of head of state and direct descendant of the gods.

American missionary Willis Lamott summarized a conception of the emperor's role established in the Meiji era when he wrote of the myth of the nation as a single family:

> At the center of this ideal stands the Emperor, the head of every family, the source of all power, but freed from responsibility, the inspiration of all national endeavor, in service of whom all distinctions of class, party, and religion are transfused into one "harmonious unity of the Sovereign and the ruled." This conception of a united people bound by the twin ties of loyalty and filial obedience to the Emperor, is called the "Nippon Seishin"—the Japanese spirit. "And no one," adds Suzuki [the Japanese John Doe], "except a Japanese can truly understand the great spiritual idea which is the unique contribution of our nation to the world."[63]

In the mid-1930s, however, "third way" advocates moved beyond this "emperor-as-father-figure" ideal to emphasize a far more radical concept of "emperor as living god," a shift pointed out by Skya in chapter 5. Scholar Minobe Tatsukichi's theory of the emperor as merely an "organ of the state," once widely accepted in intellectual circles, now drew vicious attack as an insult to the sacred position of the throne. A campaign drummed up by military "third way" advocates, forced Minobe out of the House of Peers and sparked an assassination attempt.[64] The anti-Minobe campaign helped create an atmosphere in which, in the words of historian Itō Takashi, "the ideas of the Restorationists-Radical Reformists came to be regarded as the orthodox ideology of the state."[65]

The State Shintō ideologues, having trumped Minobe's liberal interpretation of the constitution, exhorted citizens to suppress all individualism and seek a total spiritual bonding with the emperor-god. As one put it: "By union with the divine life that transcends the individual self, the individual becomes God . . ."[66] This radical ideology, officially expounded in the 1937 *Kokutai no hongi*, a book produced by a committee of scholars and Education Ministry bureaucrats, held that:

> Loyalty means to reverence the Emperor as pivot and to follow him implicitly. By implicit obedience is meant casting ourselves aside and serving the Emperor intently. To walk this Way of loyalty is the sole Way in which we subjects may "live," and the fountainhead of all energy. Hence, offering our lives for the sake of the Emperor does not mean so-called self-sacrifice, but the casting aside of our little selves to live under his august grace and the enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a State.[67]

The educational system and military propaganda channels relentlessly promoted this official interpretation of the "national essence" (*kokutai*) and almost two million copies of *Kokutai no hongi* were sold to the public.[68] A contemporary Western Shintō scholar, D.C. Holtom, aptly characterized the book as "a manifesto of the principles of military totalitarianism in a Japanese setting."[69]

Representatives of other faiths hastened to accommodate the new realities. Holtom wrote of a "veritable flood of patriotic literature" from Buddhist presses in the 1930s.[70] The Nichiren sect took a particularly jingoistic role, with one priest calling for a synthesis of Shintō and fascism to bolster Japan's leadership role in Asia and the world.[71] Brian Victoria has documented how prominent Zen Buddhist priests

trumpeted *kokutai* ideology and touted Buddhist practice as a means of deepening one's commitment to emperor and state, for example, linking the Buddhist goal of extinguishing desire with the anti-individualist concept of oneness with the emperor.[72] Japanese Christian spokesmen, meanwhile, endorsed the official characterization of the fighting in China as a "holy war" aimed at establishing a just peace.[73]

The authorities achieved such conformity by suppressing unorthodox religions on the grounds that they failed to uphold the state's interpretation of the *kokutai*. The government prosecuted some of their leaders for their alleged heresies under the Peace Preservation Law, while police smashed their places of worship.[74] In 1941, Sheldon Garon has noted, "After decades of denying that State Shinto was a religion, the statist Konoe Cabinet declared that it was the only religion."[75]

Although historian Ben-Ami Shillony has declared that "Japan possessed neither an official dogma nor an omniscient leader to interpret the truth,"[76] it *did* have such a dogma. Aimed at promoting loyalty to the state, it had been drummed into the minds of its citizens for decades, but became much more extreme from the mid-1930s. This ideological shift has received too little attention from scholars, perhaps in part because the claims of the State Shintō ideologues seem too ludicrous to be taken seriously.[77] The consequences, however, were all too real.

It is hard to imagine a more fully totalitarian creed than that expounded by the State Shintō ideologues. Uesugi, for example, declared, "Subjects have no mind apart from the Emperor. Their individual selves are merged with the Emperor."[78] *Kokutai no hongi* held that "An individual is an existence belonging to a State and her history which forms a basis of his origin, and is fundamentally one body with it."[79]

As for an "omniscient interpreter of truth," Emperor Hirohito could have played this role had he chosen to do so. Instead of settling doctrinal issues as a living god, however, he permitted Shintō "scholars" and Education Ministry bureaucrats to expound on such matters, just as in his role as supreme commander he allowed the army and navy to make military decisions.

While Japanese "third way" advocates found scope to achieve many of their goals within the existing political structure, this course did present some real problems. Journalist Otto Tolischus, who had reported from Nazi Germany before his transfer to Japan in early 1941, noted the continued existence of "many checks and balances, many subtle and intangible influences of tradition, personality, political and economic power, even legal limitations like the Imperial constitution, that could not be lightly set aside, and could put brakes on developments." Tolischus cited the emperor and his court, conservatives like Baron Hiranuma Kiichirō, Diet politicians, and big business interests as specific barriers. Retention of the Meiji Constiution meant that these elements could not be simply eliminated.[80]

Another journalist, Joseph Newman, commented on this, too, arguing that the Japanese elites maintained public loyalty to the state in prewar Japan in large part by creating "the illusion that the emperor is free to appoint anyone he pleases as the head of government . . . " Newman continued:

> Establishment of a militarist-socialist state would result either in the abolition of this imperial façade or a revision of its composition by packing it with militarist material, so that the public could see through it without difficulty. This would cause a loss of face

> to the emperor, the last thing that has been left to him by the militarists, and his open reduction in the eyes of his subjects to the status of the shogunate's puppet. Strangely enough, it was just this danger of the emperor's real position being disclosed to the public that has saved Hirohito this humiliation up to the present time and has helped check establishment of a militarist socialist state in Japan.[81]

In particular, continued reliance on the emperor as the focal point of Japanese loyalty left no space for the emergence of a charismatic, Mussolini-style dictator. Only the emperor himself could have assumed such a blatantly egoistic role. Prince Chichibu, Hirohito's impetuous younger brother, actually urged him to take direct charge of the government in the wake of the 1931 Manchurian Incident, but Hirohito rejected the suggestion.[82] While critics from the Left, like Herbert P. Bix,[83] have magnified the Emperor's personal involvement in the political events of the period, then and later Hirohito showed little inclination to abandon the model established during the reign of his grandfather, Emperor Meiji. He did take strong and decisive stands on matters of state in a few instances, but generally sought to influence policy during its formulation through the use of go-betweens or by comments to officials in private meetings.[84] Perhaps historian Peter Wetzler put it best when he described Hirohito as "indecisive about being decisive."[85]

In any case, the physically unimpressive, secluded monarch was personally ill-suited to play the strongman's role. The closest Japanese approximation to a dictator, General Tōjō Hideki, also lacked personal charisma and as prime minister from 1941 to 1944 was inevitably seen as representing a particular element of the bureaucracy, the army. He could not, even in wartime and while concurrently holding the portfolio of army minister (and later army chief of staff, too) completely control his own service, much less quell the bitter rivalry between the army and navy.[86]

The absence of a dictator and the inability of even Tōjō to manage internal struggles between such Japanese elite interest groups as the army, the navy, big business, and various civilian bureaucracies are cited as primary reasons for not considering Japan "fascist" or "totalitarian."[87] However, internal rivalry and disorder also characterized the Fascist and National Socialist systems. Hitler, famous for his unorthodox, cavalier attitude toward routine administrative work, paid little attention to matters of government outside his areas of special interest, leaving it to subordinates to fight things out. Thus historian Ian Kershaw describes Hitler's Germany as "a highly modern, advanced state without any central coordinating body and with a head of government largely disengaged from the machinery of government," a situation that left "the doors opened wide to mismanagement and corruption on a massive scale."[88] Mussolini, meanwhile, took control of so many ministries as to make it humanly impossible to supervise them properly.[89]

In Germany or Italy, though, the dictator *could* assert his will whenever he made up his mind to do so. In Japan, Tōjō could not. Emperor Hirohito possibly could have, had he chosen to cast aside traditional limits on his political role and asserted himself as an imperial dictator, but he did not attempt to do so.

Certainly Hirohito's continued willingness to continue to serve as the symbol of national unity facilitated efforts by "third way" advocates to mobilize the people for war and inspire them to fight to the death. His reluctance to push for an early end

to the war, even when it appeared to all rational observers that it was lost, cost many Japanese (and Allied) lives. Yet, Japan's foes had reason to be grateful that the Emperor did not emerge from the shadows to take a more forward role in forging unity among the Japanese elites. Had Hirohito more actively and publicly pressured the competing elements in the Japanese system to cooperate more fully, defeating Japan might have been an even more formidable task. Further, there is little reason to suppose that the war would have ended as early as it did had he not, at last, taken a firm stand in favor of peace.

Emperor Hirohito certainly shared responsibility for the decisions that led to war, kept abreast of military affairs, cheered Japanese victories, and placed the preservation of his throne above the welfare of the people, but efforts to portray him as the chief villain in Japan's march to war seem misguided. In each of Hirohito's most famous direct interventions in the policy realm—after the 1928 assassination of the Chinese warlord Chang Tso-lin, during the suppression of the February 26, 1936 *coup* attempt, and in the decision to end the war—he opposed the most radical elements. He also played a behind-the-scenes role in helping to delay alliance with Germany during 1939 and made clear his doubts about the wisdom of attacking the United States in 1941. Accordingly, David Titus accurately described the palace "as the main institution of political moderation" at a time when "Japanese society and the government proper moved in the opposite direction—toward militarism, virulent ethnocentrism, and bureaucratic fascism."[90] While the imperial institution remained central to the mobilization program of Japan's "third way" advocates, they had good reason to view Emperor Hirohito personally as an impediment to the full realization of their goals.[91]

The Mass Party and Intimidation Tactics

Together with the absence of a charismatic dictator, the lack of a single, mass-based, fascist party is often cited as disqualifying Japan from inclusion in the fascist category. Japan certainly had no such party, and terror and intimidation tactics were less apparent than in Italy and Germany where political action by the Fascists and Nazis included frequent street brawls with their opponents. As in the case of the charismatic dictator, however, such differences did not obviate similar outcomes. As Andrew Gordon aptly put it, "The fascist *regimes* of these three nations had more in common than the *movements* that produced them."[92]

Political violence in fact had a long history in post-1868 Japan. In the late 1870s after Saigō Takamori unsuccessfully took up arms against his former colleagues in the Meiji leadership, assassins garnered a measure of revenge by slaying Ōkubo Toshimichi. Subsequently, with the advent of political parties, the government used the police to harass and intimidate its political opponents. The opposition Jiyūtō (Liberal Party) countered by recruiting young activist rowdies (*sōshi*) for "rallying crowds, disrupting political meetings by heckling speakers, and intimidating the police from breaking up illegal political gatherings." In the belief that "violent action was often a necessary means" to bring change, the party encouraged its members to undergo physical training.[93] A particularly combative second Diet election campaign in February 1892 left 25 people dead and 388 injured.[94]

Despite the fact that Japanese politics had sometimes turned violent, however, constitutional limits on the power of the legislature meant that the stakes in national elections were never so high in Japan as in Italy and Germany after World War I.[95] Common citizens had limited ability to influence the course of national affairs, even at the apex of political party influence in the late 1920s. The civilian and military bureaucracies enjoyed much leeway in shaping government policies, the military services wielded inordinate influence at the cabinet level, the House of Peers exercised a strong conservative check on legislation, and "insiders," mostly former bureaucrats, dominated the mainstream political parties. Even advocates of parliamentary government sharply criticized the parties for their reliance on financial support from big business and their failure to create a strong popular base by more truly representing the interests of the average citizen.[96]

In comparison to post–World War I Italy and Germany, voters in Japan also had a much narrower range of political options when they went to the polls. Although all adult males were able to vote in Diet elections after 1925, the parallel approval of the Peace Preservation Law constricted the ideological field by facilitating government suppression of leftist groups. In contrast, right-wing extremists who professed absolute loyalty to the emperor could operate more freely. As Upton Close observed in the early 1930s, "the only really dangerous radicals in Japan, or that can exist there short of her defeat in a foreign war, are the military and the patriots."[97]

