



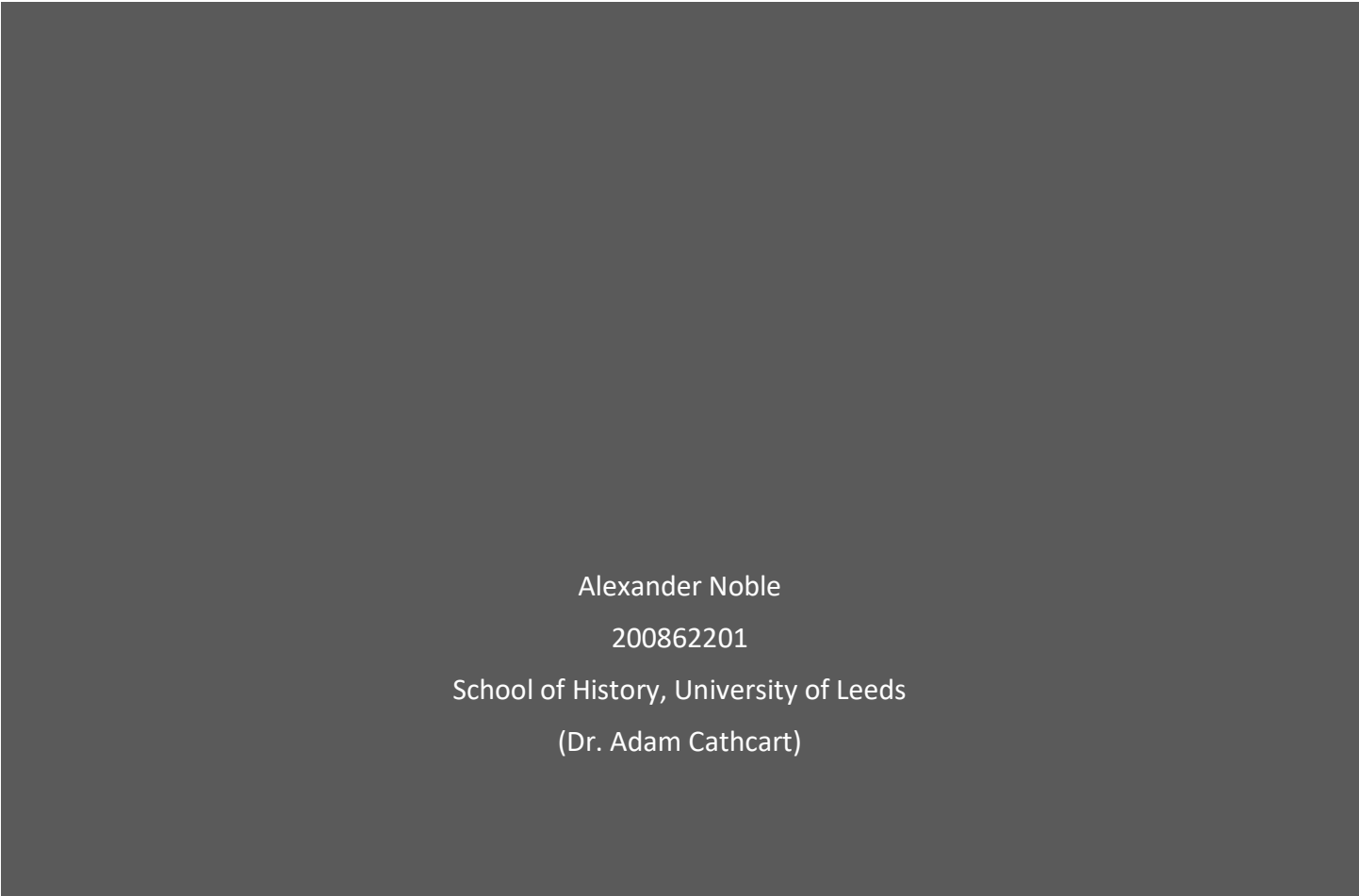
A STRING OF BROKEN DREAMS: PAN-ASIANISM FROM IDEOLOGY TO POLICY

Alexander Noble

200862201

School of History, University of Leeds

(Dr. Adam Cathcart)



Contents

Glossary	2
Introduction	7
Part I: The Dreamers – A Search for Identity (1850-1911)	14
Dreams of Difference	15
Tarui Tokichi and Anti-Western Solidarity	17
Fukuzawa Yukichi and ‘Abandoning Asia’	20
Okakura Kakuzō and the ‘Art of Peace’	23
Miyazaki Tōten and Sun Yat-sen	26
Emperor, State and People	29
Part II: An Uneasy Sleep – The Shallow Roots of Liberalism (1912-1931)	34
Struggles With Reform	35
Yoshino Sakuzō and Liberal Imperialism	38
Nitobe Inazō and Internationalism	43
Part III: Darker Thoughts: Prophets of Destruction (1931-1936)	48
Kita Ikki and the ‘Path to Heaven’	49
Ishiwara Kanji and the ‘Final War’	54
Part IV: Living Nightmares – Apostasy and Martyrdom (1936-1945)	58
Tokutomi Sohō and the ‘Gospel of Power’	59
Nagai Ryūtarō and Restorationism	63
Rōyama Masamachi and Bureaucratism	67
Ozaki Hotsumi – Apostate and Martyr	71
Konoe Fumimaro and the Poison Chalice	74
The ‘War to Destroy Evil’	78
Conclusion	83
Bibliography	87

(Han-)Ajiashugi – (汎)アジア主義 – (pan-)Asianism

An ideology which, nominally at least, promoted Asian solidarity and cooperation. Emerged mostly in the early 20th century, and like many pan-movements was often associated with nationalism and expansionism.

Genrō – 元老 – Elder Statesmen

A tiny group of political elites who served as advisors to the Emperor from 1868-1940. They wielded significant political influence and were allowed to select Prime Ministers. All members were part of the Meiji oligarchy.

Hakkō ichiu – 八紘一宇 – The Eight Corners of the World Under One Roof

A political slogan popularised during the Second Sino-Japanese War. It originated from a supposed statement by the legendary Emperor Jimmu about uniting the world under Imperial rule. The term was popularised by Nichiren Buddhist scholar, Tanaka Chigaku in the early twentieth century.

Heiminshugi – 平民主義 – Commonerism

A form of political advocacy which focused on the democratic rights of commoners as opposed to elites. Though it was not a social theory, it differed from *Minponshugi* in its advocacy of “People Power”.

Kokutai – 国体 – National Polity

A conservative conception of national polity, which focused on the eternal, immutable aspects of Japan’s “National Essence”. Rooted in identity, not just the structure of political authority. Positioned the Emperor as head of the *Kokutai*, rather than as an organ of the political state [*seitai*].

Kyōdōtai – 共同体 – Regional Community

An intellectual conception of regional, voluntary community which was later used in state rhetoric to promote Japan’s “pan-Asian” war aims.

***Meishuron* – 盟主論** – Japan-as-leader

Typically understood as a “type” of pan-Asianism which promoted Japanese leadership in Asia, as opposed to earlier “Sinic” and “Teaist” forms.

***Minponshugi* – 民本主義** – Imperial Democracy

A theory of politics promulgated by Yoshino Sakuzo, which emphasised the principle of people-based rule as opposed to people-led rule [*heiminshugi/minshushugi*].

***Minshushugi* – 民主主義** – People’s Democracy

A theory of politics derived from Western liberalism/democracy which advocated for the rule of “the people”, and equal representation of them in government.

***Ōdō* – 王道** – The Kingly Way

A Confucian ideal of “benevolent” Imperial rule, as opposed to “despotic” rule. Prevalent in Japanese discourse on Manchukuo in the 1930s, and more broadly in expansionist rhetoric.

***Shisōsen* – 思想戰** – Thought War

A term used to denote the moral war being waged with the West for ideological supremacy, this term was used interchangeably with ‘war of propaganda’ [*sendensen*]. Aimed to mobilise “national-thought” behind the state.

***Sonnō jōi* – 尊皇攘夷** – Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians

A political philosophy and social movement which emerged in the 1850s and 1860s opposing the Tokugawa Shogunate and Westernisation. Played a major role in the Meiji Restoration.

***Taisei Junnō* – 大勢順応** – World Trends

A conception of domestic politics which positions it within broader global political changes. Discourse primarily emerged in the 1920s/30s and emphasised the need to adapt in line with the successes and failures of certain political philosophies on a global scale.

Tenkō – 転向 – Ideological Reversal/Apostasy

Primarily refers to ‘political apostasy’ of Japanese socialists and liberals c. 1925-1945. *Tenkō* was either a direct renunciation of ideals, or a general abandonment of previous principles. *Tenkō* was often performed under duress or threat of imprisonment.

Zaibatsu – 財閥 – Business Conglomerates

Large industrial or financial conglomerates which exercised significant control over the Japanese economy from 1868-1945. These conglomerates were heavily involved in politics and overseas expansionism, especially in Manchuria.

Note on Text

Japanese/Chinese names are given in the order Surname, First Name. Romanisation uses the Hepburn and Pīnyīn systems. Proper nouns are not italicised.

“When we pursue a dream in a world of dreams, we enter yet another dream. So let me sing of fallen flowers. Let me act out a play of fallen flowers”

Miyazaki Tōten, 1902

Introduction

The transformation of pan-Asianism offers a fascinating insight into the multi-faceted nature of policy formation and the malleability of ideology. While pan-Asianism has typically been understood as an ideology driven by ultranationalists, and a legitimising discourse promoting Japanese expansionism, this dissertation attempts to examine the moderate, liberal and internationalist roots of the ideology.¹ Furthermore, it challenges assertions that the 1930s represented a political breaking point from the 1920s, and instead demonstrates the gradualist

¹ For works on nationalism concerning pan-Asianism see: Delmer M. Brown, *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California, 1955); Hilary Conroy, 'Government versus "Patriot": The Background of Japan's Asiatic Expansion', *Pacific Historical Review*, 20 (1951), 31-42; Hilary Conroy, 'Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism', *The American Historical Review*, 60 (1955), 818-829; Richard Storry, *A History of Modern Japan* (London: Cassell, 1960); Richard Storry, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957); Herbert E. Norman, 'The Genyosha: A Study in the Origins of Japanese Imperialism', *Pacific Affairs*, 17 (1944), 261-284, (p. 261).

For recent works about pan-Asianism which focus on nationalism see: Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011); Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007); Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War: 1931-45* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

For view of liberalism and pan-Asianism as incompatible see: J. Victor Koschmann, 'Asianism's Ambivalent Legacy', in *Network Power: Japan and Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1997), pp. 83-112, (p. 84).

For contemporary collation of nationalism and pan-Asianism see: Charles B. Fahs, 'Recent Japanese Politics', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 193 (1937), 145-149.

For sources on ultranationalist pan-Asianism see: Genyōsha Shashi Hensankai, *Genyōsha Shashi* [The Official History of the Genyōsha] (Tokyo: Genyōsha Shashi Hensankai, 1917), trans. by Joel Joos, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 64-68; Kokuryūkai, 'Kokuryūkai Sōritsu Shui' [Foundation Gist of the Kokuryūkai] (1901), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 126-127; Uchida Ryōhei, 'Jo' [Preface], in *Ajia Taikan* [Overview of Asia], ed. by Kokuryūkai Shuppanbu (Tokyo: Kokuryūkai Shuppanbu, 1918), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 127-128; Uchida Ryōhei, 'The Asian Review and the Kokuryū-kai', *The Asian Review*, 1 (1920), 3-5, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 128-130.

transformation of political thought.² Since Tsurumi Shunsuke's seminal work these transformations have typically been understood as acts of *tenkō* [political apostasy], but this explanation fails to fully explain how Taishō liberalism laid the foundations for Shōwa authoritarianism.³ Consequently, preconceived notions of ideologies have limited understanding of how "liberals" came to accept and support exclusionary, authoritarian government. I seek to humanise these intellectuals, who are often portrayed at various extremes, to rationalise their actions, and hence provide an explanation for this ideological shift.⁴ For this examination of prominent intellectuals, pan-Asianism provides invaluable insight into the ever-changing conceptions of identity and international role.

Pan-Asianism was first portrayed by Takeuchi Yoshima as a 'tendency' in thought, rather than an ideology with 'clearly identifiable contents'; regrettably this non-doctrinal approach often lies forgotten.⁵ As a highly diverse and fragmented "ideology", historiography on pan-

² Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*; W. G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963); James L. McClain, *Japan: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002); Yasaka Takaki, 'World Machinery and the Asia Monroe Doctrine' (1932), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), II, pp. 43-54.

For assertions of military takeover see: H. Vere Redman, 'Japan governed by "the Camp"' (1934), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), I, pp. 48-55; Frederick Moore, *With Japan's Leaders: An Intimate Record of Fourteen Years as Counsellor to the Japanese Government, Ending December 7, 1941* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), p. 14; Hilary Conroy, 'Japan's War in China: An Ideological Somersault', *Pacific Historical Review*, 21 (1952), 367-379.

³ For seminal works on *tenkō* see: Shunsuke Tsurumi, 'Tenko kenkyū', in *Tsurumi Shunsuke shū*, 9 vols (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1991), IV; Shunsuke Tsurumi, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan, 1931-1945* (London: KPI, 1982); Masao Maruyama, *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, ed. by Ivan Morris (London: Oxford University, 1963).

For a detailed analysis of state efforts to induce *tenkō* see: Max Ward, *The Problem of "Thought": Crisis, National Essence and the Interwar Japanese State* (Michigan: UMI Dissertation Publishing, 2011), pp. 109-349.

⁴ For failure to attribute war-responsibility to moderates see: Kevin M. Doak, 'Building National Identity through Ethnicity: Ethnology in Wartime Japan and After', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 27 (2001), 1-39, pp. 2-3.

⁵ Takeuchi Yoshima, 'The Prospect of Asianism', in *Asianism in Modern Japanese Thought*, IX, p. 12, cited in Sven Saaler, *Pan-Asianism in Meiji and Taisho Japan – A Preliminary Framework* (Tokyo: German Institute of Japanese Studies, 2002), p. 64.

Asianism remains in its nascent phase, with only three comprehensive works in English.⁶

Likewise, there are only a few major books, even in Japanese, on Taishō politics; and English-language literature has inevitably lagged.⁷ This work attempts to synthesise a broad array of histories, biographies and primary sources to present an account that cuts across the dominant narrative threads, examining pan-Asianism's intellectual and reformist nature within a political context. While existing literature regarding pan-Asianism concerns itself foremost with overseas activism, I attempt a re-interpretation situated in domestic politics.⁸ Foremost, this dissertation is an examination of moderate intellectuals who have received little attention as a consequence of standing outside mainstream narratives about the growth of Japanese nationalism.⁹ Though many of these individuals have been positioned as diametrically opposed,

For a good introduction to the historiography on pan-Asianism see: Cemil Aydin, 'Japan's Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order, 1931-1945', *Japan Focus*, 6 (2008), pp. 1-32.

For the only overview of global pan-movements see: Louis L. Synder, *Macro-Nationalism: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984).

For the relation of pan-movements to totalitarianism see Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2004), pp. 287-340.

⁶ The three comprehensive works are: Saaler, *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*; Saaler, *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History*; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

⁷ There are only three detailed English-language works on Taishō politics: Peter Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1968); Sharon Minichiello, *Retreat From Reform: Patterns of Political Behaviours in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984); Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian, *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974).

For a detailed history of Japanese democracy and political thought see: Robert A. Scalapino, *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan: The Failure of the First Attempt* (Berkeley: University of California, 1967).

⁸ Saaler, *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*; Saaler, *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History*; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

⁹ For works about nationalism see: Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*; W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism: 1894-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*; Conroy, 'Government versus "Patriot"'; Conroy, 'Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism'; Stephen S. Large, 'Nationalist Extremism in Early Shōwa Japan: Inoue Nisshō and the 'Blood-Pledge Corps Incident', 1932', *Modern Asian Studies*, 35 (2001), 533-564; Hillis Lory, *Japan's Military Masters* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973); Sven Saaler, 'The Kokuryukai (Black Dragon Society) and the Rise of Nationalism, Pan-Asianism, and Militarism in Japan, 1901-1925', *International Journal of Asian*

this is vastly reductionist and fails to account for their transition from anti-government activists, to reformists, to state supporters. Indeed, the delineation between “pro” and “anti-Western”, or “liberal” and “illiberal” is often a false one, which fails to realise the complexity of individual ideologies.¹⁰ It is vital to forget preconceived notions of ideological frameworks, liberalism could be highly imperialist, internationalism could be regionalist, and resultantly the ‘liberals’ of the 1920s bore striking resemblance to the ‘fascists’ of the 1930s.¹¹ Even the ideologies of the most extreme “rightists” of the pre-war period did not neatly align with those of the state; they

Studies, 11 (2014), 125-160; Sven Saaler, ‘The Kokuryūkai, 1901-1920’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 121-126.