The muted public reaction to the February 26. 1936 *coup* attempt in Tokyo convinced Chamberlin that the Japanese people continued to view national politics as an insider's game. He pointed out that even with rebellious army troops occupying a section of the heart of Tokyo, the public showed no inclination to rally to the support of either the rebels or the government during a three-day stand off. "The average Tokyo small shopkeeper, handicraft artisan, labourer," he wrote, "seemed to view the whole conflict with as much indifference as the same classes might have shown when there was a sanguinary clash of the retainers of two rival clans in the Japanese Middle Ages." Chamberlin anticipated what Maruyama Masao later famously labeled "fascism from above," predicting that any mass fascist party in Japan would "be of an artificial bureaucratic character; it will not be the result of any upsurge of mass sentiment."[98] Four years earlier, in 1934, Close had foreseen the triumph in Japan of "a divine right fascism appointed to conquer and rule the world."[99]

Rather than coming together in a single, coherent party equivalent to the Italian Fascist or German National Socialist parties, Japanese "third way" advocates formed various factions, inside and outside the military. Chamberlin described the civilian patriotic societies as "numerous small, but active groups of extremists who have been advocating, in varied forms, a programme of super-nationalism and social radicalism."[100] Although these groups and their military counterparts frequently had divergent views regarding methods and specific goals,[101] political scientist Harold S. Quigley argued, "they agree in their principal objectives. In fact if not in name they form an influential bloc, of fascistic ideals."[102]

Historian Chitoshi Yanaga aptly described this Japanese fascist bloc as representing

> . . . determined opposition against Western concepts of liberalism and socialism as well as communism . . . directed against Western influences in general, which were thought

> to threaten the pattern of Japanese life and culture to the detriment of national security. It was therefore authoritarian, antiparliamentarian, antidemocratic, opposed to disarmament and suspicious of the League of Nations. It was also a Pan-Asiatic movement, unafraid and unhesitant regarding the use of force. The ultimate goal of all national groups was the achievement of national self-sufficiency towards which everything had to be geared.[103]

The collective, if often conflicting, influence exerted by these "third way" factions gradually pushed the nation toward the abandonment of political party-based governments and the pursuit of a unilateral, aggressive foreign policy aimed at establishing an autarkic empire. They sought the unity necessary to implement these policies through the promotion of a chauvinistic ideology, centered on the emperor. Although Japan lacked a single, coherent fascist party, its government ultimately pursued "third way" aims in a very determined way.

Because of the nature of its politics, Japan moved to the "third way" in stages mostly unconnected with elections. There were few street battles to fight because the country's leftists had been jailed, coerced into silence, or persuaded to convert (*tenkō*) to nationalism. The power struggle took place largely among insiders and behind the scenes, so that no single disjunctive political event comparable to the assumption of power by the dictators in Italy and Germany occurred. As Edwin O. Reischauer put it in an early version of his popular history of Japan, the attack on liberal democracy "was made piecemeal by individuals or small organizations, but it was almost as effective as the better coordinated efforts of totalitarians in Europe."[104]

In comparing the situation in Japan to that in Italy and Germany it should be emphasized that the "mass party" proved most useful when the Fascists and Nazis were outsiders seeking power in parliamentary elections or battling ideological foes in the streets. Once in power, the European dictators found these parties, particularly their gangs of street toughs, more a liability than an asset.[105] Mosse reminds us that the Italian and German fascist regimes built their "popular consensus" not entirely through terror tactics, but also on "tangible success, the ability to compromise and to go slow, combined with the responsive chord struck by fascist culture . . . "[106] This aptly describes the course that Japan followed in its move toward the "third way."

Yet despite the absence of an equivalent to the Fascist Black Shirts or the Nazi Brown Shirts, violence and the threat of it did play important roles in Japan, too. Advocates of radical change created an atmosphere of intimidation through violent political acts. The successive 1932 assassinations of the nation's finance minister, the managing director of Mitsui, and the third prime minister to be fatally attacked in a decade were aimed, as Hugh Byas reported, "to strike terror into the governing and possessing classes." Afterward, he added, assassination "was a constant fear, staying with every civilian statesman like his shadow and haunting the minds of mothers, wives and children."[107] Prince Konoe's biographer attests to the fact that Konoe, for one, "was by nature extremely uneasy about terrorism or possible threats on his life."[108]

The young officers' groups that carried out the assassinations of prominent political figures consciously emulated the activist samurai (*shishi*) who helped precipitate the Meiji Restoration.[109] Though their political schemes were often half-baked, they were true radicals who wanted to reorder society through a "Shōwa Restoration."[110]

Of their impact, Maruyama wrote: "The trend towards fascism in the lower strata of society and the spasmodic outbursts of the radical fascist movement were a continual stimulus to the advance of fascism from above."[111]

These radical activists should have recalled that once in power the leaders of the Meiji Restoration showed little tolerance for the *shishi*-style actions that had facilitated their own rise. Instead, they dealt forcibly with swashbucklers and ultimately abolished the entire samurai class. The idealistic young officers who set the pot boiling in the 1930s would meet a similar fate at the hand of the army's Control Faction (Tōsei-ha) in the wake of the failed *coup d'état* of February 26, 1936.

Journalist A. Morgan Young noted that after the 1936 event the "army acted as though the revolt was the work of the whole body and had succeeded."[112] Indeed it had, in the sense that the army emerged from the failed *coup* as a more unified, and hence even more powerful, political force. Within the next year it would use its power to shape the new cabinet headed by Hirota Kōki, bring that cabinet down, and blackball the nomination of General Ugaki Kazushige, the initial choice to succeed Hirota.[113] As Maruyama put it, army officers "successively realized the political demands of the military, using the menace of radical fascism as a decoy for outsiders."[114]

The crackdown on the rebels earned the Control Faction the gratitude of the Japanese elites, but as Frank O. Miller noted, its members were "not nearly so charitable toward the political and social *status quo* as the suppression of the insurgents would suggest."[115] As Shillony points out, the Control Faction and the young officers of the rival Imperial Way Faction (Kōdō-ha) shared the desire "to get rid of the moderate politicians and liberal advisers around the throne, and both were for a stronger government and a more vigorous foreign policy."[116] Further, the Control Faction included the principal advocates of total mobilization, men branded as Japan's "true fascists" by their defeated rivals.[117]

Thus, reaching Berlin from Tokyo some three months after the failed *coup*, Japanese Ambassador Mushakoji Kintomo would tell Hitler that the new Control Faction–approved government had taken on a more Nazi-like cast and that pro-German sentiment was rising. "Japan," he declared, "as a spiritually related country was in the fullest sympathy with Germany."[118] This pro-German tilt soon led to the Anti-Comintern Pact.

The Control Faction sought, as Yanaga put it, "a gradual change toward a totalitarian setup by bringing the political system and the capitalists under its control through skillful maneuvers and legitimate administrative measures."[119] These maneuvers included using the young officers as a tool in opposing civilian control of the military. Ohara notes that they "were not suppressed, but encouraged, or at least left unchecked" prior to 1936.[120] When the army asserted itself as the dominant force in society in the wake of the failed *coup*, the once-useful young officer activists were now seen, Brooker suggests, as "a diversion from the state-directed effort to unite Japanese society."[121] Shillony adds that had the young officers "dropped the revolutionary elements of their program," they could have remained the cutting edge of the reform movement of the military . . . as they had initially been." He acknowledges the possibility that Control Faction officers let the uprising proceed because they calculated that crushing the rebellion would best serve their interests and thoroughly discredit their rivals.[122]

Suppression of the young officer activists, Chamberlin reported, opened the path to "an unspoken and unwritten compromise" between army officers (the "lions") and the conservatives and industrialists (the "foxes"), who had been thoroughly unnerved by the *coup* attempt. This understanding led the Army leaders to "purge their own ranks of extremists, while the civilian politicians and financiers agreed to find considerably larger sums for armament purposes and give some satisfaction to the army's demands for an increasingly militaristic economy."[123] Barrington Moore labels this the beginning of "respectable fascism."[124]

Not only did the February 1936 *coup* plotters meet a fate similar to that of the *shishi* who failed to accommodate to the new order in the Meiji Era, they had their counterparts in contemporary Germany as well. The leaders of the unruly Brown Shirts had fallen victim to a ruthless purge on the "Night of the Long Knives," June 30, 1934, when Hitler moved to solidify conservative and army support for the Nazi regime.[125] Robert O. Paxton argues that the purging of such radical elements proved critical to the success of the "third way" regimes in Europe:

> If the fascism of Mussolini and Hitler was to succeed, the "socialist" part of national socialism had to be revised so that the fascist program would offer psychological rather than material rewards, namely a satisfying sense of national destiny and belonging… The early followers who wanted genuine changes in the social hierarchy and the distribution of wealth had to be written off.[126]

The violent outbursts of the young officers were not the only forms of coercion used by the "third way" advocates to intimidate critics and enforce conformity in prewar Japan, however. The enforcer role of right-wing goons, particularly organized criminals (*yakuza*), in contemporary Japanese society is well recognized, but scholars have had little to say about their activities in the prewar period. Contemporary observers were aware of these, however. As early as 1923 an American missionary published an account of a Japanese Christian labor leader who feared assassination by a gang of gamblers. The man charged that police had organized no-accounts into a group called " 'The Flower of the Nation,' for the sole purpose of using them to combat advocates of democracy."[127]

In a similar vein, Newman claimed that "nationalist gangs" played a critical role in coercing labor unions and political parties to accept Konoe's Imperial Rule Assistance Association scheme in 1940.[128] Newman's journalist colleague Relman Morin elaborated on the point, noting that under the National Mobilization Law the Japanese government had the right to close factories considered nonessential and reassign workers elsewhere. Morin wrote of a hypothetical factory owner:

> He might complain. If he did, some "National Spiritual Mobilization" experts would pay him a visit, a night call. In appearance these experts [*gorotsuki*] would not seem very spiritual. They would be heavy-muscled young men with low foreheads and dull, piglike eyes. In other days their profession was procuring "hostesses" for the Ginza bars, and they dabbled in blackmail and gangsterism on the side. Now they were in war work, too. Their job was to give the factory-owner a lecture. It was a short lecture, shorn of the usual Japanese lingual embroidery. They usually used their fists to emphasize it…

> This so-called "spiritual mobilization" did not happen often. It was not necessary. But it did happen here and there. It could be applied to consumers, housewives even, if they complained about the disappearance of non-urgent items from the shops.[129]

Thus while Japan did not have a single "fascist" style party with legions of street thugs equivalent to the Italian Black Shirts or the German Brown Shirts, it had elements that served similar purposes. The young officer groups and their allies assassinated and intimidated prominent political and business figures, while right-wing goons served as enforcers at the lower level of society. This made it easy for Control Faction officers to portray themselves as relative moderates, facilitating their march to hegemonic political power.

As Gavan McCormack suggested in a 1982 article, the relatively gradual nature of changes in 1930s Japan has obscured their overall significance. Those who argue against applying the term fascism to Japan, such as George M. Wilson, emphasize "the fundamental continuity of Japanese political life in modern times."[130] McCormack, however, points to "forms of ideology and organization, with distinctive links leading down into the masses which were quite new" as marking a significant change in the late 1930s. He concluded:

> The argument that the concept of "fascism" may be inapplicable to Japan because there was no mass base for it, and because there was no radical disjuncture between pre-fascist and fascist Japan, since Meiji institutions continued to function, may therefore rest on a too superficial understanding of the degree of change in state and society in this period.[131]

The "Third Way" Japanese Style

The importance Japan's "third way" advocates placed on the role of the emperor and the unique national myths that provided the basis for claims of national superiority discouraged most of them from using the terms "fascist" and "totalitarian" to describe their ideology. Employing such words would only invite accusations that they were emulating foreign models inappropriate to the Japanese context, or that they were scheming to establish a new "shogunate" to steal power from the emperor. Accordingly, they disguised the radical nature of their goals by cloaking them in positive, benign terms like "renovation" (*kakushin*).[132]

More forward "third way" advocates, however, took another tack, arguing that rather than Japan copying European fascism, the shoe was on the other foot. By characterizing the Japanese system as a superior and more deeply rooted form of totalitarianism, they associated Japan with its Axis partners but elevated it above them. In 1941 this explanation found expression in the Education Ministry's booklet *The Way of Subjects*. It noted with approval the "crumbling" of the "old order" based on "individualism, liberalism, and materialism" and the positive role that Germany and Italy were playing in this process. The Germans were "destroying the world domination of the Anglo-Saxons" and fighting for the "right of national existence," while the Italians were pushing to restore the "great Roman Empire" through dictatorial totalitarianism. Japan, meanwhile, in pursuing parallel goals, "had been basking under a benign rule of a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal" and enjoying the "great harmony of a nation consisting of one large family."[133]

Fujisawa Chikao of Kyoto University put it even more directly, telling a German audience that "pure nazism was really a manifestation of the Japanese spirit on German soil,"[134] while the ardently pro-fascist diplomat Shiratori Toshio wrote:

> It is a marvel of the present century that Germany and Italy have created afresh totalitarian formulae of government for themselves. It is possible that these formulae ideologically may be traced to the ancient philosophy of the Orient. Be that as it may, it makes our hearts warm to see ideas that have influenced our race for centuries in the past embroiled in the modern states of Europe.[135]

Earlier, in 1934, Shiratori had portrayed "the awakening of Japan" as an antimaterialist reaction in "the only country where the new and old exist together in harmony." The West, he claimed, had abandoned the past, while the rest of Asian remained mired in it. Yet Japan should not be satisfied merely to serve as a "halfway house" between East and West; instead it should aspire to "fuse into a new and coherent unity whose radiance may brighten the remotest corners of the earth."[136] In his 1938 article he described Japan as "fast reverting to totalitarianism, which has been the fundamental principle of Japan's national life for the past twenty centuries." Japan's "polity" and the "spirit of that oriental culture of which she represents the highest peak are in consonance with totalitarian principles," he declared.[137]

Having so firmly linked fascist totalitarianism with Japanese tradition, Shiratori could confidently tell an American journalist:

> I welcome the term Fascism as I do the term totalitarianism. There has been enough Anglo-Saxon influence in this country. It is time we allied ourselves with Italy and Germany. The "glass house" democracy of the United States and the communism of Soviet Russia go hand in hand.[138]

During a 1933 visit to Germany in the wake of leading Japan's walkout from the League of Nations and Hitler's ascent to power, the like-minded and similarly outspoken Matsuoka Yōsuke had pointed to unique parallels between Japanese and German history. He noted that Germany, like Japan, was "fighting for recognition and its place in the eyes of the world."[139] Matusoka subsequently resigned a Diet seat in 1934 to campaign for a Shōwa Restoration that would bring an end to the existing political parties.[140] As foreign minister designate in July 1940, two months before he negotiated the Tripartite Pact with Italy and Germany, Matsuoka told journalist Wilfrid Fleisher:

> Fascism will come to Japan by the will of the people, and it will come out of the people's love for the Emperor. The Japanese state is better equipped to unify the nation than any other country because of the peculiar system whereby the nation is bound with the Emperor at the head.
>
> The totalitarian system is going to win out in the world now. Democracies are bankrupt and finished. There is no room for such different systems side by side; the one must yield to the other.[141]

Prime Minister Konoe, speaking via radio after the inauguration of his second cabinet in mid-1940, emphasized that Japan must adapt to the collapse of the old

European order by eliminating the existing political parties and establishing the unity of 100 million as one under the emperor.[142] Although elements of the army had been pushing hard for the creation of a Nazi-style one-party state,[143] Konoe duly cited the role of the emperor to set his vision for Japan apart from the single party organizations in Germany and Italy. Still, his chief goals—national unity and citizen mobilization—were precisely the same as theirs. Fletcher has shown that the intellectuals who helped lay the groundwork for Konoe's initiative "looked to Nazi Germany and fascist Italy for better and more reasonable ways to free an industrialized Japan from the political and economic system of the Meiji constitutional state."[144] Through the "new structure" movement they sought to establish "a mass-based 'national organization' to bind the citizen to the state."[145]

A cabinet policy statement of August 1, 1940 made clear the extent to which Japan's new course had been inspired by fascist successes in Europe, citing "a momentous, historic turning point" and "inevitable trends in the development of world history."[146] As future foreign minister, Shigemitsu Mamoru, wrote in his autobiography:

> By now Japan had forsaken the calm, realistic view. She believed that Germany would win and thought only what she could do about it. One might have expected that the Army would prove a good medium for German propaganda but that most Japanese leaders should have fallen into the same frame of mind can only be recalled with a feeling of shame.[147]

Konoe's proposal for a new political structure attracted support from a variety of factions, each of which hoped to shape it to its own advantage. He himself apparently hoped to enhance his own control over the military services and other elements of the bureaucracy. A diffident aristocrat as ill-suited to play the role of charismatic dictator as Emperor Hirohito or then Army Minister Tōjō, Konoe shied away from his pursuit of this goal, however. Historian Gordon Berger believes that because his initiatives to end the war in China had failed, Konoe deemed it too risky to proceed, deciding instead simply to use the new structure as a tool to shore up public support for government policies.[148] The various elements involved in the formation of the new order subsequently fell into vicious squabbling, causing most historians to judge the odd structure that emerged, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA), a "miserable failure."[149]

The journalist Newman, who observed these developments, believed that conservative and big business factions sabotaged the IRAA because of their opposition to the socialist proclivities of Konoe's advisers and certain military officers.[150] Many civilians who wanted government control of the means of production, including the leadership of the labor-based Social Mass Party, had pinned their hopes on army officers who advocated a national socialist "third way" that would fundamentally change society. This decision in part surely reflected the belief that expansionism and military spending meant jobs,[151] but as early as the mid-1920s nationalistic labor unions had elbowed their way onto the scene and by the early 1930s had become a powerful force, attacking "Marxism, class struggle, materialism, and weak foreign policy."[152] Seizing the banner of patriotism surely seemed the best way to gain

leverage against industrialists at a time when even the more liberal mainstream party was abandoning labor.[153] As one labor leader put it:

> In Europe and the United States the army is the instrument of the privileged classes, and our comrades in those countries have reason to denounce it. The Japanese army is different. It is the army of the masses, with the Emperor as its central figure. Thanks to its independence, the army in Japan is a power on which we proletarians can depend in our movement for emancipation.[154]

Such faith was, of course, badly misplaced. The army itself soon moved to ban unions in its arsenals, an action that encouraged a tougher stance by private industrialists. Civilian bureaucrats sought to enhance their own role in labor–capital relations in a fashion that historian Sheldon Garon sees as emulating Nazi practice. "Just as British and Weimar German precedents systematized the social bureaucrats' quest for a new labor policy after World War I," he wrote, "the Nazi model provided an empirically tested and ruthlessly simple answer to the problem of wartime industrial tensions."[155] Despite their occasional anticapitalist rhetoric, Japanese officials "not only denied workers any restraint over employers, but also repudiated the legitimacy of conflicting interests."[156]

Newman argues that in the latter half of 1940 big business, mainstream politicians, and the Army Control Faction formed an alliance that overwhelmed those who favored a truly socialist "third way."

> The business clans . . . carried their fight directly to the people by launching a nationwide whispering campaign accusing the extremists of being socialists or communists in the disguise of patriotic Japanese nationalists. Supported by members of the Diet, who were also bitter enemies of the extremists because of their attempt to seize control of the legislature by packing it with members of their own choosing, the business groups decided to embarrass the government by undermining the new totalitarian program. The threat of chaos in the Diet and of sabotage in industry was enough to convince General Tojo and other members of the military hierarchy that it would be unwise to permit the leftists to press their socialist program . . . Instead of foreign conquest on a leftist basis at home they agreed to continue the orthodox policy of expansion on a rightist basis.[157]

In January 1940, newly appointed Home Minister Hiranuma swept suspected radicals out of the IRAA hierarchy, a development that Berger rightly sees as a victory for the "Japanist right-wing."[158] Yet while Hiranuma and his allies were devoted to protecting the governmental structure created by the Meiji Constitution, private property rights and capital's privileged position over labor, they supported military expansionism and the mobilization of Japan's masses through manipulation of imperial mythology. It is significant that in the midst of the haggling over control of the IRAA, Konoe and Matsuoka led the nation into the Axis Alliance, breaking a policy deadlock that had hamstrung the cabinet during Hiranuma's own tenure as prime minister in 1939. The government also choreographed public displays of reverence for the emperor-god to commemorate the two thousand and six hundredth anniversary of the mythical founding of the nation, ceremonies that historian Kenneth J. Ruoff

believes were directly inspired by the mass rallies of the Fascists and Nazis, Japan's new allies.[159] Thus while Hiranuma and his allies carried out their purge of suspected radicals, Japan's cabinet resolutely set out to ride the fascist wave.

That Japan's military and industrial leaders ultimately found common ground surely did not surprise Chamberlin, who had pointed out their interdependence in his 1938 book. Their differences, he declared, were "more about method and degree than about ultimate objectives." He added:

> Some influential Japanese industrial and commercial interests, if not the Japanese economy as a whole, stand to gain from the policies which are sponsored by the fighting services, from the profitable war orders that were a natural accompaniment of armament expenditures, from the wide-open door for Japan in Manchoukuo. Japan's heavy industries, iron and steel, mining and metallurgy, shipbuilding and chemicals, are booming at the present time very largely as a direct and indirect result of the process of intensive armament on which the country has entered.[160]

Should compromise between "third way" elements in the military and bureaucracy on one hand and conservatives and big business interests on the other set Japan apart from the other regimes more commonly labeled "fascist"? Surely not, given the fact that Italian Fascist and German National Socialist parties also compromised with wealthy conservatives and either isolated or purged party members with strongly held socialist views.[161] Paxton has declared bluntly, "fascists have so far reached power only by arrangement with forces clearly in power or close to it."[162] E.B. Ashton, writing in 1937, described fascism as an effort to collectivize a capitalist economy, noting that the communist state operates the economy directly, while the fascist state " 'contracts' it out to individual businessmen."[163] Thus all the fascist regimes ultimately upheld the private property rights of cooperative citizens.

Moreover, despite its chaotic birth, jerry-rigged structure and Home Ministry leadership, the IRAA, in Newman's view, served the interests of the militarists well as "a convenient instrument for beating the war drums."[164] Historian Delmer Brown similarly characterized it as "an extremely efficient medium for further stimulating the development of nationalist sympathies."[165]

As part of the stepped-up mobilization, elementary schools became "national schools" in 1941. The authorities extended compulsory education from six to eight years, greatly increased the nationalist content of ethics textbooks, and instituted a program of "national studies" aimed at "clarifying the *kokutai*, fostering the national spirit and promoting 'awareness of the mission of the Empire.' "[166] They also further enhanced the army's role in education, as Newman pointed out:

> Students, whose minds already had been regimented in government schools, were organized into compulsory labor and defense corps to serve their war lords at home before being graduated into the army for service on the battlefields abroad. Following their daily military exercises under the direction of army officers, who instructed them in the operation of planes, gliders, big guns, tanks and armored cars as well as the lowly rifle, they were turned out into the streets for air raid drills . . . During recess periods I frequently saw boys, who could not have been more than twelve years old, being taught by army officers how most effectively to bayonet straw dummies set up on the playground of a primary school between the Imperial Hotel and the Domei Building.[167]

In Newman's view, the alliance between Japan's militarists and industrialists cleared the way for the government to proceed with "the task of regimenting the country,"[168] building upon a well-established foundation. Chamberlin had noted in 1938 that the Japanese press could criticize the government in a way unknown in the Soviet Union or Germany, but that strict limits nonetheless existed. He wrote:

> Arrests on the suspicion of holding or uttering "dangerous thoughts" are not uncommon. The newspapers, besides practising a good deal of self-censorship on delicate topics, are harassed by frequent police bans, or prohibitions to report or discuss some event or subject. There is just enough freedom of speech for some unusually bold orator or publicist to say or write occasionally that there is none. The police exercise strict supervision over public meetings and demonstrations. When a political meeting is authorised, a large number of officers of the law are always present; they do not hesitate to interrupt or silence altogether a speaker whose remarks they consider subversive.[169]

Gregory Kasza has pointed out that Japanese had good reason to avoid attracting the attention of the police. Not only could arrest mean a loss of job or time in jail, even a seemingly mild punishment could be accompanied by devastating social sanctions against the suspect's family. Kasza notes that, unlike their European counterparts, Japanese dissidents seldom viewed foreign exile as a viable option.[170]

Chamberlin described the Japan of 1938 as a "semi-fascist" state,[171] while Fleisher, a well-connected, longtime resident of Japan who left in mid-1941, bluntly stated that Japan entered a "fascist" or "totalitarian" stage under the Konoe Cabinet in 1940–1941. He wrote:

> In the last ten years since the Fascist influence first took the nation by surprise, the movement has risen and fallen like a tide, with the waves sweeping in and receding to rise again to a higher level until the nation has now been engulfed by the Fascist tide. Japanese insistently repudiate the term "Fascist" as applied to their national movement, contending that it is not a copy of Italian and German methods but a nationalism of Japanese origin, rooted in feudal days. Certainly Japanese Fascism has elements of its own, but in recent years it has looked principally to Germany for guidance in the establishment of a totalitarian state.[172]

Fleisher characterized Japan in 1941 as a "collective dictatorship," arguing that the "liberals" in Japan had become impotent and were forced to lie low. Business leaders, he claimed, had been "regimented along with the rest of the country" and the masses had "no more voice in the destiny of the nation than the peoples under the rule of other dictatorships."[173] Of the new state controls, he added:

> With the "new structure" in Japan have come all sorts of methods of terrorism and repression. Freedom of speech has long since disappeared, and no one dares express any opinion either publicly or privately. Telephone lines are known to be tapped, the contents of wastepaper baskets closely investigated, and no one utters a word without first glancing over his shoulder to see who may be listening or who may be near.[174]

Although Kasza does not classify Japan as fascist, after carefully analyzing Japanese administrative policies he takes issue with those who have portrayed Konoe's effort

to unify Japanese politics as "only or even mainly the tale of a stillborn political party" (the IRAA). Instead, Kasza describes it as "a massive onslaught of state control policies that largely recast the organizational landscape of Japanese society."[175] He terms this an "administrative revolution," arguing that "renovationists were numerous enough to transform the behavior of leading state institutions," demonstrating that "entrenched administrative elites may be just as sensitive to revolutionary ideas in challenging times as anyone else in the political system."[176]

In contrast, Andrew Gordon does not shrink from applying the fascist label, forthrightly describing the era from 1937 to 1945 as one of "imperial fascism." Those seeking to mobilize Japan from above, he wrote:

> … fostered a broad spectrum of new organizations [that] … absorbed the strong imperial and emperor-centered dimension of popular thought and action, effectively denying the possibility of opposition based on this dimension. The state then suppressed or coopted any remaining grass-roots impulse to participate, and shaped a regime with new mass organizations embracing (among others) labor, businesses small and large, and the political parties.[177]

Those inclined to minimize the repressive nature of Japanese society after 1940 are quick to point to the Diet elections of 1942, but as early as 1938 Chamberlin had judged such polls "almost meaningless" since the Lower House was "quite powerless to influence decisively the course of events."[178] Certainly the 1942 election had little practical significance, although some personally popular candidates not backed by the government did win. By 1942 the Diet served as little more than a rubber stamp and, as Bix put it, perpetuation of the institution and elections merely "preserved the image of an intact (but utterly spurious) pluralism."[179]

If the "proof is in the pudding" in regard to the effective silencing of opposition voices in Japan, it should be noted that the scholars who have searched for evidence of overt dissent in wartime Japan have very found slim pickings.[180] In considerable part this reflected genuine popular enthusiasm for the aggressive, pro-Axis course on which Konoe, Matsuoka, and the army set Japan. Earl Kinmonth has strongly argued that the perceived opportunity for personal economic advancement inspired this wide support; in particular, he contends that Japanese intellectuals, both inside and outside the bureaucracy, allied with the military as a means of advancing their own careers and implementing their pet theories.[181]

But whether out of self-interest, patriotic enthusiasm, pressure to conform, or some combination of the above, most Japanese, intellectuals included, supported the war in China, hailed the outbreak of war with Britain and the United States, and celebrated Japanese victories with great enthusiasm.[182] Of those who had doubts, few risked voicing them publicly. The famous wartime diarist Kiyosawa Kiyoshi wrote as late as April 1944:

> The Japanese people have faith in the war. Since the Sino-Japanese incident, even in the stratum of intellectuals in my circle, each and every one is a supporter of the war… Indeed, I think that those who are seriously opposed to it are only Ishibashi Tanzan and Baba Tsunego.[183]

A few of Tōjō's critics on the Right, notably the fascist rabble-rouser Nakano Seigō, did take him to task publicly, but Nakano paid a heavy price for his temerity. After arrest, he committed suicide, perhaps as a form of protest, perhaps in an effort to protect his family from the Prime Minister's wrath.[184]

Hatanaka Shigeo, editor of the journal *Chūō Kōron* during the early war years, recalled: "Honestly speaking, nobody said openly that they opposed the war. If you said that you'd have been killed immediately, or taken away and killed later." Forced out of his editorial position by government pressure in 1943, Hatanaka fell into the hands of the Special Higher Police in January 1944. As a suspected communist he underwent psychological and physical torture, gaining his freedom only at the end of the war. Other less fortunate "thought criminals" died in custody.[185]

Acknowledging the lack of citizen protest even after the fire bombing of Tokyo, historian Irokawa Daikichi, a wartime conscript, wrote: "If anyone had spoken out . . . they would have been attacked as 'unpatriotic,' denied their food rations, or arrested by the political police or the military police, and their entire family would have suffered."[186] On the effectiveness of thought control, Irokawa added:

> The ideology of the national polity enveloped the entire Japanese nation. It had an incredible presence. It is difficult to imagine the oppressive atmosphere that the people suffered under the canopy of national polity and the immutable emperor system. There was complete social consensus that those who violated these ideologies should be eliminated or that they inevitably would be eliminated.[187]

In the immediate postwar period mainstream American scholars recognized this oppressive reality and readily applied the terms "fascist" and/or "totalitarian" to post-1940 Japan. For example, in *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan*, Robert Scalapino duly noted the absence of a charismatic dictator, a mass-based party, and the persistence of elite influence in Japan, yet argued that comparison with Germany was fully merited:

> In both cases, Fascism was a basic attack upon individualism, democracy, Marxism and internationalism. It was profoundly anti-intellectual, emphasizing the myth, the hero, and action. It found its foremost expressions in a glorification of war and of the racial spirit. Many of its roots were agrarian, and among its most primary supporters were elements of the rural classes. Thus it reflected within it much of the primitivism implanted in a preindustrial society. It built up its own *raison d'être* through an ever expanding campaign of foreign aggression, meanwhile retreating from its initial anti-capitalist position. Finally, the intensive emphasis of Fascism upon cultural uniqueness could not hide the fact that it was a common development among societies with widely different "cultural heritages" but with similar modern problems of timing and development.[188]

Such labeling of the Japanese system as "fascist" or "totalitarian" soon became controversial, however, as liberal and conservative scholars on both sides of the Pacific undertook the task of rescuing the Japanese past from the "gloomy," but influential, Marxist interpretation of Japanese history, an effort described in some detail in chapter 1 by Sottile.[189] Marxists definitely considered the wartime Japanese

system fascist, viewing the events of the 1930s as a "logical outcome" dictated by the post-Meiji persistence of such "feudal remnants" as the "absolutist" emperor system. Moreover, they saw the American occupation with its "reverse course" as modern Japan's second abortive revolution.

In contrast, their critics portrayed the events of the 1930s as an "aberration,"[190] a detour from a steady post-Meiji march of progress toward industrial development and liberal democracy. They downplayed the importance of "feudal remnants," seeking instead to find harbingers of modernity in the Tokugawa period. They accentuated the differences between the Japanese political order and those of its Axis allies, particularly stressing the resilience of the Meiji Constitution and the perpetuation of elite institutions. They contrasted Tokyo's "militarism" or "authoritarianism" with Berlin's "dictatorship" or "totalitarianism," emphasizing the relatively benign nature of Japanese repression when compared to German terror and genocide. They particularly stressed the perpetuation of bureaucratic rivalries and resistance to centralized control by party politicians and business elites in Japan. Finally, they saw the American occupiers as having set the war-derailed Japanese train back on the right track.[191]

This powerful interpretive trend among Japan specialists in the United States culminated in a 1979 *Journal of Asian Studies* article by Peter Duus and Daniel Okimoto that proclaimed the failure of all efforts to fit Japan into a fascist rubric.[192] Although Miles Fletcher's contemporary research revealed very significant fascist influence in late 1930s Japan,[193] at the beginning of the 1980s Bix stood virtually alone among American Japan specialists in straightforwardly advocating "emperor-system fascism" as an appropriate descriptive term for Japan's prewar regime.[194]

Despite Gordon's subsequent direct challenge to the effort to lay to rest the concept of Japanese fascism,[195] works such as the Duus–Okimoto article greatly influenced scholars of comparative fascism, who generally lack expertise in Japanese history. Most devote scant attention to Japan and tend to agree that what Maruyama termed "fascism from above" does not fit their definitions of "generic fascism," all of these, of course, based entirely on European models.[196]

The View from Below

In fact, beyond divergent perspectives reflecting distance in time and ideological proclivities, there is another good reason why scholars have disagreed about the extent to which Japan became fascist or totalitarian. Helpful in understanding this divergence is Tsurumi Shunsuke's characterization of Japan's prewar political structure as bifurcated between "insiders," who realized that the emphasis on the national myth of the emperor as a deity was a unifying tool devised by the Meiji oligarchs, and "outsiders" (the general public), who were encouraged to take the myth literally. Tsurumi wrote:

> Until the start of the war [World War II] a world-view based upon this national myth was propagated in primary schools and in military schools. In contrast, in high schools and universities education was based on the European world view. In an attempt to deal with the problems which arose from insularity, the original architects of the Meiji state had divided the Japanese into two groups. On the one hand, in order to preserve Japan's

> internal family cohesion and village integration they applied a new glue: an exoteric national cult of the family-state, based on the legend of the unbroken line of emperors descended from heaven. On the other hand, they educated the steersmen of the ship of state in an esoteric cult compatible with Western education, to enable them to steer the course of the country in the turbulent sea of international politics.[197]

"Nourish the people on myths fitting their ignorance, reserve an awareness of reality to the inner leadership circle" is how French journalist Robert Guillain described the Japanese mode of operations.[198] Gunther, too, commented on it, observing that educated Japanese might deny the divinity of the emperor in private, but they still "believe it to be a good and valuable thing that the bulk of Japanese *do* believe in imperial sanctity. Thus even the skeptics encourage the mythology. And they serve their purpose best by behaving as if they believed in the mythology too."[199] A. Morgan Young, a longtime resident of Japan, similarly opined that no educated Japanese truly believed the national myths, but "all are committed to a profession of belief, and the greater the scepticism which has to be concealed, the greater is the fear that the whole national edifice will collapse if the pretence is undermined by the unbelief of those whose self-interest will not keep them silent."[200]

Because prewar Japan operated in this fashion, research focused on the "insiders," the bureaucrats, party politicians, and big business executives, inevitably brings to light evidence of disagreement, division, and faulty coordination. These flaws in the system, however, were less apparent to most Japanese because the elites had created what John Hall described as a "façade of national consensus."[201]

Japanese historian Furuya Tetsuo argues that the army led this consensus-building effort, civilian bureaucrats carried out "the necessary investigation, planning, and policy formulation," and right-wing societies sought to "envelop the whole people in a harmonious atmosphere, suppressing or reducing to submission resistance to the national defense state." Citizens were organized into mutual responsibility groups and the army's auxiliaries whipped up "patriotic consciousness."[202]

Although disagreements among the elites could not always be masked, from the standpoint of average citizens the Japanese state surely seemed increasingly intrusive and phalanx-like in the late 1930s. They received information filtered through state-censored media and government-organized associations (*tonarigumi*) regulated their relationships with their neighbors. Average Japanese were also well aware, regardless of their personal attitudes about the national myths or government policies, that any deviation from orthodoxy could attract the unwanted attention of the Special Higher Police (Tokkō) or the military police (Kempeitai).

Although it is important to scholars examining Japan's bureaucratic structure that these two police forces were legal arms of a constitutional government and operated separately—one controlled by the Home Ministry, the other by the army—this made slight practical difference to their victims. Likewise, the question of whether the IRAA or the Home Ministry would control such mutual responsibility groups as the *tonarigumi* became a major bureaucratic issue and remains a point of interest for scholars, but it surely was not a matter of prime importance to the common citizens affected by them.[203] Accordingly, the answer to the question "how totalitarian was Japan?" depends to a considerable degree on whether one considers the issue from the perspective of the "insiders" or the "outsiders" in Japanese society.

Further, there has never been a state, not even Stalin's Soviet Union, that completely stifled all internal dissent and deviation, much less bureaucratic dissonance and personal rivalries.[204] Bix writes, "Fascism everywhere co-opted rather than displaced, the most important pre-fascist ruling elites . . . to varying degrees all fascist dictatorships were socially composite in nature and obligated to compromise with conservative nationalists, traditional ruling elites and, where they existed, monarchies."[205] Hitler, for example, had extraordinary personal power, but his enemies came close to assassinating him on more than one occasion and his concerns about maintaining public support made him hesitant to put Germany on a full war footing. In Mussolini's Italy the monarchy remained in place and the Roman Catholic Church exerted strong influence. Does the latter mean that the state led by the Fascist Party should not be considered fascist?