¹⁰ For this delineation see: Matsumoto Kenichi, ‘Okakura Tenshin and the Ideal of Pan-Asianism’, in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, ed. by Brij Tankha (New Delhi: Global Oriental, 2009), pp. 11-21; Brij Tankha, ‘Okakura Tenshin: “Asia is One,” 1903’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 93-96; Brij Tankha, ‘Okakura Tenshin: Writing a Good History upon a Modern Plan’, in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, ed. by Brij Tankha (New Delhi: Global Oriental, 2009), pp. 27-48.

For works which better represent this complexity see: Peter Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō: The Tactical Dilemmas of Reform’, in *Personality in Japanese History*, ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 399-424; Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Dick Stegewerns, ‘The dilemma of nationalism and internationalism in modern Japan: national interest, Asian brotherhood, imperial cooperation or world citizenship?’, in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 3-16.

¹¹ For similar literature on the origins of totalitarianism in a European context see: Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Effects of National Socialism*, trans. By Jean Steinberg (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), pp. 183-204; Bracher, pp. 342-358; William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930-1935* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966), pp. 47-64; Kurt Sontheimer, ‘Anti-democratic Thought in the Weimar Republic’, in *The Path to Dictatorship, 1918-1933*, trans. by John Conway (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), pp. 32-49; Gregory M. Luebbert, *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe* (New York: Oxford University, 1991), pp. 234-316; Renzo De Felice, *Interpretations of Fascism*, trans. by Brenda Everett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977); Arendt; Juan J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

For theoretical work on the continuity between democracy, reformism and authoritarianism see: J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1952).

For works which suggest Shōwa imperialism was a reaction against rather than continuity of Taishō liberalism see: Shūichi Katō, ‘Taishō Democracy as the Pre-Stage for Japanese Militarism’, in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 217-236, (p. 218).

had complex motivations outside of nationalism, and often opposed the very policies they set in motion.

Early discussion of pan-Asianism was overwhelmingly simplistic, with Delmer Brown describing pan-Asian expansionism as ‘fanaticall[y]’ nationalist.¹² There remains a tendency to ascribe pan-Asian thought to long-term nationalism, embedded in the Japanese national psyche.¹³ Though the recent works by Eri Hotta, Sven Saaler and Christopher Szpilman successfully challenge the assumption that pan-Asianism was purely a legitimising strategy, their narratives are a polarising ones, which overemphasise ideological dichotomies, despite claims to represent pan-Asianism’s amorphous nature.¹⁴ Their analyses of pan-Asianism as primarily a form of ‘cultural regionalism’ are certainly useful, as this represented the mainstream of pan-Asianism, yet by focusing so intently on culturalist pan-Asianism they fail to fully represent reformist tendencies.¹⁵ By examining activists rather than intellectuals, Szpilman and Saaler narrate pan-Asianism’s gradual transition from anti-government activism to state ideology, without necessarily explaining it. Attempts to narrowly define any ideology or faction are limited, and Hotta’s three categorisations of pan-Asianism are oversimplistic, homogenising

¹² Brown, *Nationalism in Japan*, p. vi; Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, p. 2.

¹³ Frederick Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2001).

¹⁴ For generalist characterisations of pan-Asianism as legitimising discourse see: John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993); L. M. Cullen, *A History of Japan, 1582-1941: Internal and External Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Bruno Lasker, ‘Propaganda as an Instrument of National Policy’, *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 152-160, (p. 155).

For examples of legitimising discourse see: Arita Hachirō, *Japan’s Diplomacy: Its Aims and Principles* (Tokyo: The Japan Times & Mail, 1939); Emperor Hirohito, ‘The Jewel Voice Broadcast’ [Gyokuon-hōsō] (1945) <<http://www.worldwar2.org/p/jewel-voice-broadcast-was-radio.html>> [Accessed 07 April 2017]; *Imperial Rescript Relating to The Declaration of War on the United States and Great Britain* (1941) <<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/21651/lot/242/>> [Accessed 07 April 2017].

¹⁵ Christopher W. A. Szpilman, and Sven Saaler, ‘Pan-Asianism as an Ideal of Asian Identity and Solidarity, 1850-Present’, *Japan Focus*, 9 (2011), 1-29, (p. 25).

varied strands of thought.¹⁶ These problems, present throughout the historiography, can be traced to a sharp periodisation of “Taishō democracy” and “Shōwa fascism”, which emphasises ideological distinctions between the two.¹⁷ The major works on pan-Asianism have largely ignored internationalism in the 1920s as irrelevant to 1930s regionalism; even Saaler and Szpilman’s ground-breaking seventy-four chapter collection contains only three chapters on Japan in the 1920s.¹⁸ However, ideas of regionalism which arose during the Taishō period played a crucial role in policy formation in the 1930s, and demonstrate the continuity and malleability of liberal idealism. By taking an approach which chronologically divides phases of pan-Asianism, the historiography commonly asserts that concurrently holding internationalist and regionalist beliefs was contradictory.¹⁹ The failure to resolve these apparent contradictions in pan-Asian thought is one of the key flaws of the historiography. It lends itself heavily to the *tenkō* narrative, by suggesting betrayal rather than a complex continuity, which is only discernible through a deeper analysis of domestic politics and “world trends”.²⁰ Max Ward’s

¹⁶ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War*.

¹⁷ Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*; Gregory J. Kasza, ‘Fascism from below? A Comparative Perspective on the Japanese Right, 1931-1936’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19 (1984), 607-629; Masataka Kosaka, ‘The Showa Era (1926-1989)’, *Daedalus*, 119 (1990), 27-47; McClain; Shūichi, p. 217.

For the particular details of the Taishō periodisation debate see: Bernard S. Silberman, ‘Conclusion: Taishō Japan and the Crisis of Secularism’, in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 437-454.

¹⁸ Saaler, *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*.

¹⁹ For assertions of contradiction see: Christopher W. A. Szpilman, ‘Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 36 (2002), 467-490; Christopher W. A. Szpilman, ‘Kita Ikki: “An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution,” 1915, and “The Outline of a Plan for the Reconstruction of Japan”, 1919’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 271-275.

²⁰ For examples of failures to resolve these “contradictions” see: Mutō Shūtarō, ‘Hirano Yoshitarō: “The Historical Basis of Greater Asianism,” 1915’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 271-275.

For detailed theoretical studies of Japanese fascism which links it into broader global trends see: Scalapino.

studies of fascism stand apart in this regard, portraying *tenkō* as a reconstruction of intellectual 'subject-position', rather than a negation of ideology.²¹ Attempts to simply categorise “pro” and “anti-Westernism”, “liberalism” and “authoritarianism”, “nationalism” and “internationalism”, “socialism” and “elitism”, have failed to appreciate the nuance which allowed for liberal internationalists to slowly become part of an authoritarian state without ideological inconsistency. Though the individuals described herein were largely anti-government activists or reformists, all of them played a crucial role in state ideology. The failure to include their stories is a failure to understand how any state can transform from a liberal one to an authoritarian one.

For a re-positioning of *tenkō* among broader global trends see: Ward, *The Problem of “Thought”*.

²¹ Ward, *The Problem of “Thought”*, pp. 183-184.

Part I:
The Dreamers – A Search for Identity
(1850-1911)

Dreams of Difference

Perhaps pan-Asianism is best understood as a struggle for Japan's soul, as part of an evolving discourse on national identity.²² While it would be ill-advised to swallow wholesale interpretations which ascribed the rise of Japanese militarism to its particular mythos, these concepts provoked decades of ideological contestation.²³ Certainly, Japan's cosmogenic Shinto myth, in which the Emperor Jimmu, a "deity incarnate", was descended from the Sun goddess, Amaterasu, was central to state structure.²⁴ Yet, this myth was only codified in 712AD in the *Kojiki* as an exercise in legitimisation.²⁵ Over a millennia later, echoes of this can be found in the reforging of Emperor Jimmu's supposed pronouncement that he would 'unite the world under one roof' [*hakkō ichiu*] into a "pan-Asian" 'charter for holy war'.²⁶

Perpetuation of Japan's exceptionality narrative, which was central to *Meishuron*

[Japan-as-leader] Pan-Asianism, continued throughout its transition to modernity, with the

²² Kevin M. Doak, 'The concept of ethnic nationality and its role in Pan-Asianism in imperial Japan', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 168-182; Robert M. Spaulding, 'Japan's Search for Cultural Identity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14 (1972), 514-520.

²³ Conroy, 'Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism', p. 820; Kuno Yoshi S., *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*, 3 vols (Berkeley: University of California, 1937), p. 1; George Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1931, p. 22; Synder, p. 5.

²⁴ Henshall (1999), 112.

For the role of "national spirit" in policy see: Baier, Karl, 'A Zen Nazi in Wartime Japan: Part II: The Formation and Principles of Count Durckheim's Nazi Worldview and his interpretation of Japanese Spirit and Zen', *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 11 (2013), <<http://apjpf.org/2013/11/48/Karl-Baier/4041/article.html>> [Accessed 07 April 2017].

²⁵ Henshall, Kenneth G., *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), p. 2; Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, p. 176; Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, p. 21.

²⁶ Walter Edward, 'Forging Tradition for a Holy War: The "Hakkō Ichiu" Tower in Miyazaki and Japanese Wartime Ideology', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 29 (2003), 289-324, (pp. 289-291); Owen Griffiths, 'Militarizing Japan: Patriotism, Profit, and Children's Print Media, 1894-1925', *Japan Focus*, 9 (2007), 1-30, (p. 3); Matsumoto, Gaku, 'Eastern Culture and Its Peculiar Features', *Cultural Nippon*, 8 (1940), 1-15.

For claims of xenophobic tendencies in Japanese identity see: Gilbert Rozman, 'Internationalism and Asianism in Japanese Strategic Thought From Meiji to Heisei', *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 9 (2008), 209-232.

widespread belief in Japan's supernaturalism evidenced by the work of late Tokugawa nativist scholars, like Hirata Atsutane, who called Japan 'Land of the Kami [Gods]'.²⁷ Yet, indicatively, Hirata railed against Sinified elements of Shintoism, and declared a 'world of difference' between Japan and its neighbours.²⁸ The idea of an "Asia" was a relatively new one, with notions of Asian solidarity only popularised in the aftermath of the First Opium War (1839-42) and "Asianism" [*Ajiashugi*] entering mainstream discourse in the 1910s.²⁹ Indeed, the initial reaction to notions of "Asia" were primarily those of distaste, with the scholar Yamagata Bantō decrying the naming of continents by Westerners as a great shame.³⁰ Yet, for the most part, reactions to Westernisation were mixed. More representative of the ideological contest between East and West was Hirata's *August Pillars of the Soul*, which, while comparing the

²⁷ Hirata Atsutane, cited in Wilburn Hansen, *When Tengu Talk: Hirata Atsutane's Ethnography of the Other World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2008), p. 1.

For culturalist interpretations based on Tokugawa/Meiji ethnography see: Thomas David DuBois, 'Local Religion and the Imperial Imaginary: The Development of Japanese Ethnography in Occupied Manchuria', *The American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), 52-74; Annette Schad-Seifert, 'Constructing national identities: Asia, Japan and Europe in Fukuzawa Yukichi's theory of civilization', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 45-68

²⁸ Hirata, cited in Hansen, p. 1.

²⁹ Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 'Introduction: The Emergence of Pan-Asianism as an Ideal of Asian Identity and Solidarity, 1850-2008', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 1-42, (p. 5); Szpilman, 'Pan-Asianism as an Ideal of Asian Identity and Solidarity', p. 3.

For emergence of the idea of Asia see: Matsuda Koichiro, 'The Concept of "Asia" before Pan-Asianism', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 45-48, (p. 45).

For the emergence of the term Asianism, see: Sven Saaler, 'Pan-Asianism during and after World War I: Kōdera Kenkichi (1916), Sawayanagi Masatarō (1919), and Sugita Teiichi (1920)', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 255-260, (p. 258); Kōdera Kenkichi, *Dai Ajiashugiron* [Treatise on Greater Asianism] (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1916), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 260-262.

³⁰ Matsuda, p. 46; Yamagata Bantō, 'Yumenoshiro' [A Castle of Dreams] (1820), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 48-49, (p. 49); Aizawa Yushushi, 'Teiki-ihen' [A Guide to Morals] (1833), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 49.

appearance of Dutch to ‘dogs’, admired their ‘patient and deliberate’ nature.³¹ This conflict would come to define Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa politics, and was reflected by the ever-changing ideologies of pan-Asianists. The shadows of Westernisation and modernisation were splayed across the nation, contesting and co-mingling to create a national identity which was constantly in turmoil.

Tarui Tokichi and Anti-Western Solidarity

Early pan-Asianism was primarily an anti-government discourse aimed at uniting Asian peoples, emphasising cultural commonalities and assailing the growth of Western influence.³² It arose during a period of widespread anti-Western sentiment, epitomised by the “Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians” movement of the late Tokugawa period.³³ This, in turn, led to a reappraisal of Sino-Japanese ‘mutual relations’, signified by Hirano Kuniomi’s remark that to cooperate with Westerners would be ‘tantamount to [...] attacking China’.³⁴ Shortly thereafter more concrete efforts emerged, with the founding of the Kōa-kai [Raising Asia Society] in

³¹ Hansen, p. 30; Hirata Atsutane, in Hansen, p. 169.

³² Sven Saaler, ‘Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history: overcoming the nation, creating a region, forging an empire’ in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1-18, (p. 3); Hirano Kuniomi, ‘Seiban Sosaku’ [Fundamental Measures for Expelling the Barbarians] (1863), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, p. 50; Koschmann, ‘Asianism’s Ambivalent Legacy’, p. 84.

³³ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to Present* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2003), p. 112; Kuroki Morifumi, ‘The Asianism of Kōa-kai and the Ajia Kyōkai’, in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 34-51, (p. 34).

³⁴ Hirano, ‘Seiban Sosaku’, p. 53.

For similar, early, notions of Asian solidarity see: Katsu, Kaishū, *Excerpt from Katsu Kaishū Zenshū* [Collected Writings of Katsu Kaishū], trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 51.

1880.³⁵ While the Kōa-kai bemoaned the ‘failure of states to rely on each other’ and cited unification as the ‘most urgent task’ facing Asia, it is important to note that it was not fanatically committed to Asian nationalism, and even allowed Western members.³⁶ Primarily, then, this was an association for Sinophilic Meiji intellectuals; with Chinese as the *lingua franca* for this almost exclusively Japanese organisation.³⁷ Yet its membership indicated ambivalent attitudes towards Sino-Japanese relations, with the Qing reformer Wang Tao writing an article, ‘On the Evils of the Kōa-kai’, in 1880, assailing the duplicitous nature of an organisation which included Yanagihara Sakimitsu and Dane Munenari, architects of an attempt to force an unequal treaty on China, and Soejime Taneomi, who was involved in the 1874 invasion of

³⁵ Katsu, p. 51; Urs Matthias Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai (Raising Asia Society) and the Ajia Kyōkai (Asia Association), 1880-1883’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 53-58, (p. 53); Sven Saaler, ‘Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history’, p. 4; Kuroki Morifumi, ‘The Asianism of Kōa-kai and the Ajia Kyōkai’, in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 34-51, (p. 36); Sven Saaler, ‘The Construction of Regionalism in Modern Japan: Kōdera Kenkichi and His “Treatise on Greater Asianism” (1916)’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 41 (2007), 1261-1294.

For theoretical foundations of *Kōa* [Raising Asia] see: Michael A. Schneider, ‘Kōa—Raising Asia: Arai Sei and Inoue Masaji’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 69-70; Inoue Masaji, *Excerpt from Kyōjin Arai Sei, Tsuketari Jūni Risshiden* [The Giant Arai Sei, Including the Lives of Twelve Patriots], (Sakura Shobō, 1910), pp. 145-57, trans. by Michael A. Schneider in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 71-72.

³⁶ Kōakai, *Kōakai Hōkoku* [Foundation Manifesto of the Kōakai] (1880), trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 57-58, (p. 58); Kuroki, p. 42; Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 57.

For the founding manifesto of its successors, the Ajia Kyōkai and Tōa Dōbunkai, see Ajia Kyōkai, *Ajia Kyōkai Hōkoku* [Foundation Manifesto of the Ajia Kyōkai] (1883), trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 59-60; Urs Matthias Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of the Tōa Dōbunkai (East Asian Common Culture Society), 1898’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 115-119; Tōa Dōbunkai, ‘Tōa Dōbunkai shuisho’ [Manifesto of the East Asian Common Culture Society], *Tōa Jiron*, 1 (1898), 1, trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, p. 119.

³⁷ Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 55.

Taiwan.³⁸ It lacked elite support, and was primarily composed of individuals opposed to the Satsuma-Chōshū oligarchy.³⁹ Indeed, the society was subject to biting condemnations by Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Meiji reformer, and Hinohara Shozo, who stated that the formation of the society was ‘unfathomable’ and that he’d prefer a ‘Leaving Asia Society’.⁴⁰ The society’s membership reflected its lack of popularity, and by 1894 it had only 200 members.⁴¹

This earliest stage of pan-Asianism is probably best characterised by Tarui Tokichi, a member of the *sonnō jōi* movement, who later became an activist in the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement, and played an integral role in introducing socialism to Japan (a recurring theme among pan-Asianists).⁴² Tarui’s main contribution to the development of pan-Asian ideology came in 1893 with the publication of ‘Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East’, a mainstay of early interventionist pan-Asianism, which argued for the unification of Japan and Korea in anticipation of ‘the forthcoming unification of the world’.⁴³ Tarui’s

³⁸ Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 56.

³⁹ Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 56; Saaler, *Pan-Asianism in Meiji and Taisho Japan*, p. 19.

⁴⁰ Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 57; Hinohara Shozo, cited in Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 57.

For a similar statement by Ōkuma see: Urs Matthias Zachmann, ‘Konoe Atsumaro and the Idea of an Alliance of the Yellow Race, 1898’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 85-89, (p. 87).

⁴¹ Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 54; Zachmann, ‘The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai’, p. 57.

⁴² Kim Kyu Hyun, ‘Tarui Tōkichi’s Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East, 1893’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 73-77, (p. 73-74).

There are no English-language biographies of Tarui, for the best overview see: Kim, ‘Tarui Tōkichi’s Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East, 1893’.

For early governmental dislike of pan-Asianism see: Saaler, Sven, ‘Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history’.

For *sonnō jōi* see: Source 4: Hirano, ‘Seiban Sosaku’, p. 50.

⁴³ Kim, ‘Tarui Tōkichi’s Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East, 1893’, p. 75; Tarui Tōkichi, *Daitō Gappōron* [Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East] (1893), trans. by Kyu Hyun Kim, in *Pan-Asianism: A*

‘Arguments’ assailed the corruption of the Korean government ‘like a field of grain eaten by worms’, and suggested that without Japanese “assistance” they would fall to the ‘sharp fangs’ of the ‘White race’. ⁴⁴ Thus, although the piece notes the values of Korean culture and hints at equality, it fails to understand Korean perspectives in any meaningful way, a shortcoming typical of pan-Asianists and Japanese politics in general. ⁴⁵ Tarui’s ideology, characterised by an anti-government streak, was representative of many strains of culturalist pan-Asianism that followed, and the response of the government was similar to that resulting from the army activism of the 1930s which similarly endangered government attempts to modernise and join the ranks of “respectable” nations.

Fukuzawa Yukichi and ‘Abandoning Asia’

The spectre of Western oppression seemingly left Japan with just two alternatives, to unite in defiance against or to submit to the new world order. ⁴⁶ The paramount “liberal” of the Meiji era, Fukuzawa Yukichi is often held aloft as a beacon of pro-Westernisation. ⁴⁷ Yet his critique of Asian culture came to play a crucial role in pan-Asian ideologies, and would continue

Documentary History, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 77-83, (p. 78).

⁴⁴ Tarui, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁵ Tarui, p. 82; Kim, ‘Tarui Tōkichi’s Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East, 1893’, p. 77.

⁴⁶ Saaler, ‘Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history’, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Urs Matthias Zachmann, ‘Blowing Up a Double Portrait in Black and White: The Concept of Asia in the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi and Okakura Tenshin’, *East Asia Cultures Critiques*, 15 (2007), 345-368, (p. 346); Kevin M. Doak, ‘Liberal nationalism in imperial Japan: the dilemma of nationalism and internationalism’, in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), 17-42, (p. 25); Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, p. 30.

There are several biographies of Fukuzawa, the most recent is: Albert Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2009).

to influence Japanese liberalism long after his death. Coming from a low-ranking samurai family, Fukuzawa was fascinated by Western culture, studying at a Dutch School in Osaka in 1854, and later becoming a member of the first diplomatic mission to the United States in 1859.⁴⁸ Upon his return, he found Japan at the 'height of the anti-foreign movement', and became a central figure in attempts to reorient towards the West.⁴⁹ His self-purported aim was to civilise Japan, to make it 'strong in military might, prosperous in trade', a pre-emption of statist rhetoric.⁵⁰ Most famous were his statements in 'On Abandoning Asia' (1885), where he stated that Japan 'could not wait' for its neighbours to become civilised, that it must 'leave the ranks of Asian nations' and 'cast [its] lot with the civilised nations'.⁵¹

While commonly associated with "aggressive" Westernisation, it should be noted that Fukuzawa thought that Western civilisation was 'by no means perfect', rather, he likened it to an epidemic of measles, something which threatened great harm, but could also fortify the state.⁵² In criticising Asia and saying that Japan must 'abandon false friends', he did not refer to

⁴⁸ Albert Craig, 'Fukuzawa Yukichi', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 32-34, (p. 32); Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, p. 30.

⁴⁹ Fukuzawa Yukichi, *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, trans. by Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1899:1948), p. 150; Eugene Soviak, 'The Case of Baba Tatsui. Western Enlightenment, Social Change and the Early Meiji Intellectual', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 18 (1963), 191-235, (p. 191); Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, p. 30; McClain, p. 292.

⁵⁰ Fukuzawa, cited in Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, p. 30; Saaler, *Pan-Asianism in Meiji and Taisho Japan*, p. 4.

⁵¹ Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Datsu-A Ron* [On Leaving Asia], trans. by Dwight Tat Wai Kwok, in *A Translation of Datsu-A Ron: Decoding a Prewar Japanese Nationalistic Theory* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2009: 1885), pp. 38-40; Fukuzawa, cited in Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, p. 31; Miwa Kimitada, 'Pan-Asianism in modern Japan: nationalism, regionalism and universalism' in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 21-33, (p. 23); Prasenjit Duara, 'The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism', *Journal of World History*, 12 (2001), 99-130, (p. 101); McClain, p. 293; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 54; Zachmann, 'The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai', p. 57; Fukuzawa, *Datsu-A Ron*, p. 17.

⁵² Zachmann, 'Blowing Up a Double Portrait in Black and White', p. 352; Duara, 'The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism', p. 101; Fukuzawa, cited in Mikiso Hane, 'Early Meiji Liberalism. An Assessment', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 24 (1969), 353-371, (p. 361); Fukuzawa, *Datsu-A Ron*, p. 38.

Asia as a geographical concept, but rather to Chinese despotism, to cultural conservatism rooted in old customs.⁵³ Fukuzawa penned a number of works aimed at introducing Western ideas, *Conditions in the West* (1866); *An Encouragement of Learning* (1872); and *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation* (1875), which redefined many of the ideas of John Stuart-Mill's *On Liberty*, stating that the Japanese should not 'adhere to old customs blindly'.⁵⁴ Thus, he examined the causes behind Japanese 'deficien[cies] in knowledge and virtue', defining the world in cosmopolitan terms, and criticising the suppression of the individual voice; emphasising the importance of modernisation and education, lest Japan slip into the despotic chaos of China.⁵⁵ Hence, Fukuzawa came to play an important role in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, believing that without popular mobilisation and agency state building would be doomed to failure.⁵⁶ Fukuzawa's advocacy of Westernisation played a crucial role in defining Japan's leadership role, ironically providing the basis for culturalist *Meishuron* pan-Asianism,

For Fukuzawa's nationalism see: Doak, 'Liberal nationalism in imperial Japan'.

For examples of Japan's complex relation with Westernisation see: Nakae Chōmin, *Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government*, trans. Nobuko Tsukui (1887:1984); Helen M. Hopper, 'Mori Ōgai's Response to Suppression of Intellectual Freedom, 1909-12', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29 (1974), 318-413, (p. 382-383).

⁵³ Fukuzawa, *Datsu-A Ron*, p. 40; Zachmann, 'Blowing Up a Double Portrait in Black and White', p. 350.

For early views of Chinese despotism see: The Far East, 'Alleged Understanding between Great Britain and Japan', *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 8 (1897), 319-323; The Far East, 'The Evolution of Japanese Politics', *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 2 (1896), 4-10; The Far East, 'The Tendency in the Recent History of Japan', *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 2 (1896), 1-4.

⁵⁴ Mikiso Hane, 'The Sources of English Liberal Concepts in Early Meiji Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 24 (1969), 259-272, (p. 259-262); Fukuzawa, cited in Schad-Seifert, p. 50; Fukuzawa, *Datsu-A Ron*, p. 38; Fukuzawa Yukichi, 'An Outline of a Theory of Civilization' [Bunmeiron no Gairyaku] (1875), in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 34-41.

⁵⁵ Fukuzawa, 'An Outline of a Theory of Civilization', p. 40; Mikiso, 'The Sources of English Liberal Concepts in Early Meiji Japan', p. 262; Peter Duus, 'Nagai Ryūtarō and the "White Peril", 1905-1944', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1971), 41-48, (p. 41); Schad-Seifert, p. 62.

⁵⁶ Doak, 'Liberal nationalism in imperial Japan', pp. 25-26; Germaine A Hoston., 'The State, Modernity, and the Fate of Liberalism in Prewar Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 51 (1992), 287-316, (p. 294); David J. Huish, 'The Meirokusha: Some Grounds for Reassessment', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 31 (1972), 208-229; Massimiliano Tomasi, 'Oratory in Meiji and Taisho Japan: Public Speaking and the Formation of a New Written Language', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 57 (2002), 43-71.

and demonstrating the complex inter-play between pro- and anti-Western ideologies, and the lack of clear delineation between the two.⁵⁷

Okakura Kakuzō and the 'Art of Peace'

The 'labyrinth of contradictions' which wove their way into Japanese society produced a pan-Asianism that defied easy definition.⁵⁸ If Fukuzawa is typically seen as the antithesis of early pan-Asianism, then Okakura was his opposite, 'the leader of a united Asian resistance'.⁵⁹ Yet, neither is so simply understood.⁶⁰ One of the earliest trilingual thinkers in Japan, Okakura's studies at Kaisei Gakko immersed him in the philosophies, languages, and arts of China and Japan.⁶¹ A professional Sinologist, he travelled to China throughout the 1890s, carrying out extensive surveys of Chinese art, and in 1890 he was made head of the Tokyo Fine Arts Academy.⁶² Okakura played a central role positioning Japan within the new world order, but his

⁵⁷ For later conceptions of Japan as a 'museum' see: Inazō Nitobe, 'Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Inazō Nitobe, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931) pp. 1-24, (p. 17).

For early advocacy of Japanese "leadership see: Ozaki Yukio, 'Our Ambition', *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 4 (1896), 9-13; The Far East, 'The Evolution of Japanese Politics'; The Far East, 'The Tendency in the Recent History of Japan'.

For early culturalist pan-Asianism see: Konoe Atsumaro, 'Dōjinshu Dōmei, Tsuketari Shina Mondai Kenkyū no Hitsuyō', [An Alliance of the Same Race and the Necessity of Studying the Chinese Question] (1898), trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 62-63.

⁵⁸ Okakura Kakuzō [Tenshin], *The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1920), p. 206.

⁵⁹ Zachmann, 'Blowing Up a Double Portrait in Black and White', p. 356.

The only major English-language biography on Okakura is: Brij Tankha, *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, ed. by Brij Tankha (New Delhi: Global Oriental, 2009).

⁶⁰ For perpetuation of these dichotomies see: Soviak.

⁶¹ Duara, 'The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism', p. 109; Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: Writing a Good History', p. 93.

⁶² Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: "Asia is One,"', pp. 93-94.

views of East and West were nuanced ones, evidenced by his statement in *The Awakening of Japan* that the West had as much to learn from the East, as the East from the West.⁶³ Writing primarily in English, his works railed against the injustices of imperialism; extraterritoriality, foreign courts and the absurdity of Japan's "Yellow Peril" in the face of the evident "White Peril".⁶⁴ Yet, he largely portrayed Western modernisation as a 'wild whirlpool [...] rending the skies' which would have 'dashed the nation to pieces' were it not for its immutable cultural base.⁶⁵ In this sense, Okakura seems to echo Fukuzawa, presenting the concurrent threat and opportunity of Westernisation.⁶⁶ Indeed, his critique of Eastern decay is a similarly scathing one, critiquing the 'unbending formulism' of Tokugawa Japan, which left Japan 'grop[ing] amid a maze of tradition'.⁶⁷ To Okakura, much like to Fukuzawa, "Asia" represented 'all that was backward and decayed', while Japan's transition represented hope for the future.⁶⁸ Okakura saw much to admire in the West, his comparison of Emperor Yao 'relinquishing his throne to the ablest citizen' and George Washington's ascent to the Presidency is a particular interesting

⁶³ Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: Writing a Good History', p. 29; Gordon, p. 112; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 31; Okakura Kakuzō [Tenshin], *The Awakening of Japan* (New York: The Century, 1905), p. 4.

⁶⁴ Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan*, p. 4; Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan*, pp. 180-181; Okakura Kakuzō [Tenshin], *The Book of Tea* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906), pp. 11-12.

For similar views see: Sven Saaler, 'Pan-Asianism, the "Yellow Peril," and Suematsu Kencho, 1905', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 141-144.

⁶⁵ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 221.

⁶⁶ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 31.

⁶⁷ Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan*, p. 21; Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 239.

For similar critiques of isolationism see: Yokoi Shōnan, 'Kokuze Sanron' [Three Theses on State Policy] (1860), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 50.

⁶⁸ Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: Writing a Good History', p. 29; Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: "Asia is One"', p. 95; Zachmann, 'Blowing Up a Double Portrait in Black and White', p. 356.

one, framing Japan's position as "leader of Asia", and its fledgling, emperor-centred, democracy with Western concepts.⁶⁹

Okakura saw the East and West in complementary terms, with the '*Ideals of the East*', those of a 'harmony which is weak against aggression', supplementing Western 'expansion at the cost of restlessness'.⁷⁰ His was a union of Western technology and governance with Eastern philosophy. Clearly he envisioned a "special" position for Japan, as the only non-Western country to have 'solved' the problem of modernisation while realising 'unity-in-complexity', that is, the birth of the modern nation-state.⁷¹ Okakura's work attempted to conceive international politics in philosophical, rather than material, terms.⁷² He was largely pacifistic in nature, emphasising 'purity and harmony' and 'the mystery of mutual charity', criticising the West as 'wont to regard Japan as barbarous while [Japan] indulged in the gentle arts of peace'.⁷³ Yet, his books contained continued assertions of Japanese cultural superiority, as the 'museum of Asiatic civilisation'.⁷⁴ Focusing on Japan's 'self-reliance', 'protect[ion] of ancestral ideals' and the 'glory of a succession unbroken for eternity', Okakura, whilst evidently admiring Chinese and Indian culture, saw Japan as the true guardian of the "classical" elements

⁶⁹ Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan*, p. 145.

⁷⁰ Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan*, p. 185; Okakura, *The Book of Tea*, p. 12.

⁷¹ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 5; Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 219.

⁷² Rustin B. Gates, 'Pan-Asianism in Prewar Japanese Foreign Affairs: The Curious Case of Uchida Yasuya', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 37 (2011), 1-27, (p. 6).

⁷³ Okakura, *The Book of Tea*, p. 3; Okakura, cited in Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 33; Gates, p. 6; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 13; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 34.

⁷⁴ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 8; Gates, p. 6; Duara, 'The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism', p. 54; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 13; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 34.

For contemporary Western views of Teism as the epitome East Asia see: A. L. Sadler, 'Chanoyu or The Tea Philosophy of Japan a Western Evaluation', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 635-644, (p. 635).

of these cultures, and hence as the sole force that could 'Awaken' the East.⁷⁵ In an act of tragic irony, it was this theme which was revived during the Pacific War, as Okakura's reverence for Eastern culture was adopted and maligned by propagandists.⁷⁶ It is difficult to imagine anything more distant from Okakura's famed pronouncement that 'Asia is one. [Not] even the snowy barriers can [interrupt] that broad expanse of love' than its reproduction by the Patriotic Association for Japanese Literature in commemoration of the Pearl Harbor attack.⁷⁷ Okakura's story is one that highlights the nuances of pan-Asianism, the similarities between supposedly pro and anti-Western discourses and the fine line between nationalism and internationalism.

Miyazaki Tōten and Sun Yat-sen

In August 1902 Sun Yat-sen recounted a tale from an ancient Tang novel about the exploits of the noble knight errant who 'discussed all the important matters of the realm', 'Miyazaki [Tōten] is such a knight errant of the present day', he concluded.⁷⁸ For Miyazaki, there could be no higher praise. A *rōnin* [adventurer] for a new age, Miyazaki's pan-Asianism was less culturalist than Okakura's, emphasising the Sinocentrism which would be central to

⁷⁵ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 5; Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 207; Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: Writing a Good History', p. 36; Zachmann, 'Blowing Up a Double Portrait in Black and White', p. 356; Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: "Asia is One"', p. 95.

⁷⁶ Saaler, 'The Construction of Regionalism in Modern Japan', p. 1261; Aydin, 'Japan's Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order', p. 19.

⁷⁷ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 3; Tankha, 'Okakura Tenshin: "Asia is One"', p. 96.

For war-time propagandistic use of "shared culture" see: Noritake Tsuda, 'Japan and China Closely Bound by Culture, Art Expert Asserts', *The Trans-Pacific*, 23 December 1937, 4.

⁷⁸ Sun Yat-sen, 'Preface', in *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten*, trans. by Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902: 1982), pp. 289-290, (p. 289).