While Japan's leaders might merit low marks for lack of cooperation with each other, in stifling dissent and mobilizing the public they had immensely greater success than the Fascists in Italy and arguably more than the Nazis in Germany.[206] While 100 million hearts did not "beat as one" as the official slogan had it, as Skya has pointed out, patriotic sacrifice on the battlefields and the endurance of hardship on the home front amply testify to this success. Guillain, a wartime eyewitness, remarked: "the mass, indifferent to the rare complaints of those it overwhelmed, swept Japan along in a tide with no ebb . . . hadn't it plunged into collectivism with a far more homogenous mass than Marx or Stalin had ever dreamed of?"[207]

Guillain believed that the government managed to achieve such conformity and obedience because of the traditionally authoritarian and paternalistic nature of the Japanese polity. On this point, an American missionary, writing in the early 1930s, commented:

> Temperamentally, the average Japanese is content enough to wait for official guidance and to accept passively the orders handed down from above. "As the grass bends before the force of the wind, so it is the duty of the inferior to bow before the superior." Over half a century of Western-style government has not uprooted this maxim of Confucius from the minds of the people. That government is the responsibility of the superior class, to be carried on for the benefit of the people, is axiomatic to most Japanese.[208]

Such respect for (or fear of) authority led Gunther to suggest that with conformity and obedience already so "ingrained in Japanese nature," a fully totalitarian state apparatus was unnecessary.[209] Smethurst made a similar argument, suggesting that the army took advantage of the "cohesive, paternalistic, and authoritarian" nature of the nation's villages to link them together in a stratified, organic society "almost without trying." He further contended that Hitler attempted to achieve this in Germany, but failed.[210]

Guillain pointed out that citizens themselves became "the most powerful, most omnipresent and most inevitable" of Japan's thought policemen. He wrote:

> This was the national vice of military Japan, spyitis, made paroxysmal by the war; 75 million Japanese spying on each other! They would advise the neighborhood policeman of the slightest departure from the norm registered in their seemingly inattentive but really vigilant watch over their neighbors. Here again, we see the Japanese assisting with their own servitude, cooperating with their own misfortunes.[211]

Diminishing war fortunes further intensified the repressive atmosphere. The few remaining independent parliamentarians were effectively gagged, military control over production was increased, rations were cut, diversions were eliminated and potential subversives were treated more harshly.[212] "Studiously emulating the Nazis," Garon writes, for example, "the Welfare Ministry dealt with the worsening labor shortage by steadily denying workers the freedom to change jobs." Real wages for workers dropped 33 percent between 1939 and 1944.[213] But if laborers had reason to feel oppressed, many large-scale capitalists felt that they did, too. The "liberal" diarist Kiyosawa recorded their private grumblings about "reds" in the government and perceived encroachments on their property rights. Kiyosawa himself fretted about becoming a victim of a postwar revolution.[214]

Those who exclude Japan from membership in the fascist camp and emphasize continuity in prewar Japan see intensified repression as merely a by-product of war, first with China, then with the United States and Great Britain.[215] Fascism and war, however, went hand in hand. Had it not been for the activities and agitation of "third way" advocates from 1931 onward, Japan might have averted its plunge into the China quagmire and its fateful entry into the Axis alliance. By playing a cautious hand in the 1930s Japan could have gained great leverage internationally and reprised the profitable "thief at the fire" role it had assumed during World War I. "Third way" proponents, however, had discredited and swept aside the political figures who might have kept the country on such a cautious course. Instead, Japan headed down the road to destruction.

By early 1945 the ultranationalist Hashimoto Kingorō was urging the entire populace to "turn themselves into human bombs" in defense of the homeland.[216] Kiyosawa apparently expected that they would respond, as he predicted in his diary entry for January 1, 1945 that Japan's war would not end during the year ahead, leaving the country to "fight fiercely in isolation" in the wake of Germany's anticipated capitulation.[217] Even in the final days of the war, when defeat seemed apparent, the majority seemed ready to follow orders to fight to the death, particularly in rural areas.[218] Japanese villagers, Smethurst writes, "cleared snow from air fields, dug defensive positions, organized massive condolence and letter-writing campaigns for the soldiers at the front, collected scrap metal and other war effort essentials and, finally, in the war's closing days organized 'bamboo spear' units to defend the nation and the village against impending American invasion."[219]

In a recent book, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney seeks to explain why even well-educated Japanese who were dissatisfied with aspects of government policy followed orders to sacrifice their lives for a lost cause. In the writings of five former university students who met death as *kamikaze* pilots she found expressions of views fundamentally at odds with the official ideology.[220] She concluded that the young pilots were coerced and conflicted; willing to die, but more for the sake of the country than for the emperor. Yet, whether out of a sense of duty to the country, loyalty to their comrades, peer pressure, or simply because they expected to die anyway, they dutifully carried out their suicide missions.

The very fact that these atypically well-educated young Japanese did in fact fly off to their deaths supports Brooker's view that among the three main Axis regimes, Japan's should be considered the most effective. It was, as he declares, "obviously

the most successful in both inculcating mechanical solidarity in its society and strengthening its society to face the rigours of total war."[221]

Racism and Tensions Within the Axis Alliance

The Axis alliance ultimately proved to be a dysfunctional marriage, as the partners were—with good reason—deeply suspicious of each other. For example, Hitler's zigzags in his policy toward the Soviet Union undermined Japanese trust, while Japanese reluctance to follow the German lead had a similar effect in Berlin. In the end, the Axis powers failed to cooperate fully and missed opportunities. Some might cite this dissonance as evidence of the sharp political divergence between the Axis states—particularly between Japan and its European partners—and proof that the alliance was inspired by little more than opportunism.

All alliances of sovereign states are difficult to maintain, however, as evidenced, for example, by the tensions within the British–American–Russian wartime coalition or among communist nations during the Cold War. In fact, the alliance of the three main Axis states represented a thoroughly logical outcome, but the nationalistic biases that characterized each "third way" movement ensured that interstate relations would be problematic. Ultranationalists, by their very nature, make poor and troublesome allies.

Hitler's racial obsessions posed the stickiest issue of all in the relationship between Japan and Germany. Since the beginning of their intense encounter with the West in the nineteenth century the Japanese had wrestled with racial questions and how these affected their place in the world. While they accepted a social Darwinian international hierarchy, they naturally were disinclined to swallow the European racist conceit that precluded the possibility of a non-white nation ascending to the highest rung on the ladder of civilization. Subsequent American discrimination against Japanese immigrants and the persistence of Australia's racially based immigration policy suggested that despite their modernization efforts and military successes the predominantly white states did not—and might never—view the Japanese as full equals. This unpleasant prospect and European ruminations on the "Yellow Peril" caused many Japanese—from Mori Ōgai to Yamagata Aritomo and Ishiwara Kanji—to view a future race-based conflict between East and West as likely, if not inevitable.[222]

Consequently, a diverse assortment of Japanese, ranging from Prince Konoe Atsumaro to the motley crowd of Asia *rōnin*, believed it necessary to gain the support of other Asian countries. Yet, as prisoners of their hierarchical view of the world, they expected other Asians to recognize Japan's superiority and accept its "natural" role as leader. This underlying assumption of superiority permitted the Japanese to rationalize their colonization of Korea and their subsequent encroachments into China, even as they chafed over slights from Western nations.[223]

Their experience with racial discrimination led the Japanese push for an "antiracism" clause in the charter of the League of Nations, an initiative that ended in embarrassing failure. Although the Japanese were more concerned with their own position vis-à-vis the other powers than with racial equality as a universal ideal,[224] such experiences insured that the Japanese would find Hitler's racial theories unpalatable. Differences with the Nazis in this realm are clearly reflected in their

ultimate unwillingness, documented in chapter 4 by Gerhard Krebs, to participate in Hitler's "Final Solution" of the "Jewish problem."

No great physical differences distinguished the Japanese from their neighbors on the Asian mainland and according to modern definition all are members of the same race, yet kinship in the emperor-led family of the land of the gods underlay popular assumptions of Japanese superiority. Smethurst writes:

> Japanese nationalism, not unlike the German cultural and linguistic form propounded by the disciples of Herder, Fichte and Hegel was an ethnic nationalism based on "Japaneseness"... To the Japanese nationalist, one was either a member of the unique Japanese people, or an outsider. If one was a member, he was Japanese forever, no matter where he migrated, lived, or had been born. If one was not a member, he could never become Japanese even if he looked, spoke, and acted in every way like a Japanese.[225]

Yet Japanese intellectuals understood that claims of national racial purity could not be justified either historically or scientifically. Some officials also recognized that placing Japanese above others based on membership in an exclusive family state would complicate campaigns for racial harmony in Manchukuo and hinder efforts to inspire non-Japanese citizens of the empire to serve the state and give their lives for the emperor. Thus intellectuals and such officials favored a nonracial approach that exalted Japan for its success in synthesizing old and new, East and West, into a superior modern culture.[226] This permitted them to base Japan's leadership claim on demonstrated merit in a social Darwinian sense, not on race in a biological sense. Although this left open the theoretical possibility that "backward" Asian states could catch up, the Japanese did not anticipate relinquishing their leadership role.

The increasingly heavy-handed policies pursued in Korea during the colonial era reflected this Japanese sense of superiority, whether based on race or culture, or both. The Japanese also visited innumerable atrocities upon the Chinese and other peoples of occupied territories because of this conceit and a concomitant sense of outrage toward Asians who refused to accept Japanese leadership. The Japanese, however, did not attempt to scapegoat or exterminate any particular group of people on purely racial grounds, and in this they certainly diverged from the Nazis.

From the late nineteenth century, though, the term "race" had been popularly used to describe what today would be called an "ethnic group" or "nation." In this sense of the term, the Japanese did pursue "racist" policies in regard to other Asians. From the time of the Manchurian Incident, for example, Japanese war reporting demeaned the Chinese, portraying them as cowardly, corrupt, and lacking in patriotism.[227] Such dismissive attitudes facilitated Japanese rationalization of such atrocities as using Chinese as objects of medical and germ warfare experiments. Combined with the fear generated by the difficulty in distinguishing between innocent civilians and disguised soldiers and anger over continued Chinese resistance, they contributed to such horrors as the Rape of Nanking.

Conclusion

The twentieth-century contest of political ideologies can in retrospect be seen as a three-way battle in which ultranationalist ideologies, commonly lumped under the

rubric of "fascism" and communism offered disparate challenges to the dominant liberal–capitalist paradigm. The expansionist successes of Germany, Italy, and Japan, combined with the fleeting accommodation between the two upstart ideological camps with the Hitler–Stalin Pact of 1939, suggested that liberal capitalism had seen its day. Hitler's fateful invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, however, spawned a powerful liberal–communist alliance that doomed the fascist states. Once the fascists were vanquished, this alliance almost immediately dissolved into hostility, generating conflicts both hot and cold over the next four decades. That struggle—though certainly not ideological conflict nor history itself—ended with the demise of the Soviet Union.

The initial ideological struggle occurred on a global scale in an age of expanded mass communications and must be considered in that light. Studies of variations in the application of the "third way" ideologies promoted by each of the Axis Powers are useful, but we must keep the forest in sight as we examine the trees. It is true that in Italy and Germany the leaders came to power from outside the halls of government to radically change the nation's course, while Japanese "third way" advocates gradually gained sway over government policy from inside the bureaucracy. Yet, the leaders of all three countries saw themselves as riding a common global political tide. They promoted irrational nationalist myths in a quest to mobilize and absolutely unify their peoples, suppressed dissent, and expanded aggressively. They also exalted the state over the individual, although ultimately upholding the concept of private property.

If one defines the term "fascism" narrowly according to the Italian prototype, as scholars of comparative fascism almost invariably do, it is easy to exclude Japan from the "fascist" camp. But why not view the effort to find a "third way" in the 1920s and 1930s as a global one in which advocates in various countries shared basic goals, but incorporated particularistic ideas into their programs and shaped their tactics according to local circumstances? In fact, the nature of fascism demanded that they do so.

Although much influenced by European ideas after 1868, Japan remained an independent country with a unique cultural legacy, so it is quite natural that its quest for the "third way" had peculiar characteristics. Why not view Japan's *kokugaku* scholars and the Meiji era establishment of State Shintō as harbingers of the Fascist Era in the same sense that we see Herder and *Volkish* ideology as such? Is it not equally valid to see Japan as the prototype for the broad phenomenon we generally labeled as "fascism" as it is to view Italy in this way?[228] Might such outspoken Japanese "third way" advocates as Shiratori, Matsuoka, and Fujisawa have had a point when they claimed that "fascist" ideology had roots in Japan?[229]

Admittedly, prewar Japan's political structure does not jibe with the existing models of "generic fascism," but if one emphasizes goals and outcomes it fits neatly enough into the mainstream of the world's most powerful political current in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Acting within the existing constitutional framework and employing a radicalized ideology of total subordination to the emperor, Japan's "third way" advocates effectively shifted power away from the elected parliament, mobilized the population for aggressive war, and repressed individual freedoms. This move seemed much less dramatic in Japan than in Italy or Germany because the shift occurred gradually and with widespread popular support, but the outcome and consequences were largely the same.

Japan had never experienced the type of wide-open democratic politics seen in the other key Axis states at the end of World War I. Since the Meiji Restoration the state bureaucracy had played a highly interventionist role in Japanese society, the common people had a deeply ingrained respect for (or fear of) authority, and the military had wielded unusual political clout. Accordingly, the Japanese "third way" advocates had a shorter, easier road to their principal goals than their counterparts in Europe. As Barrington Moore aptly put it, fascism "emerged much more 'naturally' in Japan; that is, it found congenial elements in Japanese institutions even more than it did in Germany."[230]

We cannot fully understand the Fascist Era by treating Japan in isolation, nor can we understand the course of events in Japan apart from the broader context. In its formal political structure Japan may have remained closer to Germany's Second Reich than to the Third Reich, but not in its ideology or its actions. Despite concerted efforts to disassociate prewar Japan from its Axis partners, surely Bernd Martin was correct in labeling prewar Japan "a 'folkish' imperial state" and its emperor-centered ideology a form of "Japanese-style fascism."[231]

Notes

1. For example, James A. Gregor and Maria Hsia Chang write in "*Nationalfascismo* and the Revolutionary Nationalist of Sun Yat-sen," *Journal of Asia Studies*, 39 (November 1979): 22 that in order to have a basis of comparison it is necessary to start with "the ideologues of Italian Fascism, who had indisputable fascist credentials." For a review and sampling of various theories on fascism, see Roger Griffin, ed., *International Fascism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). The most comprehensive survey of "third way" movements is Stanley G. Payne's *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).
2. Zeev Sternhell makes an argument for separate consideration of Nazism in "Fascist Ideology," in *Fascism: A Reader's Guide*, ed. Walter Laqueur (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 317.
3. For example, George M. Wilson, "A New Look at the Problem of 'Japanese Fascism,'" in Henry A. Turner, *Reappraisals of Fascism* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), pp. 199–214; Peter Duus and Daniel I. Okimoto, "Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan: The Failure of a Concept," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 39 (November 1979): 65–76; and Ben-Ami Shillony, "Wartime Japan: A Military Dictatorship?" in *Shōwa Japan: Political, Economic and Social History 1926–1989*, ed. Stephen S. Large (New York: Routledge, 1998), 2: 3–21.
4. George L. Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1999), xi and R. Palme Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution* (New York: International Publishers, 1935), p. 234. On the abortive international fascist movement, see Griffin, ed., *International Fascism*, pp. 1–2.
5. Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 338, note 18, argues in favor of such an approach, noting that this would be similar to "sugesting that the industrial revolution be defined, not with primary reference to the British case, but after consideration of the several national cases of industrial revolution in the nineteenth century, including Japan."
6. John Gunther, *Inside Asia* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), pp. 119–120. On anti-Semitism in Japan, see Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 156–171.
7. Bernd Martin, *Japan and Germany in the Modern World* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1995), pp. 18, 22, 27, 35, 42. Also, Richard J. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 10; Frederick R. Dickinson,

War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University East Asia Center, 1999), pp. 21–23; and Ian Buruma, "Suicide for the Empire," *New York Review of Books*, 49 (November 21, 2002): 26.

8. Martin, *Japan and Germany in the Modern World*, p. 44.
9. Herbert von Dirksen, *Moscow, Tokyo, London: Twenty Years of German Diplomacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), p. 139.
10. Martin, *Japan and Germany in the Modern World*, pp. 52–53. On Wilhelm II and the "Yellow Peril," see Gregory Blue, "Gobineau on China: Race, Theory, and the 'Yellow Peril,' and the Critique of Modernity," *Journal of World History*, 10 (1999): 121–126.
11. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention*, pp. 45–46, 117–118.
12. Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (New York: Routledge, 1998), especially pp. 102–108, on wartime allied frictions.
13. Tokahiko Tomoyeda, "Germany and Japan," *Contemporary Japan*, 5 (September 1936): 214.
14. James B. Crowley, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 88–89 where he also notes that Japanese historian Fujiwara Akira viewed the army's formal acceptance of this doctrine in 1927 as the beginning point of Japanese fascism. This Japanese commitment is the main theme of Michael A. Barnhart, *Japan Prepares for Total War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).
15. Richard J. Samuels, *Machiavelli's Children* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 23. Samuels notes on page 12 that "from the very moment the two states were formed, both Italy and Japan have pursued parity with the rest of the world" and "in the grip of 'inferiority complexes'; each was preoccupied by its national reputation in foreign eyes."
16. Quoted in Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*, p. 22. See Szpilman's chapter for more evidence of pro-Mussolini sentiments in Japan.
17. Von Dirksen, *Moscow, Tokyo, London*, p. 138.
18. Ernst L. Presseisen, *Germany and Japan: A Study in Totalitarian Diplomacy* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958), p. 187.
19. Tomoyeda, "Germany and Japan," p. 213.
20. Presseisen, *Germany and Japan*, p. 67.
21. Ibid., pp. 129, 119.
22. On geopolitical arguments for German alliance with Japan, see ibid., pp. 13–24. Presseisen suggests (p. 107) that as early as 1936 Hitler saw a link-up with Japan as aimed not only against the Soviet Union, but also as a potential source of leverage against Great Britain. Gerhard Weinberg emphasizes the importance of German perceptions of Japanese naval power in *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 30, 262.
23. Ernst Nolte, *The Three Faces of Fascism* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1965), p. 415. Hitler's characterization of Japan appeared in *Mein Kampf*. See Presseisen, *Germany and Japan*, pp. 3–4 and Skya's chapter in this volume.
24. Presseisen, *Germany and Japan*, p. 162.
25. Ibid., pp. 124–163. On Chinese–German relations see William C. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984). On differences among German diplomats over alliance with Japan at the expense of China, see John P. Fox, *Germany and the Far Eastern Crisis, 1931–1938* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 5–6, 24–25, 29, 32–35, 38–39, 79–81.
26. William Henry Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia* (London: Duckworth, 1938), p. 143. Gordon notes in *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, p. 322, that Admiral Godō Takuo sounded these same themes in his 1938 book *Nobiyuku Doitsu* (Germamy on the Rise). Gordon writes that enthusiasm for fascism "grew not simply because the Germans had gained new international power, but also because the Japanese considered the Germans, Italians, and themselves to be facing similar dilemmas."
27. Von Dirksen, *Moscow, Tokyo, London*, p. 175.
28. Takafusa Nakamura, *A History of Shōwa Japan 1926–1989* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1998), p. 133.

29. Japanese concerns about Nazi racism had been expressed through diplomatic channels from 1933. Albert Rosenberg and other Nazi officials, even Hitler himself, attempted to reassure the Japanese that Germany's racial policies were not aimed at them. The Japanese were somewhat assuaged by the fact that the 1935 Nuremberg Laws clearly focused on the Jews. See Fox, *Germany and The Far Eastern Crisis*, pp. 83–93.
30. "A," "The Rise and Fall of Japanese Communism," *Contemporary Japan*, 2 (December 1933): 451–452.
31. Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labour in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 201–202. This was not the Yoshida Shigeru who served as prime minister in postwar Japan. On the affinity of intellectuals and bureaucrats for centralized planning, see Earl H. Kinmonth, "The Impact of Monetary Procurements on the Old Middle Classes in Japan, 1931–1941," in *Shōwa Japan, Political, Economic and Social History*, ed. Large, 1: 291.
32. Samuels, *Machiavelli's Children*, p. 143
33. William Miles Fletcher III, *The Search for a New Order, Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 161.
34. Tonin Suzuki, "Japan and a Front Populaire," *Contemporary Japan*, 5 (December 1936): 445.
35. Tsunego Baba, "Hostilties and Parliament," *Contemporary Japan*, 6 (March 1938): 596.
36. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 202.
37. Nogi Harumichi, quoted in Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: New Press, 1992), p. 51.
38. This is the general line of argument in such articles as Wilson, "A New Look at the Problem of 'Japanese Fascism' "; Duus and Okimoto, "Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan: The Failure of a Concept"; and Shillony, "Wartime Japan: A Military Dictatorship?"
39. Emiko Ohkuni-Tierney describes this process well in *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 12–13, 69–91. She notes that originally the Japanese emperor was a "shaman," not a god and that the divine role created for him in the late nineteenth century was "hitherto unprecedented, in Japan and elsewhere . . ." (p. 89). Kenneth J. Ruoff in *The People's Emperor* (Cambridge: Harvard University East Asia Center, 2001), p. 19 notes that after 1868 "Virtually all aspects of the monarchy were reinvented and modernized." Also see Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
40. Although many scholars are reluctant to label the Meiji Era one of "revolution" because the changes were primarily effected from the top down, the late Marius Jansen, in his last book, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 333–370, pointedly refers to the "Meiji Revolution." Certainly the drastic changes that occurred between 1870 and 1900 seem to merit use of the term.
41. Quoted in Peter Wetzler, *Hirohito and War* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), p. 149.
42. Quoted in Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms*, p. 88.
43. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 77. Samuels, *Machiavelli's Children*, pp. 34–37 provides a particularly succinct account of the creation of the emperor-centered Meiji state.
44. Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution*, p. xiii.
45. Victor A. Yakhontoff, *Eyes on Japan* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1936), p. 104.
46. Beni-Ami Shillony, *Revolt in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 64–65.
47. One of their famous critics, the parliamentarian Ozaki Yukio memorably declared of the *genrō* in a 1913 speech: "They always mouth 'loyalty' and 'patriotism' but what they are actually doing is hide themselves behind the Throne and shoot at their political enemies from their secure ambush. The Throne is their rampart. Rescripts are their missiles." Quoted in Crowley, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy*, p. 14. Although the "emperor system" of the Meiji era was a modern construct, the deployment of a symbolic leader as a legitimizing front for those with real power had been practiced in Japan since early times. During the Heian period, Fujiwara clan courtiers manipulated emperors; later, military strongmen (shogun) did so. During the Kamakura era, both emperors and shogun became titular rulers, creating a dual layer of front men for the real power holders.

48. On the reasons for the rise and demise of the political parties, see the articles by Stephen S. Large, David A. Titus, and Henry D. Smith II in *Japan Examined*, ed. Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp. 172–198. An excellent article on the Meiji Constitution is R.P.G. Steven, "Hybrid Constiutionalism in Prewar Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 3 (Winter 1977): 99–133.
49. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*, p. xv.
50. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 204.
51. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*, p. xvi.
52. Leonard A. Humphreys, *The Way of the Heavenly Sword* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 178–179.
53. Mark Metzler, "American Pressure for Financial Internationalization in Japan on the Eve of the Great Depression," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 28 (Fall 2002): 277–300 and Harold James, *The End of Globalization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 93–94.
54. Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 136, 240.
55. Ibid., pp. 138–139.
56. Paul Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 270–271, 50–53.
57. Masayo Ohara, *Democratization and Expansionism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), pp. 115–141.
58. Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, pp. 50–53
59. James, *The End of Globalization*, pp. 93–94.
60. Dooeum Chung, *Élistist Fascism: Chiang Kai-shek's Blueshirts in 1930s China* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000). Chung emphasizes the influence of Japanese military fascism on Chiang and other Japan-trained Chinese officers.
61. Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution*, p. xvii.
62. Ibid., p. xvi.
63. Willis Lamott, *Suzuki Looks at Japan* (New York: Friendship Press, 1934), p. 40.
64. Frank O. Miller, *Minobe Tatsukichi* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) and Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, pp. 50–56.
65. Itō Takashi, "The Role of Right-Wing Organizations in Japan," in *Pearl Harbor as History: Japanese-American Relations 1931–1941*, ed. Dorothy Borg and Shumpei Okamoto (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 493.
66. Quoted in Harley F. McNair, *The Real Conflict Between China and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 184.
67. Robert K. Hall, ed., *Kokutai No Hongi*, tr. John O. Gauntlett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 80.
68. Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, p. 256.
69. D.C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, second edition), p. 89.
70. Ibid., p. 132.
71. Chung, *Élitist Fascism*, p. 31.
72. Brian Victoria, *Zen at War* (New York: Weatherhill, 1997), especially chapters eight and nine.
73. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*, pp. 108–110.
74. Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, pp. 242–248 and Sheldon Garon, *Moulding Japanese Minds* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 60–87.
75. Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*, p. 85.
76. Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*, p. 15.
77. On the limited intellectual appeal of Shintō ultranationalism, Holtom wrote in *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*, p. 166: "State Shinto as it stands today, saturated with nationalistic self-interest, made incredible by mythological crudity, and devoted to the suppression of freedom, can be propagated among intelligent men only by the use of force . . . " Walter Skya will address the issue of Shintō ultranationalism in a forthcoming book.