There are no English-language biographies of Miyazaki, though there is his autobiography: Miyazaki Tōten, *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten*, trans. by Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902: 1982).

more liberal conceptions of Asia. His close relationship with Sun Yat-sen represented a rarely self-aware strain of pan-Asianism which would re-emerge and then wither during the 1920s.

Miyazaki had been heavily influenced by the unsuccessful rebellion of the Divine Wind Party in 1876 and by the death of his brother Hachiro in the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877.⁷⁹ Opposing the 'monopolis[ation of land] by a small number' of elites he adopted his brother's firm support of the Jiyuminto Movement.⁸⁰ Raised amidst the family's newfound "liberal tradition", Miyazaki idealised Maximilien Robespierre and Oliver Cromwell.⁸¹ As such he dedicated his life to the "revival of Asia", and in 1891 Miyazaki decided to travel to Shanghai to learn Chinese with the remains of his family's money.⁸²

Upon his arrival he remarked 'My second native land', but after being cheated out of the money by a friend, a broke Miyazaki was forced home.⁸³ After years of failed projects in Korea and Siam, his brother Yazō, who had introduced him to pan-Asianism, died.⁸⁴ Abandoned by his wife, without money or home, Miyazaki had plumbed the depths of despair.⁸⁵ Yet, unable to give up his dream, he 'bec[a]me a geisha', partaking in a 'baptism of vulgarity' and accepting funding from the government he detested.⁸⁶ Thereby establishing contact with Sun, Miyazaki,

⁷⁹ Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen, 'Introduction', in *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten*, trans. by Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902: 1982), pp. xiii-xxvii, (p. xv-xvi); Miyazaki, Tōten, *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten*, trans. by Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902: 1982), p. 11.

⁸⁰ Eto, pp. xvi-xix.

⁸¹ Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 55; Eto, p. xviii.

⁸² Eto, p. xix; Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, pp. 55-56; Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 'Miyazaki Tōten's Pan-Asianism, 1915-1919', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 133-136, (p. 133).

⁸³ Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, p. 56; Eto, p. xxii; Miyazaki, cited in Eto, p. xxii.

⁸⁴ Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, pp. 57-58; Eto, p. xxii; Szpilman, 'Miyazaki Tōten's Pan-Asianism', p. 133.

⁸⁵ Szpilman, 'Miyazaki Tōten's Pan-Asianism', p. 133.

⁸⁶ Miyazaki, cited in Eto, p. xxiii.

at long last found his 'precious jewel of Asia'.⁸⁷ Like Sun, Miyazaki truly detested the doctrine 'of might being right' and recognised the role that China must play.⁸⁸ For Miyazaki, Sun's critique that Japan might become 'a willing handmaiden of Western imperialism' rang true, yet Miyazaki's proclamations that 'Japan [unlike China] did not have the power' to upturn the colonial world order, and that Japan had gone from oppressed to oppressor fell on deaf ears.⁸⁹ Fervently against Japanese expansionism, he immersed himself in the varied intrigues of the Chinese revolutionaries.⁹⁰ Miyazaki's autobiography, *My Thirty-Three Years Dream*, was published in 1902, at the height of his failure and despondency.⁹¹ Reflecting on the 'agony [his] dream has brought', the failure of planned uprisings in the Philippines and in South China, and his (temporary) estrangement from many of the Chinese revolutionaries, Szpilman portrays this as an unceremonious end to his "romantic adventuring."⁹²

Yet Miyazaki played a crucial role sheltering Chinese revolutionaries in Japan, translated Sun's *Kidnapped in London* into Japanese, and introduced Sun to key Japanese politicians who provided funds for Sun and his revolution.⁹³ He was central to the formation of the Chinese Revolutionary League [Tongmenghui], which paved the way for the Revolution of 1911, and

⁸⁷ Miyazaki, *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream*, p. 138.

⁸⁸ Sun Yat-Sen, *China and Japan: Natural Friends—Unnatural Enemies: a Guide for China's Foreign Policy* (Shanghai: China United Press, 1941), pp. 146-147; Miyazaki, *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream*, p. 37.

⁸⁹ Sun, cited in Saaler, 'Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history', p. 8; Miyazaki, cited in Saaler, 'Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history', p. 8; Eto, p. xx; Miyazaki Tōten, 'Rikkōho Sengen' [Election Manifesto] (1915), trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 137-138.

⁹⁰ Szpilman, 'Miyazaki Tōten's Pan-Asianism', p. 134; Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, p. 58; Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 513.

⁹¹ Eto, p. xiii.

⁹² Szpilman, 'Miyazaki Tōten's Pan-Asianism', p. 134.

⁹³ Eto, p. xxiii; Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, p. 58; Sato Kazuo, 'Sun Yat-sen's 1911 Revolution had Its Seeds in Tokyo', *Japan Focus*, 5 (2007), 1-7, (p. 3); Albert A. Altman and Harold Z. Schiffman, 'Sun Yat-sen and the Japanese: 1914-16', *Modern Asian Studies*, 6 (1972), 385-400.

travelled to China during the Revolution.⁹⁴ For years afterwards Miyazaki was Sun's closest Japanese friend, he was even granted the power of attorney on Sun's behalf over key organisations, until his death in 1922.⁹⁵ Nearly 100 years later, standing in the courtyard of the Museum of Modern Chinese History in Nanking, Sun Yat-sen's former Presidential Palace, are four bronze statues. There, walking beside Sun, is his companion, Miyazaki Tōten, with the characters 'sincere friendship' inscribed below them.⁹⁶ Though Miyazaki's dream of Sino-Japanese cooperation and of a "restoration" of Asia were ultimately doomed by Japanese aggression, his story is one of idealism, not *realpolitik*, of dreaming, rather than scheming; it demonstrates one of the earliest forms of pan-Asianism which stands entirely outside typical narratives of self-interested expansionism.⁹⁷

Emperor, State and People

Whilst early pan-Asianists largely worked outside of the state, evolving conceptions of its function were, naturally, central to the changing place of intellectuals within it. Certainly, the relationship between the Emperor, "the state" and "the people" cannot be understated when examining pan-Asianism's rhetoric, its tradition of extra-government activism, and the

⁹⁴ Szpilman, 'Miyazaki Tōten's Pan-Asianism', p. 134; Sato, p. 3; Eto, p. xxvii.

⁹⁵ Sato, p. 1; Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen*, p. 54; Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, p. 513.

⁹⁶ Sato, p. 3.

⁹⁷ For his cooperative vision for relations with Korea/China see: Miyazaki Tōten, 'Tokyo yori' [From Tokyo] (1919), trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 138-139.

supposed “tenkō” of the 1930s.⁹⁸ Emerging in the 1870s, the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement sought the right of “popular” participation in politics.⁹⁹ This movement heralded near universal support for constitutional governance, which, as Itagaki Taisuke suggested, aimed to unite the people and the state into ‘one mind’.¹⁰⁰ Arising as a spontaneous reaction to the concentration of power under the Satsuma-Chōshū oligarchy, it consisted of varied anti-government elements.¹⁰¹ Formed as local protests groups in 1873, by 1880 these groups had transformed into almost 200 political societies, collecting over 250,000 signatures with which to petition the government.¹⁰²

This crisis, worsened by the Seikanron debate of 1873, provides some interesting clues about the nature of the Japanese state.¹⁰³ This was the first time that the government seriously contemplated constitutional governance, and the ensuing debate saw Ōkuma Shigenobu, then

⁹⁸ For a detailed history of this relationship, and of Japanese politics see: Scalapino.

⁹⁹ Quo Fang-quei, ‘Jiyushugi: Japanese Liberalism’, *The Review of Politics*, 28 (1966), 477-492, (p. 477); Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, p. 380; Itagaki Taisuke, ‘Memorial on the Establishment of a Representative Assembly’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 54-55, (p. 54).

¹⁰⁰ Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, p. 389; Gordon, p. 80; Itagaki Taisuke (1874), cited in Gordon, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ Quo, ‘Jiyushugi: Japanese Liberalism’, p. 479.

¹⁰² Joyce Chapman Lebra, ‘Ōkuma Shigenobu and the 1881 Political Crisis’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 18 (1959), 475-487, (p. 475); Gordon, pp. 81-84.

¹⁰³ George M. Beckmann, ‘Political Crises and the Crystallization of Japanese Constitutional Thought, 1871-1881’, *Pacific Historical Review*, 23 (1954), 259-270, (pp. 261-264).

For the Seikanron debate see: Marlene J. Mayo, ‘The Korean Crisis of 1873 and Early Meiji Foreign Policy’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1972), 793-819

For contemporary criticism of absolutism/lack of representation see: Ōkuma Shigenobu, ‘Memorial on a National Assembly’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 61-62; Kido Takayoshi, ‘Shogiku Kido-ko den’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 16-17; Kido Takayoshi, ‘Letter from Kido Takayoshi to Sugiyama Takatoshi, January 26, 1872’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 14; Itagaki Taisuke, ‘Memorial on the Establishment of a Representative Assembly’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 54-55; Itō Hirobumi, ‘Memorial on Constitutional Government’ (1880), in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 59.

Minister of Finance, as the sole proponent of British-style governance, resulting in his expulsion from government.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the debate witnessed the birth of an imperial “New Government”, supposedly based upon the “separation of powers”, a temporary measure preceding the ‘gradual establishment’ of constitutional rule scheduled by the Emperor for 1890, and allowed for further consolidation of oligarchic power.¹⁰⁵ Notably, elite reformists like Itō Hirobumi did not seek to ‘seriously modify [the] national polity’, rather they ‘endeavour[ed] not to restrict’ imperial prerogatives.¹⁰⁶ The period witnessed the promulgation of harsh repressive laws, such as the Newspaper Law of 1875 and the Public Meeting Law of 1876, which sought to limit criticism of government and formation of political parties.¹⁰⁷ The Constitution was highly conservative, establishing a House of Peers, composed solely of the nobility, and limiting suffrage to around one percent of the populace.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, various historians have condemned the Constitution as a ‘carefully formulated legal justification’, which sought to ‘neutralise the potential ill-effects’ of popular participation.¹⁰⁹ Of particular interest is the role

¹⁰⁴ Lebra, ‘Ōkuma Shigenobu and the 1881 Political Crisis’, p. 487; Ōkuma Shigenobu, ‘To Members of the Kaishinto, March 14, 1882’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 68-69.

¹⁰⁵ Beckmann, ‘Political Crises and the Crystallization of Japanese Constitutional Thought’, pp. 264-270; Emperor Meiji, cited in Beckmann, ‘Political Crises and the Crystallization of Japanese Constitutional Thought’, p. 464.

¹⁰⁶ Itō, p. 59; Itō, cited in George Akita and Hirose Yoshihiro, ‘The British Model. Inoue Kowashi and the Ideal Monarchical System’, *Monumenta Nipponica*, 49 (1994), 413-421.

¹⁰⁷ Lebra, ‘Ōkuma Shigenobu and the 1881 Political Crisis’, p. 476; Gordon, p. 85.

¹⁰⁸ Gordon, p. 127;

¹⁰⁹ *The Constitution of the Empire of Japan* [Meiji boshin], trans. by Itō Miyoji (1889); George M. Beckmann, *The Making of the Meiji Constitution: The Oligarchs and the Constitutional Development of Japan, 1868-1891* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1957), p. 84; George Akita, ‘The Meiji Constitution in Practice: The First Diet’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1 (1962), 31-46, (p. 32); Gordon, p. 92.

For attempts to limit restrictions on imperial prerogative see: Akita, ‘The British Model’, p. 417; Robert Epp, ‘The Challenge from Tradition: Attempts to Compile a Civil Code in Japan, 1866-78’, *Monumenta Nipponica*, 22 (1967), 15-48.

For Showa assertions of this view see: Sekiguchi Yasushi, ‘The Changing Status of the Cabinet in Japan’, *Pacific Affairs*, 11 (1938), 5-20.

laid out for the Emperor, 'sacred and inviolable', who 'gives sanction to laws', and has 'supreme command over the Army and Navy'.¹¹⁰ Couched in the national mythology of Japan, the Constitution provided a state where parties and Cabinets held little power, presiding over largely autonomous bodies.¹¹¹ Enshrined in Imperial divinity, Meiji oligarchs sought to 'establish an unshakable national foundation' based on the Confucian ideal of the Kingly Way; that is to say a state in which the Emperor, elevated above all others, but devoid of direct political responsibility, was the representative of "the people", the soul of a beneficent state.¹¹²

Certainly, Ōkuma's dream of a state where majority popular support meant the right to govern was still distant, but his endeavours aimed at destroying 'the monopoly of the empire's political power' had a significant influence, and laid the foundations for the rise of party power.¹¹³ The absolutist state was dead, and in its place rose a 'messy pluralism', in which a Liberal-Progressive coalition won a majority in the inaugural Diet elections of 1890, but where, for ten years, 'militant and combative' parties railed against the "transcendental" (non-party)

For Western views that constitutionalism never existed see: Joseph E. Power, 'The Japanese Constitution and the Militarists', *Pacific Affairs*, 15 (1942), 188-194, (p. 188).

¹¹⁰ *The Constitution of the Empire of Japan*.

For the role of the constitution in war-time militarism see: Sharon H. Nolte, 'National Morality and Universal Ethics. Ōnishi Najime and the Imperial Rescript on Education', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 38 (1983), 283-294.

¹¹¹ Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, p. 496.

¹¹² Kido, 'Letter from Kido Takayoshi', p. 14; Chiba Takusaburō, 'An Essay on the Way of the King The Way of the King' [Ōdōron], trans. by Richard Devine (1882:1979), pp. 66-70; Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, p. 496.

For Meiji theory of the Kingly Way see: Richard Devine, 'The Way of the King. An Early Meiji Essay on Government', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 34 (1979), 49-72.

¹¹³ Ōkuma, 'Memorial on a National Assembly', p. 62; Ōkuma, 'To Members of the Kaishinto', p. 68; Joyce C. Lebra, *Ōkuma Shigenobu: Statesman of Meiji Japan* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1973).

governments selected by the *Genrō* [Imperial Elders].¹¹⁴ In the second elections, of 1892, twenty-five voters died in violence at the polls, with hundreds injured; yet throughout this period the opposition maintained a majority and the government had to resort to threats and bribery to meet its agenda.¹¹⁵ Gradually the unity of the oligarchs cracked, opposition gave way to conciliation and compromise. Ōkuma was a fervent advocate of racial equality, and in 1888 he was appointed as Foreign Minister, overseeing the renegotiation of the “Unequal Treaties” with the West; a controversial position which saw Ōkuma lose a leg to a bomb planted by a ultranationalist terrorist.¹¹⁶ Yet, despite these setbacks, Ōkuma had firmly set Japan on the road to modernity, and in 1898 was appointed the first party Prime Minister of Japan.¹¹⁷ In his desire to create a strong state Ōkuma personified the dilemmas confronting Japan, particularly those between democracy and authority, demonstrating the complexity of Japan’s realisation of “western modernity”, a modernism in which the state remained rooted in the Emperor and the oligarchy.

¹¹⁴ R. P. G. Steven, ‘Hybrid Constitutionalism in Prewar Japan’, *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 3 (1977), 99-133, (pp. 99-100); Gordon, p. 127; Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, pp. 4-8; George Akita, ‘The Meiji Constitution in Practice: The First Diet’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1 (1962), 31-46.

For role of the *Genrō* see: Bernard S. Silberman, ‘Bureaucratic Development and the Structure of Decision-Making in the Meiji Period: The Case of the Genrō’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 27 (1967), 81-94.

¹¹⁵ Gordon, p. 128.

¹¹⁶ Ōkuma Shigenobu, ‘Illusions of the White Race’, in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 160-170; Lebra, *Ōkuma Shigenobu*, pp. 82-85.

For examples of the controversy over treaty revision see: Ozawa Shotarō, *A Speech on the Revision of Treaties with Japan to Western Nations* (Michigan: Register Publishing, 1891); The Far East, ‘The Enforcement of the Revised Treaties in Japan’, *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 1 (1896), 1-6.

For Ōkuma’s foreign policy see: Ōkuma Shigenobu, ‘The Future of the Japanese’, *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 9 (1897), 376-381; Ōkuma Shigenobu, ‘The Foreign Policy of Japan’, *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 1 (1896), 6-11.

¹¹⁷ Lebra, *Ōkuma Shigenobu*, pp. 82-85.

Part II:
An Uneasy Sleep – The Shallow Roots of
Liberalism
(1912-31)

A period in which liberalism and internationalism blossomed, the “Taishō democracy” also set the stage for the development of Japanese authoritarianism. The degree of continuity, alongside the gradual distortion of internationalist and liberal ideals, provide varied insights into the fragility of democratic systems, the role of the public intellectual and the amorphous nature of ideology. Remarkable is the complete absence of Taishō politics, and of liberal and internationalist influences, in narratives concerning pan-Asianism; crucial factors in representing both the diversity and development of pan-Asian thought.¹¹⁸ In all works dedicated to pan-Asianism these stories remain invisible.