78. Quoted in Ian Buruma and Avashai Margalit, "Occidentalism," *New York Review of Books*, 49 (January 17, 2002): 4. On Uesugi, see Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, pp. 546–547.
79. Hall, ed., *Kokutai No Hongi*, p. 81.
80. Otto D. Tolischus, *Tokyo Record* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1943), pp. 78–79.
81. Joseph Newman, *Goodbye Japan* (New York: L.B. Fischer, 1942), pp. 187–188.
82. Stephen S. Large, *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 49.
83. Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000).
84. Large, *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan*, pp. 84–85.
85. Wetzler, *Hirohito and War*, p. 152. Edward J. Drea takes a similar view, labeling Hirohito "a cautious procrastinator" in his excellent overview of Hirohito's war role "Chasing a Decisive Victory," in Drea's *In the Service of the Emperor: Essays on the Imperial Japanese Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 215.
86. Japanese tradition also militated against blatantly dictatorial rule. The most famous strongmen rulers in Japanese history were the three "unifiers" (Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu) of the late sixteenth century, yet the state that emerged in their wake created stability by dividing and balancing power among the feudal lords and retaining the figurehead emperor. Tōjō's ultimate ouster affirmed that the Japanese saying "the nail that sticks out gets hammered down" applies to the political world as well as to personal interactions within Japanese society. French journalist Robert Guillain in *I Saw Tokyo Burning*, tr. William Byron (London: John Murray, 1981), pp. 101–106 records the negative reaction to Tōjō's emulation of the fascist dictators and private grumbling about the "Tōjō shogunate."
87. Richard Rice, in "Economic Mobilization in Wartime Japan: Business, Bureaucracy, and Military in Conflict," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 38 (August 1979): 689–706, declares, e.g., "The lack of administrative efficiency makes it difficult to consider Japan 'totalitarian' during World War II."
88. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: 1889–1936 Hubris* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), pp. 533, 536.
89. Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), pp. 127–128.
90. David A. Titus, *Palace and Politics in Prewar Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 189. Also, see p. 333.
91. Large, *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan*, pp. 34–40, 49–51, 65–75, 94–96, 123–131 and Shillony, *Revolt in Japan*, pp. 102–106, 109, 127–128.
92. Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, p. 237.
93. Jason G. Karlin, "The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 28 (2002): 58–59.
94. Chitoshi Yanaga, *Japan Since Perry* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1966, reprint edition), p. 218.
95. Gregory Kasza, who uses Payne's detailed fascist criteria to argue against considering most of the right-wing groups in Japan during the 1930s "fascist," acknowledges this critical difference in "The Japanese Right, 1931–1936," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19 (1984): 619–620.
96. For example, Tsunego Baba, "Making Parliament Popular," *Contemporary Japan*, 1 (March 1933): 597–609. Baba, who was among writers blacklisted by the government in 1941, wrote (p. 607): "... the people must be brought in. Government of the people without the people is bound to vanish from the earth." On Baba's blacklisting, see Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 183–184.
97. Upton Close, *Challenge: Behind the Face of Japan* (New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1934), p. 348.
98. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*. pp. 217, 231.
99. Close, *Challenge: Behind the Face of Japan*, p. 355.
100. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 204.

101. Kasza in "The Japanese Right, 1931–36," pp. 625–626 divides the Japanese factions into four categories—fascist, the radical right, conservative authoritarian, and renovationist authoritarian.
102. Harold S. Quigley, *Far Eastern War, 1937–1941* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1942), p. 31.
103. Yanaga, *Japan Since Perry*, p. 405.
104. Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan Past and Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1958), p. 165.
105. Zeev Sternhell notes in a review of *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, ed. Sarah Fishman et al. in *American Historical Review*, 106 (2001): 1057, "Mussolini needed the National Fascist Party in order to gain power, but not in order to govern. Once in power he did whatever he could to minimize the role of the party, which was a constant source of anxiety and even political danger to him." Kershaw writes in *Hitler: 1889–1936 Hubris*, p. 499 that once Hitler attained power his "unruly party army, the S.A., had outlived its purpose . . . the S.A.'s 'politics of hooliganism' were a force for disruption in the new state." As for the party, Kershaw notes on p. 538 that once in power Hitler took "little interest in the party as an institution."
106. Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution*, p. 3.
107. Hugh Byas, *Government by Assassination* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1943), pp. 30, 33. Japanese specialists have tended to devalue accounts by Western journalists, like Byas, in large part because of the correspondents' inability to speak or read Japanese. The journalists were, however, professional observers who were on the scene during the events of the 1930s.
108. Yoshitake Oka, *Konoe Fumimaro: A Political Biography*, tr. Shumpei Okamoto and Patricia Murray (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1983), p. 96. Crowley, in *Japan's Quest for Autonomy*, p. 384 and Shillony, in "Myth and Reality in Japan of the 1930's," in *Modern Japan: Aspects of History, Literature and Society*, ed. W.G. Beasley (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), p. 84 attempt to minimize the impact of terrorism, citing the absence of proof that it affected decision makers. How a "smoking gun" could be produced in this regard is not clear, since it is unlikely any official would have admitted, even in a diary entry, to having been cowed by terrorists.
109. Shillony, *Revolt in Japan*, p. 59. On the parallel between the *shishi* and the 1930s activitists, see Titus, *Palace and Politics in Prewar Japan*, pp. 286–287. Interestingly, Kiyosawa Kiyoshi labeled pro-fascist Nakano Seigō "a typical Japanese *shishi*" whose attitude was "always religious" and unwilling to consider arguments that might undermine his "rigid ideology." Kiyosawa, *A Diary of Darkness*, ed. Eugene Soviak, tr. Soviak and Kamiyama Tamie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 99.
110. Shōwa was reign name of the emperor known in the West by his personal name, Hirohito. The Shōwa era began in 1926. As to the goals of these activists, Humphreys writes (*The Way of the Heavenly Sword*, pp. 123–124) that most "dreamed of a new Japan within the general framework of Kita's *Nihon kaizō hōan taikō*, but relatively few of them accepted it without some degree of modification. They generally advocated foreign expansion, through war if necessary, and internal reform based on an idealized emperor system. Some, perhaps even more radical, sought to establish a self-governing society of family farm villages under direct imperial rule, a physiocracy that would do away with the corruption of urban civilization entirely." Also, see Shillony, *Revolt in Japan*, pp. 76–77, 122–123.
111. Masao Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, ed. Ivan Morris (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 65.
112. A. Morgan Young, *Imperial Japan, 1926–1938* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1938), p. 283.
113. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 195. Gordon points out (*Labor and Imperial Democracy*, pp. 266–268) that Ugaki, who is often viewed as a relative moderate among army officers, had come to oppose democracy and "wanted to restructure both economy and polity a embark on a newly expansive foreign policy." This suggests the widespread support for "fascism from above" that existed in Japan in the late 1930s. Also see Szpilman's chapter for more on Ugaki.

114. Maruyama, *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, pp. 66–67.
115. Miller, *Minobe Tatsukichi*, p. 215.
116. Shillony, *Revolt in Japan*, p. 122.
117. Crowley, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy*, p. 265. A propaganda pamphlet issued in 1935 by pro-Imperial Way officers accused the Control Faction officers of seeking "to compromise with political parties and the *zaibatsu*. . . and combine formal politics and the military."
118. Quoted in Fox, *Germany and the Far Eastern Crisis*, p. 196.
119. Yanaga, *Japan Since Perry*, p. 510.
120. Ohara, *Democratization and Expansionism*, p. 161.
121. Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, p. 53.
122. Shillony, *Revolt in Japan*, pp. 121–122, 217.
123. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 224.
124. Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 301.
125. Kershaw, *Hitler*, pp. 511–521.
126. Robert O. Paxton, "The Uses of Fascism," *New York Review of Books*, 46:22 (November 28, 1996): 49.
127. Galen M. Fisher, *Creative Forces in Japan* (West Medford, MA: Missionary Education Movement, 1923), pp. 39–40.
128. Newman, *Goodbye Japan*, pp. 179–180.
129. Relman Morin, *Circle of Conquest* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), p. 16.
130. Wilson, "A New Look at the Problem of 'Japanese Fascism,'" in *Reappraisals of Fascism*, ed. Turner, p. 204.
131. Gavan McCormack, "Nineteen-Thirties Japan: Fascism?" *Bulletin of Concerned Asia Scholars*, 14 (April–June 1982): 31.
132. Ibid., p. 30. On efforts to downplay German influence on Japanese labor policy, e.g., see Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, pp. 321–322 and Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, p. 212. The case of Social Mass Party member Nishio Suehiro, who was expelled from the Diet for his enthusiastic association of national mobilization with the policies of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, shows how politically dangerous it could be to speak frankly on such matters. See Ozaki Yukio, *The Autobiography of Ozaki Yukio*, tr. Fujiko Hara (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 142.
133. Quoted from the translation in Tolischus, *Tokyo Record*, pp. 406, 420.
134. Quoted in Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (Armok, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), pp. 95–96.
135. Toshio Shiratori, "Fascism Versus Popular Front," *Contemporary Japan*, 6 (March 1938): 589.
136. Toshio Shiratori, "The Reawakening of Japan," *Contemporary Japan*, 3 (June 1934): 9–10, 12.
137. Shiratori, "Fascism Versus Popular Front," pp. 582, 588–589.
138. Quoted in Gunther, *Inside Asia*, p. 64.
139. Quoted in Presseisen, *Germany and Japan*, p. 32.
140. See Matsuoka's article, "Dissolve the Political Parties," *Contemporary Japan*, 2 (March 1934): 661–557. Although Matsuoka declared that Japan's system left "no room for Fascism or any other political form which means an absolute dictatorship as in Italy and Soviet Russia," he called for "a Diet animated with a spirit of perfect loyalty to the throne." He wanted to recognize the flaws of "liberalism, individualism, and class consciousness," to correct "all the errors and evils of the sixty-six years since the Restoration of 1868," to replace "antagonism" with "cooperation," and to "remould politics, economy, foreign policy, and education in accord with Japan's traditions."
141. Quoted in Wilfrid Fleisher, *Volcanic Isle* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Doran, 1941), pp. 51–52.
142. Oka, *Konoe Fumimaro*, pp. 98–99.
143. Nakamura, *A History of Shōwa Japan 1926–1989*, p. 163.

144. Fletcher, *The Search for a New Order*, p. 158.
145. Miles Fletcher, "Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 39 (November 1979): 61.
146. Quoted in T.A. Bisson, *Japan's War Economy* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1945), pp. 16–17.
147. Mamoru Shigemitsu, *Japan and Her Destiny*. ed. F.S.G. Piggott, tr. Oswald White (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1958), p. 189.
148. Gordon M. Berger, *Parties Out of Power in Japan, 1931–1941* (Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press, 1977), pp. 263–275, 290, 296–310.
149. Oka, *Konoe Fumimaro*, p. 115. Oka discusses Konoe's motives and involvement in the creation of the IRAA, pp. 94–115.
150. Quoted in Newman, *Goodbye Japan*, pp. 183–186.
151. Earl H. Kinmonth emphasizes the economic aspect in "The Mouse that Roared: Saitō Takao, Conservative Critic of Japan's 'Holy War' in China," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 25 (Summer 1999), especially pp. 252–253.
152. Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, p. 277.
153. Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, pp. 190–198 and Fletcher, "Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan," p. 47. Garon (p. 193) notes that while the Social Masses Party "publicly opposed 'fascism,' they found the doctrine of national socialism useful in practice." Thomas R.H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 2, points out that Japanese industrial production increased 83 percent between 1931 and 1937 much to the benefit of the working class, while farmers saw prices for their products rise 58 percent.
154. Quoted in Byas, *Government by Assassination*, p. 38.
155. Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, p. 212. Also see pp. 208–212.
156. Ibid., p. 218. Also see pp. 223–224.
157. Newman, *Goodbye Japan*, pp. 97–98. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 302–304, emphasizes how radical agrarianists were likewise given short shrift as the militarists came together with industrialists.
158. Berger, *Political Parties Out of Power in Japan, 1931–1941*, pp. 234–346.
159. Ruoff, *The People's Emperor*, p. 38.
160. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 210.
161. On Mussolini's compromises, see Roger Eatwell, *Fascsim: A History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1996), pp. 62–88 and on Hitler's, see Kershaw, *Hitler*, pp. 325–329. Kershaw bluntly declares (p. 448): "Hitler was never a socialist."
162. Paxton, "The Uses of Fascism," p. 50.
163. W.B. Ashton, *The Fascist* (London: Putnam, 1937), pp. 42–43, 93–94.
164. Newman, *Goodbye Japan*, p. 233.
165. Delmer Brown, *Nationalism in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 221.
166. Ibid., pp. 221–222 and Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, pp. 253–254.
167. Newman, *Goodbye Japan*, p. 235.
168. Ibid., p. 199.
169. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, pp. 229, 231–232.
170. Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan*, p. 172.
171. Ibid., pp. 229–246.
172. Fleisher, *Volcanic Isle*, p. 62. In the prewar Japanese context debating points could always be scored by portraying one's adversary as slavishly imitating foreign models. Tolischus provides an example (*Tokyo Record*, p. 118) of an antinational socialist editorial in the pro-army newspaper *Kokumin* that he identifies as a veiled attack on Foreign Minister Matsuoka.
173. Fleisher, *Volcanic Isle,* pp. 34, 330.
174. Ibid., p. 135.
175. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945*, p. 167.