Struggles With Reform

The advent of the Taishō Political Crisis in 1912 heralded the approach of party politics and epitomised the struggle for power between the parties, the oligarchs, the emperor and the army. These struggles would permit the diversification of pan-Asianism in the 1920s, while remaining central to its homogenisation in the 1930s. Erupting from the forced dissolution of the previous government by the Army, the appointment of Katsura Tarō to head a “transcendental” government gave rise to the Movement to Protect Constitutionalism, and widespread public protests, with hundreds injured and arrested during riots in February 1913.¹¹⁹ The continued influence of the Movement to Protect Constitutionalism, following the

¹¹⁸ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*; Saaler, *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*.

For comprehensive overview of Taisho politics see: Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*.

¹¹⁹ Gordon, p. 130; Minichiello, p. 15.

failure of Terauchi Masatake to contain the Rice Riots of 1918, led to the first cabinet comprised almost exclusively of party members and thus charted a new course for Japanese democracy.¹²⁰ The huge majority won by Katō Kōmei and his coalition in 1924 begun a period of fully party cabinets which lasted until 1932, setting the tone for the internationalist, discordant, 1920s.¹²¹

Yet the foundations provided by the Meiji constitution were unmistakably frail.¹²² Framed as 'Imperial Democracy' by Andrew Gordon, the Emperor's divinity and inviolability presented a severe challenge to party politicians, with the military and the bureaucracy only formally accountable to the Emperor.¹²³ Pre-existing Meiji structures concentrated power in the hands of small, aristocratic groups, with the *Genrō* appointing the Prime Minister, and hence the government; the fourteen members of the Privy Council advising the Emperor on interpreting laws and ratifying treaties; and a powerful House of Peers where membership was hereditary or made by imperial appointment.¹²⁴ The resultant necessity of compromise with these political elites meant that it was somewhat inevitable that party politicians were viewed

¹²⁰ Gordon, p. 162; Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 83; Minichiello, p. 53.

¹²¹ Gordon, p. 163.

¹²² Gordon, p. 164; Minichiello, p. 11.

¹²³ Gordon, p. 166; Han Jung-Sun, *An Imperial Path to Modernity: Yoshino Sakuzō and a New Liberal Order in East Asia, 1905-1937* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 6.

For promotion of 'Imperial Democracy' see: Inazō Nitobe, *Bushido, The Soul of Japan* (New York: George H. Putnam's Sons 1900), p. 52; Miyaoka Tsunejirō, 'Growth of Liberalism in Japan' [1918], in *Japanese Propaganda: Selected Readings: Pamphlets, 1891-1939*, ed. by Peter O'Connor, 10 vols (Tokyo: Global Oriental, 2005), II, 361-389, (p. 388).

¹²⁴ Gordon, p. 166.

For Japanese criticism of the House of Peers see: Sekiguchi Tai, 'Political Conditions in Japan: After the Application of Manhood Suffrage', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 907-922.

as corrupt and self-interested.¹²⁵ Certainly, the increasing scale and respectability of party politics meant it increasingly relied on financial support from the *zaibatsu*, with campaign expenditure increasing from ¥4,976,672 in 1915 to ¥21,910,689 in 1924.¹²⁶ Increasingly bureaucratic and conservative, there was a widespread lack of support for parliamentary government, 'not merely among anarchists, radicals, and their ilk'.¹²⁷ These party governments implemented harsh repression of political "extremism": with the murders of Itō Noe and Osugi Sakae, the renowned writers; the killings of union leader Hirasawa Keishichi and nine other labour activists; the implementation of the Peace Preservation Law in 1925; and the arrests of 1600 suspected Communists in 1928.¹²⁸ These drew the lines with which Japanese democracy and liberalism were bounded, and demonstrated a mentality which allowed for the "*tenkō*" of liberal Taishō pan-Asianists.

While the Minseitō/Kenseikai attempted to enact some liberal reforms, these were largely met with failure.¹²⁹ The issue of universal (usually male) suffrage was central to the contestation of the political sphere between "the people" and "the elites".¹³⁰ First proposed in 1902, and passed (only) by the House of Representatives in 1911, the suffrage issue really resurfaced in 1918, leading to a reappraisal of the right of the parties to rule as representatives

¹²⁵ Akita, 'The Meiji Constitution in Practice', p. 46; Bernard S. Silberman, 'The Bureaucratic Role in Japan, 1900-1945: The Bureaucrat as Politician', in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 183-216, (p. 183).

For the growing bureaucratism/compromise of the parties see: John E. Turner, 'The Kenseikai: Leader vs Party Liberal', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 11 (1952), 317-334.

¹²⁶ Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 19.

¹²⁷ Nagai, cited in Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 24.

¹²⁸ Gordon, p. 170.

¹²⁹ Gordon, p. 172; Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 222.

¹³⁰ Gordon, p. 172; Griffiths, p. 276; Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 157; Edward G. Griffin, 'The Universal Suffrage Issue in Japanese Politics, 1918-25', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1972), p. 275-280; John Whitney Hall, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1991), p. 308.

of the people.¹³¹ Clearly, it would have been a dubious proposition for parties of the Lower House to oppose universal suffrage, but the Seiyukai did just that.¹³² The frustration of the Universal Suffrage Bill in 1920 only served to worsen the divide between the parties and the public, as the labour movement became increasingly anti-parliamentarian.¹³³ Though the reform did eventually pass under Katō in 1925, it was done so only with the proviso that the Peace Preservation Law be enacted alongside it, so as to eliminate “destabilising” threats.¹³⁴ Katō was able to pass some liberal social policies, such as the Tenant Farmer Dispute Mediation Law of 1924, which provided implicit recognition to tenant farmer unions, however his attempts to reform the nature of the state, to limit the power of the House of Peers, were obstructed at every turn.¹³⁵ The weak foundations of Japanese democracy, alongside the failures of party politics, provided the backdrop to increasing liberal disillusionment. Here began the gradual transformation of a worldview based in internationalism and liberalism to the expansionist, authoritarian pan-Asianism of the 1930s.

Yoshino Sakuzō and Liberal Imperialism

Remarkable is the consequent eclipse of Taishō intellectuals in the historiography. Yoshino Sakuzō, the ‘apostle of Japanese democracy’, and foremost intellectual of the era

¹³¹ Griffiths, p. 276; Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 109.

¹³² Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 161.

¹³³ Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 184.

¹³⁴ Griffiths, p. 275.

¹³⁵ Gordon, p. 172.

remains virtually invisible, relegated to a footnote in Saaler's *Documentary History*.¹³⁶ Though precise classification of pan-Asianists can prove troublesome, Yoshino clearly advocated Asianist ideas, in particular regarding Asian solidarity and a Sino-Japanese economic alliance, often echoing Miyazaki's (similarly sidelined) work *vis-à-vis* Japan's relation with China.¹³⁷ Indeed, Yoshino, in his introduction to Miyazaki's *Thirty-Three Year Dream*, declared that it was one of his favourite books.¹³⁸ While Yoshino's liberalism and internationalism were 'relegated to obscurity' with the rise of the militarists, they provide fascinating insights into the diversity of pan-Asianism and the transformation of liberal intellectual discourse in the 1930s.¹³⁹ As a professor of Law at Tokyo Imperial University, Yoshino was central in educating the future elite; yet it was his essays on constitutional government and his articles in *Chūō kōron* that extended his influence far beyond academic circles.¹⁴⁰ Yoshino's advocacy of liberalism and democracy was largely based in notions of "world trends" [*taisei junnō*], a central theme (and weakness) of

¹³⁶ Han Jung-Sun, 'Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia: Yoshino Sakuzō in Taisho Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 33 (2007), 357-382, (p. 358); Saaler, 'Introduction', p. 40; Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), p. 25; Bernard S. Silberman, 'The Political Theory and Program of Yoshino Sakuzo', *The Journal of Modern History*, 31 (1959), 310-324.

The only English-language biography of Yoshino is: Han, *An Imperial Path to Modernity*.

¹³⁷ Dick Stegewerns, 'Forgotten Leaders of the interwar debate on regional integration: introducing Sugimori Kōjirō', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 101-114, (p. 103); Iichiro Fujimura, 'Tōten Miyazaki and Sakuzō Yoshino: Thoughts on Asian Solidarity and Universalism in Pre-war Japan', *Asian Culture and History*, 9 (2017), 1-5, (p. 2).

¹³⁸ Yoshino, cited in Epp, p. xxvii; Iichiro, p. 2.

¹³⁹ Silberman, 'The Political Theory and Program of Yoshino Sakuzo', p. 310.

¹⁴⁰ Han, 'Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia', p. 358; Silberman, 'The Political Theory and Program of Yoshino Sakuzo', p. 310.

For the role of academic factionalism in larger political battles see: Byron K. Marshall, 'Academic Factionalism in Japan: The Case of the Tōdai Economics Department, 1919-1939', *Modern Asian Studies*, 12 (1978), 529-551.

Japanese intellectualism.¹⁴¹ Citing the “trend” in Europe away from absolutism, he advocated a strong state, ‘grounded in individual [rights]’.¹⁴² In particular, Yoshino criticised the lack of “spiritual progress” since the Restoration, which had failed to adopt the moral and religious values of the West, stating the Japan could not truly be considered “civilised”.¹⁴³ Like Miyazaki, he did not consider Japan as lacking in power, but as lacking in morality, a place where there was ‘little compassion and understanding for the weak’.¹⁴⁴

Notably, Yoshino was extremely critical of the parties; stating ‘there is not a single [group]’ which was ‘truly’ a party.¹⁴⁵ The main thrust of his criticism was directed at the Constitution, which he felt limited genuine party government, and his two essays, ‘A Discussion on Perfecting Constitutional Government’ (1916) and ‘A Critique of Imperial Rule’ (1918), represented some of the earliest works redefining the role of the state as aimed at increasing the welfare of the people.¹⁴⁶ Likewise, he was extremely critical of ‘personal rule by the emperor’ as simply a ‘defence for some of the despotic actions of government’.¹⁴⁷ His liberalism, his consequent critique of ‘militaristic intervention’ and of power ‘monopolised by the

¹⁴¹ Han, ‘Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia’, p. 360; Tetsuo Najita, ‘Some Reflections on Idealism in the Political Thought of Yoshino Sakuzō’, in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 29-66, (p. 37).

¹⁴² Yoshino, cited in Han, ‘Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia’, p. 361.

¹⁴³ Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 316; Dick Stegewerns, ‘Yoshino Sakuzō: the isolated figurehead of the Taishō generation’, in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 114-132, (p. 117).

¹⁴⁴ Yoshino, cited in Stegewerns, ‘Yoshino Sakuzō’, p. 115; Stegewerns, ‘Yoshino Sakuzō’, p. 115.

¹⁴⁵ Yoshino, cited in Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 26.

For liberal criticism of the parties see: Ozaki Yukio, ‘Japan’s Defective Constitutional Government’, in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 63-78, (p. 74).

¹⁴⁶ Silberman, ‘The Political Theory and Program of Yoshino Sakuzō’, p. 316.

For examples of Yoshino’s conception of sovereignty see: Yoshino Sakuzo, ‘“In the Name of the People”: An Explanation of Politics in Japan in Terms of Sovereign and Populace’, *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931) 189-200.

¹⁴⁷ Yoshino Sakuzo, ‘Politics in Japan’, in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Nitobe Inazō, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), pp. 256-270, (p. 261).

privileged few' were central to his conceptions of Japan's Empire and consequently of Asian solidarity.¹⁴⁸

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Yoshino was aware of Chinese and Korean resentment towards Japanese rule, noting his regret at the 'outgrowth of militarism' there, the Japanese 'attitude of arrogance', and lamenting the lack of Japanese reformism.¹⁴⁹ Much like Miyazaki, Yoshino saw the Chinese revolutionaries as heirs to the Meiji Restoration, discerning parallels in their campaign against despotism to his own, aimed at a democratic transformation in Japan that would allow for peaceful expansionism.¹⁵⁰ Though it is easy to decry contradictions in Yoshino's advocacy of empire and liberalism, these were not necessarily incompatible concepts at the time, indeed few liberals anywhere absolutely opposed empire, and Japanese liberalism in particular often embraced elitism and nationalism.¹⁵¹ Certainly, he hoped for a comparatively liberal Empire based on the cultivation of peaceful collaborators.¹⁵² Rather than military expansion, Yoshino argued for economic cooperation, and suggested salving relations by surrendering Manchurian interests.¹⁵³ One of the first Japanese to immediately support the Chinese May 4th Movement, he likewise supported Shidehara's non-intervention and the Korean March 1st Movement; all of which he saw as vital in ousting the

¹⁴⁸ Yoshino, cited in Han, 'Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia', p. 380; Han, 'Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia', p. 359.

¹⁴⁹ Yoshino Sakuzo, 'Liberalism in Japan', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 79-92, (pp. 79-88); Yoshino, cited in Iichiro, p. 3; Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 35; Stegewerns, 'Yoshino Sakuzō'.

¹⁵⁰ Han, 'Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia', p. 366.

¹⁵¹ Tomoko Akami, 'Nation, State, Empire and War: Problems of Liberalism in Modern Japanese History and Beyond', *Japanese Studies*, 25 (2005), 119-140, (p. 119); Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1993).

¹⁵² Han, 'Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia', p. 370; Stegewerns, 'Yoshino Sakuzō', p. 124.

¹⁵³ Stegewerns, 'Yoshino Sakuzō', p. 123.

bureaucratic and militarist opponents he faced at home.¹⁵⁴ Unlike most Japanese, horrified at the prospect of China dictating Japan's fate, Yoshino saw this as inevitable, and resolutely decried the 'aggressionist imperialism' evident in the Mukden Incident.¹⁵⁵ Despite stringent limits on freedom of speech, Yoshino remained adamant that Manchuria was, in theory and actuality, Chinese territory; and he spent his final months isolated from the intellectual community.¹⁵⁶ The epitome of "Taishō democracy", Yoshino demonstrates the complexity of Japanese "liberalism" and how Japan's search for political identity was intrinsically tied up with its international role. His pan-Asianism demonstrates a diversity that has escaped most narratives, and the concomitant transformation of the political and international ideals of his disciples lays bare the malleability of his "liberal imperialism" and "People's Politics" [*minshushugi*], which, through its emphasis on popular sovereignty through the Emperor [*minponshugi*], partially resembled the ideas of Kita Ikki.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Stegewerns, 'Yoshino Sakuzō', pp. 124-125; Iichiro, p. 2.

For Japanese reactions to the March 1st Movement, and May 4th Movement see: Iriye Akira, *Japan and the Wider World: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Longman, 1997), p. 49.

¹⁵⁵ Stegewerns, 'Yoshino Sakuzō', p. 126; Iichiro, p. 2.

For Japanese fears of rising Chinese strength see: Masafumi Asada, 'The China-Russia-Japan Military Balance in Manchuria, 1906-1918', *Modern Asian Studies*, 44 (2010), 1283-1311; Robert Joseph Gowen, 'Great Britain and the Twenty-One Demands of 1915: Cooperation versus Effacement', *The Journal of Modern History*, 43 (1971), 76-106, (p. 78); Masuru Ikei, 'Japan's Response to the Chinese Revolution of 1911', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 25 (1966), 213-227; Ian Nish, 'Japan's Indecision During the Boxer Disturbances', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 20 (1961), 449-461; Ian Nish, *Japanese Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period* (Westport: Praeger, 2002), pp. 49-56.

¹⁵⁶ Stegewerns, 'Yoshino Sakuzō', p. 127; Iichiro, p. 2.

For growing fears of political violence see: Eiko Muruko Siniawer, 'Liberalism Undone: Discourses on Political Violence in Interwar Japan', *Modern Asian Studies*, 45 (2011), 973-1002.

¹⁵⁷ For Yoshino's advocacy of "Imperial Democracy" see: Yoshino Sakuzo, 'On the Meaning of Constitutional Government and the Methods by Which it Can be Perfected' [*Kensei no hongo o toite sono yūshū no bi o seisu no to o ronzu*], in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 164-180; Tetsuo, 'Some Reflections', p. 39.

Nitobe Inazō and Internationalism

Like Yoshino, Nitobe Inazō was one of the leading internationalists of the Taishō period, and served as Under-Secretary-General at the League of Nations from 1920-27.¹⁵⁸ His gradual disillusionment with the international world order and his support for Japanese foreign policy in the 1930s demonstrate the malleability of the intellectuals who survived Yoshino, but who were heavily influenced by his worldview. Yet, rather than Hotta's transformation 'from Internationalism to Pan-Asianism', it is the shift from idealism to realism that is more pronounced.¹⁵⁹ Though excluded from histories of pan-Asianism, Nitobe provides insight into the changes undergone by internationalist pan-Asianists and how they came to justify the post-Mukden, highly expansionist, forms of pan-Asianism.

Following the disastrous Twenty-One Demands and Siberian Intervention, the Foreign Ministry hoped that Nitobe's appointment would persuade the international community of

For constitutionalist support for "Imperial Democracy" and constitutional monarchy see: Minobe Tatsukichi [Inazō], *Lectures on the Constitution [Kenpō Kōwa]* (1913), in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 155-161; Minobe Tatsukichi [Inazō], 'Kenryoku no ranyo to kore ni hanko', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 161; Minobe Tatsukichi [Inazō], 'Dai rokujugo gikai no kaiko', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 163.

For explanation of the complexities of Japanese pre-war liberal theory see: Hoston.

For historiographical portrayal of Yoshino and Kita as opposites see: O. Tanin and E. Yohan, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973).

¹⁵⁸ Thomas W. Burkman, 'Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre: Nitobe Inazō and Ishii Kikujirō and the League of Nations', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 89-113, (p. 91); Ian Nish, *Japan's Struggle With Internationalism: Japan, China and The League of Nations, 1931-3* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), pp. 8-9.

There are no English-language biographies of Nitobe, though a number of his works are available in English.

¹⁵⁹ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 75.

Japan's desire to be an amicable member, and indeed Secretary-General Eric Drummond lavished praise upon Nitobe, noting his 'commitment to international order'.¹⁶⁰ Nitobe's appointment was very much based in the idealism of the time, and like Yoshino, in "world trends", in particular Wilsonianism.¹⁶¹ Leading intellectuals like Yoshino and Nitobe wrote in support of Wilson, and as early as March 1917 a "Wilson Club" was created by Tsurumi Yusuke, who praised Wilson as 'a man of ideals'.¹⁶² A League of Nations Association was created by Nitobe's colleague at the League, Ishii Kikujirō, and it soon built up the largest membership of any League-related body in the world.¹⁶³ Certainly Japanese enthusiasm for and participation in the international order should not be understated, after all Japan agreed to the Washington Conference Treaties, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the London Naval Treaty, however the self-same internationalist intellectuals who supported these acts soon came to support a substantially different agenda.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Burkman, 'Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre', p. 91; Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 24; Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 210; Eric Drummond, cited in Burkman, 'Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre', p. 95; Nish, *Japan's Struggle With Internationalism*, p. 9; Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, p. 519.

For Japanese views of their own diplomatic incompetency see: Inazō Nitobe, 'Japan's Preparedness for International Co-operation', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 46-56, (p. 49).

¹⁶¹ Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 25.

¹⁶² Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 35; Tsurumi Yusuke, cited in Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 34; Nish, *Japan's Struggle With Internationalism*, p. 11.

¹⁶³ Nish, *Japan's Struggle With Internationalism*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁴ Nish, *Japan's Struggle With Internationalism*, p. 9.

For fear of isolation see: Yamasaki Keichi, 'The Japanese Press on the London Naval Treaty', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 682-687; *Imperial Rescript Relating to Withdrawal from the League of Nations* (1933) <<http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/pre-war/330327a.html>> [Accessed April 07 2017].

Doubts over Wilsonianism became pronounced after Wilson abstained from voting on Japan's Racial Equality Proposal at the Paris Peace Conference.¹⁶⁵ Increasingly, the League failed to become the embodiment of world order that it was intended to be, becoming solely concerned with European problems.¹⁶⁶ As the Japanese ambassador to the US, a lifelong advocate of Japanese-US cooperation, stated following Pearl Harbor, Japan was unable to tolerate the hypocritical perpetuation of a status quo which denied nations their 'proper place'.¹⁶⁷ However much this was a justification *post ex facto*, it was undeniably a widespread view with a ring of truth.¹⁶⁸ In the wake of the US Immigration Act of 1924, Nitobe's optimism and his universalist ideals began to wane, so much so that he promised never to return to the US unless the law was revoked.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Noriko Kawamura, 'Wilsonian Idealism and Japanese Claims at the Paris Peace Conference', *Pacific Historical Review*, 66 (1997), 503-526, (p. 519); Cullen, p. 242.

¹⁶⁶ For Japanese disillusionment with internationalism see: Yanaga Chitoshi, 'Recent Trends in Japanese Political Thought', *Pacific Affairs*, 13 (1940), 125-137; Iriye Akira, 'Kayahara Kazan and Japanese Cosmopolitanism, in *Personality in Japanese History*, ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 373-398, (p. 395).

¹⁶⁷ Burkman, 'Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre', p. 97; Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 214.

¹⁶⁸ Nomura Kichisaburo, 07 December 1941, cited in Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations*, p. 214.

For Japanese criticism of Western liberal hypocrisy see: Isoh Yamagata, 'A World Unsafe for Democracy', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by K. K. Kawakami (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 11-20, p. 16; Rikitaro Fujisawa, 'The Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by K. K. Kawakami (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 21-48, (p. 44).

¹⁶⁹ Gordon, p. 177; Burkman, 'Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre', p. 97.

For contemporary views of the Immigration Act and California Alien Land Law see: Kikujiro Ishii, 'The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, 11 (1933), 220-229; J. Soyeda and T. Kamiya, *A Survey of the Japanese Question in California* (San Francisco: 1913), p. 16; Shibusawa Eiichi, 'Peace on the Pacific—Japan and the United States', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 273-277; T. A. Bisson, 'The United States and the Orient: A Survey of the Relations of the United States With China and Japan—June 1, 1929, to September 1, 1930', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 1118-1145, (p. 1141-1142); Goto Shinpei 'The Japanese Question in America', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by K. K. Kawakami (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 189-203, (p. 201).

For examples of anti-Japanese discrimination see: V. S. McClatchy, 'Japanese-American Relations and the Second Generation', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 200-203, (pp. 200-202).

Slowly, gradualist visions of internationalism crept in, beginning a widespread shift from the early idealism of the 1920s. These were best represented by Sugimori Kojiro, Professor of Philosophy at Waseda, who advocated an internationalism based in stages.¹⁷⁰ Though he supported firmly ‘international universality’, he opposed the League of Nations, and US expansion into the Pacific.¹⁷¹ Certainly, Sugimori was more pragmatic than Nitobe, and recognised that the “unification of the world” was currently unfeasible, thus, Sugimori envisioned “regional blocs” as a stage within the “world trend” toward international cooperation.¹⁷² This evolutionary view of history would come to play a central role in the increasingly pragmatic visions of many earlier internationalists like Nitobe, who no longer hoped for world peace.

Ultimately, Nitobe fell foul of many of the follies of his peers, over-emphasising Chinese weakness, and losing faith in his earlier ideals as he became increasingly disillusioned.¹⁷³ Despite his promise not to return to the US while the Immigration Act still held sway, Nitobe travelled to New York in 1932, urging the US public to support Japan’s claims in Manchuria, in view of China’s failure to ‘function as a sovereign state’.¹⁷⁴ Though Nitobe retained ‘faith in the League’ to resolve the Manchurian crisis fairly, his fear that meanwhile ‘the idealists will give up their dreams of a parliament of man, and practical liberals their hopes of a better international

¹⁷⁰ Stegewerns, ‘Forgotten Leaders’, p. 105.

¹⁷¹ Sugimori Kojiro ‘Perui sairai ka’ *Toho Jiron*, 9 (1921), p. 1, cited in Stegewerns, ‘Forgotten Leaders’, p. 105; Sugimori Kojiro, *The Principles of the Moral Empire* (London: University of London, 1917).

¹⁷² Stegewerns, ‘Forgotten Leaders’, p. 106.

¹⁷³ For contemporary views of Chinese weakness see: Matsui Iwane, *The Question of Manchuria and its Independence: some reflections on fundamental points* (Geneva: Kundig, 1932), pp. 7-15; Seiichi Sakuma, *The Duty of Japan towards Asia, In her Self-Interest* (Tokyo: Matsushita Press, 1916), p. 3; Motosada Zumoto, *The Origin and History of the Anti-Japanese Movement in China* (Tokyo: The Herald Press, 1932), pp. 17-18.

¹⁷⁴ Nitobe, cited in Burkman, ‘Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre’, p. 99.

order' came to pass.¹⁷⁵ The tragic irony was that he became such a man. The Mukden Incident devastated Nitobe's dreams of international cooperation, and in spite of the great personal pain caused to Nitobe by the army's invasion of Manchukuo, led him to become a public apologist for Japan's continental policy, for fear that otherwise Chinese warlords would wage 'warfare with impunity'.¹⁷⁶ Despite his liberalism and internationalism, ultimately Nitobe was a patriotic pragmatist who came to support Sugimori's evolutionary view of civilisation, advancing through the gradual amalgamation of cultural groupings.¹⁷⁷ Certainly, Nitobe was not Yoshino, and was far more typical of Japanese intellectual pragmatism, a force that would eventually see liberal and moderate Taishō intellectuals become leaders of an authoritarian state.

¹⁷⁵ Nitobe Inazō, 'Japan, the League of Nations, and the Peace Pact' (1936), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), II, pp. 14-24, (p. 17).

¹⁷⁶ Nish, *Japan's Struggle With Internationalism*, p. 9; Nitobe, 'Japan, the League of Nations, and the Peace Pact', p. 23.

¹⁷⁷ Burkman, 'Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre', p. 107; Adrian Pinnington, 'Introduction', in *Japanese Propaganda: Selected Readings: Books, 1891-1939*, ed. by Peter O'Connor, 10 vols (Tokyo: Global Oriental, 2005) II, pp. 1-26, (p. 15); Nitobe Inazō, 'On The Dangers of Intolerance', *Pacific Affairs*, Conference Supplement, 6 (1993), 493-496, (p. 494).

For Western criticism of gradualist modernising internationalism see: J. H. Boeke, 'The Recoil of Westernization in the East', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1936), 333-346, (p. 336).

Part III

Darker Thoughts: Prophets of Destruction
(1931-36)

Indicative of pan-Asianism's hostility to the state were Kita Ikki and Ishiwara Kanji, who both illustrate a trend in which idealists either altered their ideals to match those of the state, or were broken by it when they failed to do so. The apparent contradictions evidenced by Ishiwara's opposition to the war in China and Kita's socialism highlight how their thoughts were variously misinterpreted, altered and subsumed by the state. There has been a tendency to describe this period as one of 'fascism from below' and Kita and Ishiwara as "fascists", a vast oversimplification which belies the complexity of their ideologies, failing to represent their opposition to state policy.¹⁷⁸

Kita Ikki and the 'Path to Heaven'

Portrayed as the 'father of Japanese fascism' in the works of numerous Japanese historians, Kita Ikki defies simple classification.¹⁷⁹ While advocating socialism and democracy, Kita simultaneously seemed an ardent authoritarian and expansionist, and became one of the

¹⁷⁸ Masao; Miles Fletcher, 'Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 39 (1979), 39-63, (p. 40); Danny Orbach, 'A Japanese Prophet: Eschatology and Epistemology in the Thought of Kita Ikki', *Japan Forum*, 23 (2011), 339-361; Stefano von Loe, 'Nakano Seigō: Populist, Fascist, Pan-Asianist, 1917/1942', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 45-51.

¹⁷⁹ Storry, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism*, p. 37; Yoshimi Takeuchi, 'Profile of Asian Minded Man X: Ōkawa Shūmei', *The Developing Economies*, 7 (1969), 367-379, (p. 368); Osbach, p. 339; George M. Wilson, 'Kita Ikki's Theory of Revolution', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 26 (1966), 88-99, (p. 89); Henshall, p. 111.

There are two English-language biographies of Kita: George M. Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1969); Brij Tankha, *Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan: A Vision of Empire* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006).

For assertions of Japanese Fascism see: Emil Lederer, 'Fascist tendencies in Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 7 (1934), 373-85; T. A. Bisson, 'Observations on fascism in Japan', *Amerasia*, I (1938), 347-56; Charles N. Spinks, 'Bureaucratic Japan', in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), I, pp. 156-166.

most prominent right-wing political theorists in the 1930s.¹⁸⁰ Known primarily as the author of the *General Principles for the Reorganisation of Japan* (1919), in the 1920s he aimed to purge politics of corruption and establish popular rule through authoritarian means, namely a three year dictatorship followed by a socialistic democracy.¹⁸¹ His works became a major influence for young nationalist radicals, and consequently he has been closely associated with the March 26th Incident, the failed coup which increased military control over government.¹⁸²

To Szpilman the contradictions between Kita's socialism and authoritarianism, his veneration and denigration of the Emperor, evidenced a lack of ideological conviction and were indicative of a simple intent, to 'shock, to frighten and terrorise'.¹⁸³ If this were the case perhaps a selective interpretation of Kita's views could be understood. However this failure to represent complex underlying consistencies is precisely what allowed later statist to warp Kita's ideology, thereby positioning him inside the state.¹⁸⁴ By bundling *Meishuron* Asianists together, Hotta, Saaler and Szpilman fail to recognise the substantially different programmes of

¹⁸⁰ Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 468; Matsuda, p. 434; Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan*, p. 136; Orbach, p. 340.

¹⁸¹ Kita Ikki, *Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan* [1919], trans. Brij Tankha in *Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan: A Vision of Empire*, ed. Brij Tankha (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006), pp. 161-229; Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki: "An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution,"' p. 271; Kita Ikki, 'Excerpt from *Shina Kakumei Gaishi*' [An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution] (Tokyo: Daitōtaku, 1915:1921), in *Kita Ikki Chosakushū* [Collected Works by Kita Ikki], 2 vols (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1959) II, pp. 115-116, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 275-276; Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*, p. 238.

¹⁸² Stryer, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism*; Yoshimi, p. 368.

For the origins of Japanese socialism see: Hyman Kublin, 'The Origins of Japanese Socialist Tradition', *The Journal of Politics*, 14 (1952), 257-280.

For similar, more socialistic and liberalistic, theory for the young officers movement see: Marius B. Jansen, 'Oi Kentaro: Radicalism and Chauvinism', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 11 (1952), 305-316.

¹⁸³ Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 468.

¹⁸⁴ Orbach, p. 340.

Japan's political theorists and the state.¹⁸⁵ Kita's pan-Asianism, unlike the state's, was intrinsically tied to his political programme.¹⁸⁶

Viewing history as a linear development with a demarcated end, Kita's was an evolutionary view of the state, where revolution was vital for progression to a 'socialist utopia' and national survival.¹⁸⁷ Kita's withering diatribes against government, in which he argued that the oligarchs and politicians had betrayed the Meiji 'revolution', appropriating the power of the people, denying them universal suffrage and deceiving them through notions of imperial divinity, saw his works immediately banned.¹⁸⁸ Fearing a 'world crisis', his works advocated the nationalisation of major industries, a wealth cap, seizure of private landholdings over ¥100,000 and renunciation of the Imperial estates by the Emperor.¹⁸⁹ Indeed, Kita even argued for universal (male) suffrage as early as 1919.¹⁹⁰ Yet, crucially, this was primarily a precursor to his expansionism and pan-Asianism, which, as a Nichiren Buddhist, he saw as vital for enlightenment in his prophesied apocalypse.¹⁹¹ His was a violently expansionist eschatology,

¹⁸⁵ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 45; Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki: "An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution,"', p. 271.

¹⁸⁶ Kita, *Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan*; Fahs; Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, p. 178.

¹⁸⁷ Orbach, pp. 342-345.

¹⁸⁸ Orbach, pp. 345-346; Elise K. Tipton, *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2002: 2008), p. 124; Tankha, *Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan*, p. 20.

For widespread social unrest and anger at corruption see: Tipton; Tetsuo Najita, 'Inukai Tsuyoshi: Some Dilemmas in Party Development in Pre-World War II Japan', *The American Historical Review*, 74 (1968), 492-510.

¹⁸⁹ Kita, *Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan*, pp. 177-191; Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*, p. 238.

For the similar, more notorious at the time, views of Kita's brother, see: Kita Reikichi: Kita Reikichi, 'Waha Kuni no Daishimei' [The Great Mission of Our Country], *Tōhō Jiron*, 12 (1917), 19-21, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 302-303; Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 'Kita Reikichi: "Misunderstood Asianism" and "The Great Mission of Our Country," 1917', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 297-300.

¹⁹⁰ Tomoko, p. 137; Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 478.

¹⁹¹ Tomoko, p. 137; Orbach, p. 355.

where on the path to Heaven ‘there [was] no peace without war’.¹⁹² Thus, reorganisation and expansion were vital ‘to shed the light of Heaven’, and could only be achieved through authoritarianism, with ‘the scriptures of freedom’ in one hand, and ‘the sword of tyranny’ in the other.¹⁹³ In viewing history as linear, Kita anticipated a ‘heaven on earth’ which would destroy the decadence of ‘this stupid humanity’.¹⁹⁴ His prophecy of the “final war” between East and West, which would end in *hakkō ichiu*, was shaped by his symbolic (though not literal) reverence of the ‘sacred emperor’ and of Japan as the ‘Land of the Gods’.¹⁹⁵

Thus, Kita’s eschatology provides crucial insight into his views on the state, the public and the Emperor. Though he argued for universal suffrage, the impending apocalypse required drastic action, a coup to establish the foundations of the revolutionary state.¹⁹⁶ Describing his *coup* as an expression of ‘social will’, he saw conservative assemblies as entirely illegitimate, and argued for the declaration of martial law, the suspension of the Constitution for three years, the dissolution of the Diet and the abolition of the various oligarchic governmental institutions.¹⁹⁷ Yet, as described earlier, this was the means not the end. Although the Emperor was symbolically central to Kita’s unification of state and people, Kita demanded that his

¹⁹² Kita, *Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan*, p. 229.