176. Ibid., p. 282.
177. Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Japan*, p. 320.
178. Chamberlin, *Japan Over Asia*, p. 229.
179. Herbert P. Bix, "Rethinking 'Emperor-System Fascism': Ruptures and Continuities in Modern Japanese History," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 14 (April–June 1982): 18.
180. In the chapter "Sensational Rumors, Seditious Graffiti," in *Japan in War and Peace* (New York: New Press, 1993), pp. 101–154, John W. Dower cites the hand wringing on the part of the authorities about a possible revolution as evidence that scattered incidents of dissent were significant. Certainly worsening conditions in the urban areas in the later war years did undermine morale and encourage questioning of government policies. Prince Konoe, who had been embarrassed by the revelation that a Communist spy had been a part of his advisory group, and other conservatives, clearly were worried about the potential for revolution. Dower, however, notes that "Police state minions thrive on exaggeration" (p. 103), that the police and conservatives "may well have been mildly paranoid in their intimations of a communist revolution" (p. 107) and "revolutionary upheaval did not occur in Japan, and perhaps it never actually was close" (p. 123). Certainly any revolutionary uprising before Japan's total defeat in the war would have been met with quick and forceful suppression. After defeat, however, the outcome might have been different and it is this prospect that led Konoe, and ultimately Emperor Hirohito, to favor bringing the war to an early conclusion. On fears of revolution also see, Janice Matsumura, *More Than a Momentary Nightmare: The Yokohama Incident and Wartime Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 1998), pp. 84–97.
181. Kinmonth, "The Mouse that Roared," pp. 349–357 and "The Impact of Military Procurements on the Old Middle Class," pp. 289–295. In the latter article (p. 294) Kinmonth argues that small businessmen, unhappy about the economic controls that accompanied fascism in Japan, sought to "subvert" them "through continual violation of the many control edicts and regulations covering the distribution and sale price of goods."
182. Donald Keene, "Japanese Writers and the Greater East Asia War," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 33 (February 1964): 209–225; Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*, pp. 110–120 and Saburō Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931–1945* (New York: Pantheon Press, 1978), pp. 121–124.
183. Kiyosawa Kiyoshi, *A Diary of Darkness*, p. 170.
184. Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*, pp. 19–29, 46–50, 126–133; Wetzler, *Hirohito and War*, pp. 76–78 and Leslie Russell Oates, *Populist Nationalist in Prewar Japan* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), pp. 100–114.
185. Cook and Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History*, pp. 64–68, 222–227. In the same volume (pp. 227–231) Kiga Sumi tells the story of her brother, one of the victims of the police.
186. Daikichi Irokawa, *The Age of Hirohito: In Search of Modern Japan*, tr. Mikiso Hane and John K. Urda (New York: Free Press, 1995), p. 34.
187. Ibid., p. 25.
188. Robert Scalapino, *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975 reprint edition), p. 392.
189. John W. Dower, "E.H. Norman, Japan, and the Uses of History," in E.H. Norman, *Origins of the Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman*, ed. John W. Dower (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), p. 55. Dower's critique of the Cold War era approach to Japanese history by American historians extends from p. 31 to p. 90. Also, Yukiko Koshiro, "Japan's World and World War II," *Diplomatic History*, 25 (Summer 2001): 431–433.
190. In a book review, Zeev Sternhell notes how Europeans have likewise preferred to view fascism as an aberration rather than a movement with popular support from all classes of society. Sternhell review of George L. Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution in American Historical Review*, 105 (June 2000): 883.

191. Representative works include Gordon M. Berger, *Parties Out of Power in Japan: 1931–1941*; Richard Rice, "Economic Mobilization in Wartime Japan: Business, Bureaucracy, and Military in Conflict"; and Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan*. Richard H. Mitchell has supported this interpretation in a series of books on the Japanese legal system, most recently, *Justice in Japan: The Notorious Tenjin Scandal* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). See his comments on the irrelevance of fascism as an analytical tool in studying prewar Japan on p. 4. Elise K. Tipton in *Japanese Police State* (Honolulu: Unviersity of Hawaii Press, 1990) takes a similar approach and comes to conclusions similar to Mitchell's.
192. Duus and Okimoto, "Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan: The Failure of a Concept," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 39 (November 1979): 65–76. A rejoinder is a letter from Hillary Conroy, *Journal of Asian Studies*, 40 (February 1981): 327–328.
193. Fletcher, "Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan," and *The Search for a New Order, Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan*.
194. Bix, "Rethinking 'Emperor-System Fascism,' " pp. 2–19. Recently H.D. Harootunian and others, including a number of his former students, have approached the issue from a new angle. Ignoring the disputations concerning the definition of "generic fascism" and political structures, they have honed in on perceived fascist proclivities in Japanese thought and culture. See Harootunian's *Overcome by Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), particularly the preface. The group held a conference "Culture and Fascism in Interwar Japan" at the University of California at Berkeley, March 16–17, 2001.
195. Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Japan*, pp. 333–339. Samuels supports Gordon's (and Maruyama's) interpretation in his new book, *Machiavelli's Children*. See, e.g., pp. 27–28.
196. A representative example is Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), pp. 153–156. Payne's *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* devotes less than ten pages out of 520 to Japan. Walter Laqueur, *Fascism Past, Present, Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 13 simply declares that 1930s Japan was not fascist.
197. Shunsuke Tsurumi, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan, 1931–1945* (London: KPI Limited, 1986), p. 24. Tsurumi credits Hashikawa Bunzo with developing this concept. Bernd Martin discusses how the education system, modeled on Germany's, promoted this bifurcation in *Japan and Germany in the Modern World*, p. 42.
198. Guillain, *I Saw Tokyo Burning*, p. 215.
199. Gunther, *Inside Asia*, p. 9.
200. Young, *Imperial Japan*, p. 238.
201. John Whitney Hall, *Japan from Prehistory to Modern Times* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1970), p. 342.
202. Quoted in McCormack, "Nineteen-Thirties Japan: Fascism?" p. 31.
203. On the control of such wartime organizations, see Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, pp. 280–286.
204. Laqueur, *Fascism, Past, Present, Future*, pp. 39–40.
205. Bix, "Rethinking 'Emperor-System Fascism,' " p. 4. Also, see Gordon's comments in *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Japan*, p. 337.
206. Or as Brooker puts it in *Faces of Fraternalism*, p. 314, "the Japanese state was in poorer shape than Japanese society to face the test of total war."
207. Guillain, *I Saw Tokyo Burning*, pp. 124–125.
208. Lamott, *Suzuki Looks at Japan*, pp. 38–39.
209. Gunther, *Inside Asia*, p. 64.
210. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*, pp. 181–182.
211. Guillain, *I Saw Tokyo Burning*, pp. 162–163.
212. A fascinating urban intellectual view of the wartime climate in Japan is provided in Kiyosawa, *A Diary of Darkness*. Also, Guillain, *I Saw Tokyo Burning*, pp. 110–116.

Matsumura argues in *More Than a Momentary Nightmare: The Yokohama Incident and Wartime Japan*, pp. 70–74 that secret police tactics became more severe after the outbreak of war with the United States and Great Britain.

213. Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, p. 225.
214. Kiyosawa, *A Diary of Darkness*, e.g., pp. 5, 8, 34–35, 48, 214–215, 227.
215. For example, Shillony, "Myth and Reality in Japan of the 1930s," pp. 84–85.
216. Guillain, *I Saw Tokyo Burning*, p. 191.
217. Kiyosawa, *A Diary of Darkness*, p. 300.
218. Gullain, *I Saw Tokyo Burning*, pp. 213–214.
219. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*, p. 184.
220. Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms*, especially chapters 5 and 6.
221. Brooker, *Faces of Fraternalism*, p. 308. Émile Durkheim coined the term "mechanical solidarity" to describe the functioning of traditional societies. See appendix II, pp. 318–324.
222. Blue, "Gobineau on China: Race, Theory, and the 'Yellow Peril,' and the Critique of Modernity," pp. 131–132. On Yamagata, see Shimazu, *Japan. Race and Equality*, p. 11 and Roger Hackett, *Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838–1922* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 269–275. On Ishiwara, see Mark Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 53–73.
223. Morris-Suzuki cogently analyzes conflicted prewar Japanese attitudes on race in *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*, pp. 79–109. Also see Michael Lewis, *Becoming Apart: National Power and Local Politics in Toyama, 1868–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), pp. 188–199.
224. Shimazu, *Japan, Race and Equality*, especially pp. 114–115.
225. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism*, pp. xvii–xviii.
226. Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan*, pp. 96–103 and Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms*, pp. 13–14. On the role of ethnology in forging a nonracial theory of Japanese identity see Kevin Doak, "Building National Identity through Ethnicity: Ethnology in Wartime Japan and After," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 27 (2001): 1–39.
227. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, pp. 96–100.
228. McCormack suggests this in "Nineteen-Thirties Japan: Fascism?" p. 32.
229. At least one scholar in the field of comparative fascism suggested as much. James Joes concluded the Japan chapter in his book *Fascism in the Contemporary World* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978), p. 155 by declaring that "Japan was fascist before the word was invented."
230. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, p. 304. See Brooker's comments on this issue in *Faces of Fraternalism*, p. 315.
231. Quoted in Wetzler, *Hirohito and War*, p. 9.

This page intentionally left blank

About the Authors

Klaus Antoni, a Japanologist with special interests in the fields of cultural anthropology and history of religious ideas in premodern and modern Japan, has held the chair for Japanese Cultural Studies at the Institute for Japanese Studies of Tübingen University since 1998. He earned his doctorate at the University of Freiburg, did postdoctoral studies at the University of Munich and previously held professorships at the universities of Hamburg and Trier (1993). His publications include *Shintō and die Konzeption des japanischen Nationalwesens (kokutai). Der religiöse Traditionalismus in Neuzeit und Moderne Japans* (Brill, 1998).

Gerhard Krebs, Professor of Japanese Studies at Berlin Free University, studied history, German linguistics and Japanese language in Hamburg, Freiburg/ Breisgau, Bonn, and Tokyo. He previously held positions as a member of the research staff at the German Institute of Japanese Studies in Tokyo and at the Institute for Military History in Potsdam, and taught at Waseda University and Freiburg University. His publications include *Japans Deutschpolitik 1935–41*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1984), which won the Japan-prize of the German East Asia Society (OAG) in Tokyo.

E. Bruce Reynolds, Professor of History at San Jose State University and director of the East Asian Regional Materials and Resources Center (EARMARC), earned his undergraduate and M.A. degrees at Central Missouri State University and his Ph.D. at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. He has published widely on Japanese–Thai relations and Thailand's role in World War II. His books include *Thailand and Japan's Southern Advance* (St. Martin's Press, 1994) and a forthcoming volume, *Thailand's Secret War: The Free, OSS and SOE During World War II*.

Walter A. Skya teaches East Asian and Japanese history in the Department of History at the College of William & Mary and previously taught at the University of Texas at Austin, Kenyon College, Loyola Marymount University, and the University of Victoria, British Columbia. He earned his undergraduate degree from the University of Washington and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago. He lived and studied (University of Tokyo) in Japan for over ten years. He specializes in modern Japanese political thought and is completing a book manuscript titled *The Emperor, Shinto Ultranationalism and Mass Mobilization in Twentieth Century Japan*.

Joseph P. Sottile received his M.A. in history from San Jose State University in 1999, and worked in the news media in Washington, D.C. from 1999 to 2003. He was a researcher and producer for The Center for Defense Information, and worked at The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer and C-SPAN. Currently he is producing two independent documentary film projects, and works as a freelance writer, producer, and researcher. He now resides in Northern California.

Christopher W.A. Szpilman, teaches Japanese intellectual history at Kyushu University and is currently a Visiting Scholar at the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies at Harvard University. He was visiting professor at the Japanese Culture Institute at Takushoku University from 1997 to 2003. After undergraduate work at the School of Oriental and Africa Studies at the University of London, he earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University. His recent publications on prewar Japanese politics include "Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion," in the May 2002 issue of *Modern Asian Studies*.

This page intentionally left blank

Index

We Trip The Light

FANTASTIC