¹⁹³ Kita, cited in Orbach 352.

¹⁹⁴ Kita, cited in Orbach, p. 347; Orbach, p. 340.

¹⁹⁵ Kita, *Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan*, p. 169; Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan’s Confrontation with the West* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 81; Tankha, *Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan*.

¹⁹⁶ Wilson, ‘Kita Ikki’s Theory of Revolution’, p. 95; Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*, p. 238; Szpilman, ‘Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion’, p. 477.

¹⁹⁷ Kita, *Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan*, p. 177; Tankha, *Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan*, p. 132; Wilson, ‘Kita Ikki’s Theory of Revolution’, p. 92.

property be confiscated, a far cry from the later conservatism of Japan's "fascist", "pan-Asianist" governments.¹⁹⁸

As an ardent opponent to the state, Kita inspired a wave of political terror against the government and elites.¹⁹⁹ Yet although young officers who were members of "The Cherry Blossom Society" and the "League of Blood" were influenced by Kita's 1919 and 1923 works they had relatively little contact with him in the 1930s.²⁰⁰ Certainly he approved of the killings of Dan Takuma, Inouye Junnosuke (prominent businessmen) and Inukai Tsuyoshi (the Premier), but by 1931 he had largely ceased political activism, focusing on his faith.²⁰¹ Somewhat ironic considering it was after Mukden that his work attained widespread notoriety.²⁰² Whilst he still supported reform, Kita, much like Ishiwara, argued that Japan was unprepared for war in China, or against the US, and desperately tried to prevent the 'premature' February 26th Incident.²⁰³ Arrested in the wake of the Incident, Kita was executed in 1937.²⁰⁴ He was foremost a theorist, not an activist, and it is vital to demarcate his views and actions from the Kodo faction of the army, and from the "fascist" state that followed. Kita spent his last days reciting the Lotus Sutra,

¹⁹⁸ Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 475; Kasza, p. 621.

¹⁹⁹ Gordon, p. 167; Orbach, p. 353; Kasza, p. 607.

²⁰⁰ Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 486; Orbach, p. 344.

²⁰¹ Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 486; Storry, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism*.

For the appeal of terroristic action in the 1930s see: Takehiko Noguchi and Teruko Craig, 'Mishima Yukio and Kita Ikki: The Aesthetics and Politics of Ultrnationalism in Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 10 (1984), 437-454; Stephen S. Large, 'Substantiating the nation: terrorist trials as nationalist theatre in early Showa Japan', in *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*, ed. by Sandra Wilson (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), pp. 55-69; Large, 'Nationalist Extremism in Early Shōwa Japan'.

²⁰² For the changing ideology of army activists in the 1930s see: Iriye Akira, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London: Longman, 1987).

²⁰³ Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 488.

²⁰⁴ Szpilman, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', p. 472.

and in his farewell letter to his adopted Chinese son offered no political message, simply imploring him to follow the teachings of Nichiren.²⁰⁵

Ishiwara Kanji and the 'Final War'

Predominantly remembered for his role in the Mukden Incident, Hotta categorises Ishiwara amongst *Meishuron* pan-Asianists who sought Japanese domination over Asia.²⁰⁶ Through this lens, she describes the Incident as the 'first significant and practical application' of pan-Asianism.²⁰⁷ Yet Ishiwara's conception of Japan's role was a complex one, and like Kita, was driven primarily by Nichiren Buddhism.²⁰⁸ After converting in 1920, Ishiwara likewise became fascinated with the notion of historical predetermination and "world trends".²⁰⁹ In particular,

²⁰⁵ Orbach, p. 344.

For factionalism of the army see: James B. Crowley, 'Japanese Army Factionalism in the Early 1930's', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 21 (1962), 309-326.

For army bureaucratic/restorationist divides see: Kitaoka Shin'ichi, 'The Army as a Bureaucracy: Japanese Militarism Revisited', *The Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 67-86.

²⁰⁶ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 76; Gates, p. 6; James Weland, 'Misguided Intelligence: Japanese Military Intelligence Officers in the Manchurian Incident, September 1931', *The Journal of Military History*, 58 (1994), 445-460, (p. 445).

The seminal biography of Ishiwara is: Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975)

²⁰⁷ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 76.

²⁰⁸ Peattie, p. 46.

²⁰⁹ Ishiwara Kanji, et al., 'Tōa Renmei no Hitsuzensei' [The Inevitability of the East Asian League], in *Tōa Renmei Kensetsu Yōkō* [Prospectus for Constructing the East Asian League], ed. by Tōa Renmei Kyōkai (Tokyo: Ritsumeikan Shuppanbu, 1940), 1-7, trans. by Roger H. Brown, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 204-207, (p. 207).

Peattie, p. 45; Roger H. Brown, 'Ishiwara Kanji's "Argument for an East Asian League," 1940', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 201-204, (pp. 202-203); Ishiwara Kanji, et al., 'Sengen' [Manifesto], in *Tōa Renmei Kensetsu Yōkō* [Prospectus for Constructing the East Asian League], ed. by Tōa Renmei Kyōkai (Tokyo: Ritsumeikan Shuppanbu, 1940), trans. by Roger H. Brown, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, p. 204.

the eschatological theory of the *shozomatsu*, which predicted an apocalyptic conflict, and the doctrine of Tanaka Chigaku, the ultranationalist theologian, were heavily intertwined with Ishiwara's military theorising.²¹⁰ Prophesying a 'final world war' between Japan and the US, Ishiwara prepared a strategic plan, calling for economic expansionism, Asian unity and governance by the Kingly Way.²¹¹ Ishiwara's pan-Asianism, like that of many others, was not an end in itself, but a path to "world unification" under the Kingly Way.²¹²

Though interested in pan-Asianism from a young age, Ishiwara's plan for a league of East Asian nations only took root following the creation of Manchukuo, and he only created his East Asian League Association in 1939.²¹³ Despite instigating the Mukden Incident, Ishiwara did not seek to exploit Japan's military advantage against China and was a fervent opponent to the war there, predicting the resultant "quagmire" which he feared would weaken Japan's strategic position before the "final war".²¹⁴ As strategic demands on Manchukuo increased, Ishiwara assailed the corruption of the army as they dashed his dreams of (semi-autonomous) cooperation.²¹⁵ Indeed, after returning to Manchuria in 1937, Ishiwara tried to revive the

²¹⁰ Peattie, p. 46.

²¹¹ Ishiwara, 'Sengen'; Ishiwara, 'Tōa Renmei no Hitsuzensei'; Richard Storry, 'Soldiers of the Showa Empire', *Pacific Affairs*, 49 (1976), 102-107, (p. 102); Gordon, p. 188.

²¹² Ishiwara, 'Tōa Renmei no Hitsuzensei'; Peattie, p. 46.

For the role of the Kingly Way see: Dai Ajiashugi, 'Dai Ajia Kyōkai Sōritsu Shushi' [The reasons for the founding of the Greater Asia Association], *Dai Ajiashugi*, 1 (1933), 2-5, trans. by Torsten Weber, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 142-144; Roger H. Brown, 'Visions of a virtuous manifest destiny: Yasuoka Masahiro and Japan's Kingly Way', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 133-150.

²¹³ Brown, 'Ishiwara Kanji's "Argument for an East Asian League,"', p. 203.

²¹⁴ Brown, 'Ishiwara Kanji's "Argument for an East Asian League,"', p. 201; Gordon, p. 207; Storry, 'Soldiers of the Showa Empire', p. 104.

²¹⁵ Brown, 'Ishiwara Kanji's "Argument for an East Asian League,"', p. 202; Peattie, p. 178.

Concordia Association, resulting in further repression by Tōjō, and firmly insisted that the army cease “internal guidance” so that China might be persuaded to join an East Asian League.²¹⁶

While Ishiwara was no egalitarian, he saw political independence, even for Korea, as a prerequisite for an East Asian League, and viewed the Emperor, rather than Japan itself, as the leader of a “unified world”.²¹⁷

Isolated by May 1938, Ishiwara returned to Japan and began a series of attacks on Tōjō, decrying him as a ‘enem[y] of the world’, who should be ‘arrested and executed’.²¹⁸ He railed against a ‘rotten’ government which ‘squander[s] the nations’ power in an unjustifiable war’, and warned that victory was distant.²¹⁹ Primarily, Ishiwara’s League was an anti-government organisation, its vision of a semi-autonomous states within a regional commonwealth, and its attacks on Japanese exploitation in Manchuria and corruption at home meant the League was soon suppressed and disbanded by Tōjō.²²⁰ Ishiwara found himself under constant Kempeitai surveillance, and on the 1st March 1941 was forcibly retired from service, silenced at last.²²¹

For early assertions of Asian brotherhood in Manchukuo see: Ministry of Education [Manchukuo], *Excerpt from Gaoji xiaoxuexiao xiushen jiaokeshu disice* [Upper Grade, Elementary School, Textbook for Self-Cultivation] (1935), I, trans. by Prasenjit Duara, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 165-166; Ministry of Education [Manchukuo], *Excerpt from Zhuji xiaoxuexiao xiushen jiaokeshu* [Beginning Grade, Elementary School, Textbook for Self-Cultivation] (1935), IV, trans. by Prasenjit Duara, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 164-165.

For the military reasoning behind the Mukden Incident see: Weland.

²¹⁶ Peattie, pp. 312-313.

²¹⁷ Peattie, p. 321; Brown, ‘Visions of a virtuous manifest destiny’, p. 135.

²¹⁸ Ishiwara, cited in Peattie, p. 330; Brown, ‘Ishiwara Kanji’s “Argument for an East Asian League,”’, p. 203.

²¹⁹ Peattie, pp. 307-308.

²²⁰ Brown, ‘Ishiwara Kanji’s “Argument for an East Asian League,”’, p. 203; Miyazaki Masayoshi, *Tōa Renmei Ron* [On the East Asian League] (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1938), pp. 44-53, trans. by Michael A. Schneider, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 182-183, (p. 182).

Sources on the activities of the East Asian League: Miyazaki, *Tōa Renmei Ron*.

²²¹ Peattie, p. 330; Brown, ‘Ishiwara Kanji’s “Argument for an East Asian League,”’, p. 203.

Clearly Ishiwara held genuine, deep-seated ideological beliefs, and his pan-Asianism was not merely a justification for war, or the state. Despite playing a crucial role in formulating Japanese expansionism and wartime pan-Asianism, his ideology, like Kita's, arose from a complex interplay of beliefs which, since his downfall, have often lain forgotten.

Part IV:
Living Nightmares – Apostasy and
Martyrdom
(1936-45)

The Shōwa years, born amidst the despair of the Great Depression, witnessed a drastic increase in political violence and extremism.²²² Following a series of assassinations and coup attempts from 1931-36, and an increasingly out of control army, the state became gradually more authoritarian. The diversity, liberalism, internationalism, democratism and pacifism of earlier forms of pan-Asianism came to be subsumed in service of that great monolith, the state. Yet many of those self-same intellectuals who were at the heart of Japanese liberalism, who campaigned against Japanese expansionism, came to head Japan's imperial project. Typically understood as an act of "tenkō", this explanation evidently falls short, failing to account for underlying consistencies in these deeply held ideological convictions, and the resultant complexity of "state" ideology.²²³

Tokutomi Sohō and the 'Gospel of Power'

Often cited as one of the earliest examples of "tenkō", Tokutomi Sohō presaged the political tendencies of 1930s Japanese intellectuals in more ways than one.²²⁴ He received a

²²² For the impact of the Great Depression see: Kuronuma Yuji, *Showa Depression: A Prescription for "Once in a Century Crisis"* (Tokyo: Japan Center for Economic Research, 2009); Hamada Koichi and Asahi Noguchi, *The Role of Preconceived Ideas in Macroeconomic Policy: Japan's Experiences in the Two Deflationary Periods* (Connecticut: Yale University Economic Growth Centre, 2005).

For the role of the Great Kanto Earthquake in political polarisation see: J. Charles Schencking, 'The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Culture of Catastrophe and Reconstruction in 1920s Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 34 (2008), 295-331.

²²³ Shunsuke, 'Tenko kenkyū'; Fletcher, p. 42.

For contemporary writing on Tenko see: E. H. Anstice, 'Japan's "Dangerous" Students', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 695-699.

²²⁴ Shunsuke, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan*, p. 12.

The only one major English-language biography of Tokutomi is: John D. Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957: A Journalist for Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

largely Western education, studying English at the Kumamoto Yogakko, and was a fervent advocate of constitutional representative government, of freedom and liberty, and of the 'reforming, and progressive tendencies' of the nation's youth.²²⁵ An advocate of popular rights, Tokutomi found fame in the publication of *The Future Japan* (1886), subsequently founding the daily *The Nation's Friend*.²²⁶ In particular he assailed the militarism and oligarchism of the Meiji state and urged cooperation with the West as the path to survival.²²⁷ Adhering largely to Spencerian social theory, he went further than most liberal intellectuals, promoting *heiminshugi* [commonerism] above *minponshugi*.²²⁸

Yet, despite the overwhelmingly progressive tone of *The Nation's Friend*, which reached an unprecedented circulation of 25,000 copies, his views changed rapidly in the wake of the First Sino-Japanese War.²²⁹ While this might suggest opportunism, Tokutomi saw no inconsistencies in his thought, and failed to repent his liberalism after 1895, or his expansionism after 1945.²³⁰ This can perhaps be understood as the result of a changing appreciation of Japan's role in the world, in 1905 the West had ceased to be a model for emulation and instead posed a threat to the interests of Japan, as it would again in the

²²⁵ Tokutomi Soho [Ichirō], 'Shorai no Nihon', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 128-132, (pp. 128-129); John D. Pierson, 'The Early Liberal Thought of Tokutomi Sohō. Some Problems of Western Social Theory in Meiji Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29 (1974), 199-224, (p. 201).

²²⁶ Alistair Swale, 'Tokutomi Sohō and the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," 1917', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 279-282, (p. 279).

²²⁷ Pierson, 'The Early Liberal Thought of Tokutomi Sohō', p. 218; Itū, Takashi, and George Akita, 'The Yamagata-Tokutomi Correspondence. Press and Politics in Meiji-Taisho Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 36 (1981), 391-423, (p. 423).

²²⁸ Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957*, p. 131.

²²⁹ Swale, 'Tokutomi Sohō and the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," 1917', p. 279.

²³⁰ Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957*, p. 128.

1930s.²³¹ Though Tokutomi was still a supporter of liberal ideas, he recognised that receptivity to these ideals was severely diminished in light of the pronouncement of the so-called “Yellow Peril”.²³²

Espousing a set of ideals more in keeping with “world trends”, the defeat of China ‘mark[ed] a new epoch’ to Tokutomi, that of Japan’s ‘leap from national existence to a world existence’.²³³ Like Nitobe, Tokutomi no longer saw “world unification” as plausible, instead espousing an ‘Asiatic Monroe Doctrine’ aimed at ‘securing the integrity of Chinese territory’.²³⁴ Providing the basis for much of later Japanese expansionism, Tokutomi couched expansionism in Westernising terms, citing a ‘duty to radiate the light of civilisation’.²³⁵ Thus, he advocated taking Taiwan from China as a ‘foothold for expansion’, but was forestalled by the Triple Intervention which provided a ‘baptis[m] into the gospel of power’.²³⁶ Resultantly, Tokutomi became an advocate for “defensive” militarism, to prevent ‘the Far East falling prey’ to Western powers.²³⁷ His anti-Westernism, just like his liberal Westernism, was grounded purely in the

²³¹ Iriye, *Japan and the Wider World*, pp. 45-47.

²³² Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957*, p. 201.

²³³ Tokutomi, cited in Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957*, p. 235.

²³⁴ Tokutomi Sohō, ‘Jimu Ikkagen’ [An Opinion on Current Issues], trans. by Alistair Swale, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 283-286, (p. 285).

For contemporary reaction to the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine see: Yasaka, pp. 941-942; Christopher W. A. Szpilman, ‘Between Pan-Asianism and nationalism: Mitsukawa Kametaro and his campaign to reform Japan and liberate Asia’, in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 85-100.

²³⁵ Tokutomi Soho [Iichirō], ‘Jishuteki gaiko no igi’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 133.

²³⁶ Tokutomi, in Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957*, p. 238.

For Tokutomi’s criticism of Chinese despotism see: Tokutomi, ‘Jimu Ikkagen’.

²³⁷ Tokutomi, cited in Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957*, p. 241.

interests of the Japanese state.²³⁸ It is through this lens that he is best understood, an apostate not from one political ideology to another, but from idealism to *Realpolitik*.²³⁹

Yet, although his program for the development of Japan changed substantially, the basic tenets remained remarkably consistent, even after 1905 he stated ‘We must pursue democracy within and imperialism without’, binding them through the Imperial House.²⁴⁰ Like many other supposed “apostates”, Tokutomi became increasingly ingratiated with government, a result of his newfound pragmatism and support for state power. In 1905 his papers sided with the government over the Hibiya Riots and in 1911 he was made a member of the House of Peers.²⁴¹ For the next thirty years Tokutomi remained a leading journalistic figure, penning a number of best-selling books.²⁴² Over time, his rhetoric was gradually subsumed by the state, and in 1934, the Foreign Ministry issued a statement resurrecting Tokutomi’s “Asiatic Monroe Doctrine” and demanding that Western powers cease “meddling” in China.²⁴³ By 1942, Tokutomi’s turn ‘to the gospel of power’ was complete, he became the chairman of the Patriotic Association for Japanese Literature and Great Japan Patriotic Writers Association, and cemented his position as

²³⁸ Tokutomi Soho [Iichirō], ‘Showa Ishi ron’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 133-145.

²³⁹ Alistair Swale, ‘Tokutomi Sohō and the problem of the nation-state in an imperialist world’, in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 69-88, (p. 69).

²⁴⁰ Tokutomi, cited in Swale, ‘Tokutomi Sohō and the problem of the nation-state in an imperialist world’, p. 80.

²⁴¹ Swale, ‘Tokutomi Sohō and the “Asiatic Monroe Doctrine,” 1917’, p. 279.

For Tokutomi’s “Imperial Democracy” see: Itū.

²⁴² Swale, ‘Tokutomi Sohō and the “Asiatic Monroe Doctrine,” 1917’, p. 280.

²⁴³ Swale, ‘Tokutomi Sohō and the problem of the nation-state in an imperialist world’, p. 282.

For Tokutomi’s opposition to the League of Nations see: Tokutomi Soho [Iichirō], ‘Senji gaigen’, in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 135.

For Tokutomi’s Asiatic Monroe Doctrine see: Tokutomi Soho [Iichirō], ‘Japan’s Mighty Mission’, in *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?*, ed. by Taraknath Das (Shanghai: 1917), pp. 153-159.

a fervent advocate of Japan's war in Pacific Asia.²⁴⁴ Like many such intellectuals, he refused to repent his actions and after the war was arrested as a Class-A war criminal.²⁴⁵ His loyalty was foremost to Japan, not to an ideal, and this would see Tokutomi sway from ardent opponent of government, to its most vocal supporter.²⁴⁶ Rather than a case of "apostasy", his is best understood as a complex comingling of idealism and pragmatism, which became ever more conservative as his dreams were slowly shattered.

Nagai Ryūtarō and Restorationism

Exalted as the political leader of 'liberalistic tendencies' in 1920, by 1940 Nagai Ryūtarō was a fervent advocate of Konoe's New Order and a leading member of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA).²⁴⁷ Often presented as an act of 'tenkō', or 'transfiguration' in earlier works, like that of Shunsuke, this explanation presents a 'false dichotomy' between

²⁴⁴ Swale, 'Tokutomi Sohō and the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," 1917', p. 280; Tokutomi, 'Senji gaigen', p. 135.

For the activities of these writers associations see: Eddy Dufourmont, 'The First Greater East Asia Writers Conference, 1942', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 229-231; Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai, [Patriotic Society for Japanese Literature], 'Final Declaration of the First Greater East Asia Writers Conference', in *Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai*, ed. by Sakuramoto Yoshio (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1996), trans. by Eddy Dufourmont, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 231-232.

²⁴⁵ Swale, 'Tokutomi Sohō and the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," 1917', p. 280.

²⁴⁶ Tokutomi, 'Japan's Mighty Mission', p. 121.

²⁴⁷ *Fresno Republican* (California), 11 September 1920, pp. 64-65, cited in Minichiello, p. 6.

The only major English-language biography of Nagai is: Minichiello.

For the declaration of the New Order see: Japanese Government, 'Statement by the Japanese Government, November 3, 1938', in *U.S. Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-41), I, pp. 477-81.

Taishō liberalism and Shōwa fascism.²⁴⁸ To understand the, surprisingly moderate, origins of many IRAA politicians and the, often genuine, participation of intellectuals in both periods requires, as the rather slight English-language historiography suggests, ‘abandon[ing] moral and ideological stereotypes’.²⁴⁹ A student at Manchester College, Nagai was fascinated by the ideas of William Gladstone and Abe Isoo, the Christian socialist, and envisioned Japan’s role as a modernising intermediary between East and West.²⁵⁰ Yet, Nagai was a stringent critic of Western idealistic hypocrisy, having been subject to an ‘unpleasant degree of race-prejudice’ while in England.²⁵¹ Consequently he abhorred American rhetoric which ‘talk[ed] more about Freedom and Equality’ than any other nation, whilst mistreating minorities.²⁵² Thus Nagai’s wartime criticism of Roosevelt’s lack of co-operation, his warning of American ‘exploit[ation of] ethnic minorities’, and his call to topple the ‘worldwide autocracy of the white man’ were not acts of apostasy, but had long-term roots.²⁵³

Nagai was a virulent critic of party despotism and corruption, describing politics as a ‘town where frauds, thieves, and pickpockets gather’.²⁵⁴ Elected in 1920 based on ‘corrections of abuses’ within the Diet, Nagai, like Yoshino, assailed the failure to fulfil the ‘Five Charter Oath’, and sought to undergo a “restoration”, purging politics of corruption, implementing

²⁴⁸ Shunsuke, ‘Tenko kenkyū’, cited in Minichiello, p. 21; Minichiello, p. 5.

²⁴⁹ Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō: The Tactical Dilemmas of Reform’, pp. 399-400; Minichiello, pp. 5-6.

²⁵⁰ Peter Duus, ‘The White Peril, 1913’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 161-164, (p. 162); Minichiello 31; Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō and the “White Peril”’, p. 43; Eiko Muruko Siniawer, ‘Liberalism Undone: Discourses on Political Violence in Interwar Japan’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 45 (2011), 973-1002, p. 994

²⁵¹ Nagai, Ryūtarō, ‘The White Peril’, *The Japan Magazine*, 3 (1913), 39-42, (p. 40); Duus, ‘The White Peril’, p. 162; Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō and the “White Peril”’, p. 44; Nagai Ryūtarō, ‘Some Questions for President Roosevelt’, *Contemporary Japan*, 7 (1939), 563-573.

²⁵² Nagai, ‘The White Peril’, p. 39; Duus, ‘The White Peril’, p. 163; Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō and the “White Peril”’, p. 45.

²⁵³ Nagai, ‘The White Peril’, p. 41; Nagai, cited in Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō and the “White Peril”’, p. 44.

²⁵⁴ Nagai, cited in Duus, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan*, p. 24.

equal voting rights, unifying the country under the Emperor, and creating a more egalitarian society.²⁵⁵ Seen as a ‘champion of the people’, Nagai’s efforts in the 1920s were mainly focused on universal suffrage, a fundamental part of “national reconstruction”, and his bill, presented at the 44th Diet, even demanded suffrage for women.²⁵⁶ Yet, like many intellectuals rooted in “world trends”, as party politics seemed increasingly ineffective Nagai began searching for new solutions.²⁵⁷ Despite his belief in the necessity of a parliamentary system, he became increasingly disillusioned, and in a 1935 article in the *Kokkoku Shimbun*, he warned that the parties had to reform themselves or risk irrelevance.²⁵⁸ As early as 1925, Nagai had begun suggesting that a one-party system could eliminate the corruption of party politics, and over time he became a close acquaintance of Kita Ikki, calling for a ‘nationalist masses party’ in April 1932.²⁵⁹

Likewise, though the foundational base of Nagai’s foreign policy outlook remained remarkably intransigent, the application shifted significantly. Throughout the 1920s Nagai’s ‘indignations [grew] more unbearable each day’ at the “positive” (interventionist) policy of Tanaka Giichi, and he firmly supported Chinese independence and modernisation.²⁶⁰ Likewise,

²⁵⁵ Minichiello, pp. 16-19; Minichiello, p. 54; Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō: The Tactical Dilemmas of Reform’, p. 413.

²⁵⁶ Minichiello, p. 58.

²⁵⁷ Minichiello, pp. 6-7; Minichiello, p. 63.

For contemporary Japanese “world trends” critique of liberalism see: Yasaka, p. 950; Yasushi Sekiguchi, ‘The Changing Status of the Cabinet in Japan’, *Pacific Affairs*, 11 (1938), 5-20, (p. 15).

²⁵⁸ Minichiello, p. 96.

For liberal disillusionment see: Richard Bellamy, *Liberalism and Modern Society: An Historical Argument* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p. 2.

For Western criticism of the parties see: Kenneth W. Colegrove, ‘Japan as a totalitarian state’, *Amerasia*, 1 (1938), 1-17, (p. 17).

²⁵⁹ Minichiello, pp. 88-89.

²⁶⁰ Nagai, cited in Minichiello, p. 75; Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō and the “White Peril”’, p. 46.

in a February 1923 article for *Kensei* he assailed the colonial administration in Korea, particularly over the suppression of the March 1st Movement and Japanese ‘demeaning attitudes’.²⁶¹ Yet his worldview was firmly entrenched in modernising discourse, and a decade later, without contradiction, he supported intervention under Konoe on the same grounds, establishing Chinese “independence” from the Kuomintang [KMT], who he viewed as despotic ‘lap dogs’ of the Western powers.²⁶²

As the 1930s grew increasingly repressive Nagai found himself absorbed into that same ruling elite he had so ardently opposed. Having lost faith in the ability of democratic bodies to reform society, Nagai campaigned for the dissolution of the Minseitō alongside other parties in July 1940, and consequently led thirty-nine members out of the party.²⁶³ He became a key supporter of Konoe’s New Order, joining the Preparatory Commission on the 28th August, and once again found himself at the forefront of political activism.²⁶⁴ Yet his support for the authoritarian New Order was not necessarily a betrayal of his reformist stance, but a repositioning based on pragmatism, and it was rooted in the same cosmopolitanism which stoked his indignation against Western powers.²⁶⁵ Hence, Nagai was one of many intellectuals

²⁶¹ Minichiello, p. 75; Nagai, cited in Minichiello, p. 80.

²⁶² Nagai, cited in Minichiello, p. 102; Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō and the “White Peril”’, p. 46; Nagai Ryūtarō, ‘Ajia saiken no seisen’ [Holy War for the Reconstruction of Asia], *Nihon Bunka*, 10 (1937), 27-42, trans. by Roger H. Brown, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 156-159, (p. 156).

²⁶³ Minichiello, p. 21; Minichiello, p. 112.

For similar views see: Matsuoka Yosuke, ‘Dissolve the Political Parties’, *Contemporary Japan*, 4 (1932), 661-667; Yanaga Chitoshi, ‘The military and the government in Japan’ (1941), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), I, pp. 144-155.

²⁶⁴ Minichiello, p. 110; Minichiello, p. 103.

²⁶⁵ Duus, ‘Nagai Ryūtarō: The Tactical Dilemmas of Reform’, p. 401; Minichiello, pp. 103-112.

who became simultaneously anti-Western and pro-Westernisation, whilst adapting their idealism to the only outlet available to them. Nagai's vision for the IRAA was that of a political, rather than public, organ, he did not picture it as an absolutist body.²⁶⁶ The compromise resulting from the structural changes in April 1941 meant that the IRAA never became the political decision-making body Nagai envisioned, instead being relegated to a tool for mass mobilisation.²⁶⁷ Consequently many intellectuals left the IRAA, yet Nagai stayed until his death in 1944, perhaps aware that his influence was further limited elsewhere.²⁶⁸ Thus, his supposed "apostasy" is not so hard to understand, and reflected a common shift from progressive-reformist to restoration-reformist, where leftist reformists worked alongside rightist reformists in the 1930s to maintain some degree of influence.

Rōyama Masamichi and Bureaucratism

One of the foundational figures of Japanese transnationalism, and a student to Yoshino Sakuzō, Rōyama Masamichi found himself at the forefront of the wartime mobilisation effort.²⁶⁹

For imperial cosmopolitanism see: John Namjun Kim, 'The temporality of empire: The imperial cosmopolitanism of Miki Kiyoshi and Tanabe Hajime', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 151-167.

²⁶⁶ Minichiello, p. 113.

²⁶⁷ Minichiello, p. 117.

²⁶⁸ Minichiello, p. 116.

For Nagai's role in the development of state rhetoric see: Roger H. Brown, 'Nagai Ryūtarō: "Holy War for the Reconstruction of Asia," 1937', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, p. 155; Nagai, 'Ajia saiken no seisen'.

²⁶⁹ Han Jung-Sun, 'Rationalizing the Orient: The "East Asia Cooperative Community" in Prewar Japan', *Momumenta Nipponica*, 60 (2004), 481-514, (p. 482); Stegewerns, 'Forgotten Leaders', p. 113; Han, Jung-Sun, 'Rōyama Masamichi and the "Principles of an East Asian Cooperative Community," 1938', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 175-176, (p. 175).

His work on the *kyōdōtai* [regional community] became a central tenet of Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere, and his prominent position in the "New Order in East Asia" has typically been presented as "*tenkō*".²⁷⁰ Yet Rōyama's regionalism was closely intertwined with his internationalism, and his trajectory was rooted in rationalist bureaucratism, which unhappily coincided with the culturalist and restorationist visions of Empire which represented the antithesis of Rōyama's thought.²⁷¹ Emerging onto the political scene at the height of the Taishō democratic movement, Rōyama viewed liberalism as fundamentally 'compatible with [the aims of] the state', and saw politics as a functional practice aimed at bringing stability to the national entity and the people within it.²⁷²

Like most internationalist pan-Asianists, Rōyama held an evolutionary view of history, which was outlined in his 1928 work *International Politics and International Administration*,

There are no English-language biographies of Rōyama, though a number of his works are available in English.

²⁷⁰ Han, 'Rationalizing the Orient', p. 481-503; Stegewerns, 'Forgotten Leaders', p. 113.

²⁷¹ Han, 'Rationalizing the Orient', p. 482; Koschmann, J. Victor, 'Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi and Asian regionalism in wartime Japan', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 185-199, (p. 185).

For examples of Rōyama's bureaucratism see: Rōyama Masamichi, 'The South Manchurian Railway Zone: And the Nature of Its Administration', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 1018-1034; Koschmann, 'Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi'.

For similar bureaucratic reformists see: Nakano Seigō, 'Bōkoku no Sanga' [The Mountains and Rivers of a Fallen State], in *Sekai Seisaku to Kyōkutō Seisaku* [Global and Far Eastern Policy] (Tokyo: Shiseidō Shoten, 1917), pp. 326-328, 396-398, trans. by Stefano von Loë, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 52-53
Nakano Seigō, 'Kono Issen: Kokumin wa ika ni Tatakaubeki' [This One War - How the People Should Fight], Tōhōkai, (1942), 13-16, trans. by Stefano von Loë, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 53-54.

For growing influence of bureaucratism see: Silberman, 'Bureaucratic Development'.

²⁷² Koschmann, 'Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi', p. 187; Tomoko, p. 136; Rōyama (1933), cited in Tomoko, p. 136; Rōyama Masamichi, *Foreign Policy of Japan: 1914-1939* (Tokyo: Japanese Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941); Kobayashi Hiroharu, 'Rōyama Masamichi's perception of international order from the 1920s and 1930s and the concept of East Asian Community', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 135-167, (p. 138).

which described the process by which tribal societies evolved into national societies, and then international societies.²⁷³ Thus, Rōyama criticised ‘immature Chinese nationalism’ which ‘distort[ed Japanese expansion] as imperialism’, and he argued for a ‘transcendence of nationalism’ through regional development.²⁷⁴ As a result of these concerns, Rōyama joined the Japan Branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations as a China specialist in 1927.²⁷⁵ Appointed as head of a special research committee on Manchuria, Rōyama argued that the political framework in Manchuria should be based on ‘regional development’ rather than international law, in order to promote China to the middle-stage of a modern nation state.²⁷⁶ Perceiving these political problems in primarily developmental terms, Rōyama began formulating a form of pan-Asianist regionalism centred around an “East Asian Cooperative Community”.²⁷⁷ As a consequence he produced a rhetoric which would become vital to wartime legitimisation, insisting that Japanese empire was not exploitative and would bring as many benefits to China as Japan.²⁷⁸ In the wake of the Mukden Incident Rōyama insisted on international recognition of Japanese claims, and blamed international peace bodies for failing to recognise the developmental ‘special relation’ between China and Japan.²⁷⁹ Resultantly, he justified Japanese

²⁷³ Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, p. 484; Han, ‘Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 175; Koschmann, ‘Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 194.

²⁷⁴ Rōyama, *Kaizo*, November 1938, pp. 16-17, cited in Koschmann, ‘Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi’, pp. 194-195; Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, p. 488.

²⁷⁵ Han, ‘Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 176; Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, p. 487-492.

²⁷⁶ Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, pp. 492-493.

²⁷⁷ Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, p. 490; Han, ‘Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 176.

²⁷⁸ Rōyama, *The Fundamental Problems of Pacific Relations*, cited in Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, pp. 494-495.

²⁷⁹ Sandra Wilson, ‘The Manchurian Crisis and Moderate Japanese Intellectuals: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 26 (1992), 507-544, (p. 516); Aydin, ‘Japan’s Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order’, p. 6; Han, *An Imperial Path to Modernity*; Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, p. 497.

expansionism, though his was a conditional justification, which relied on at least the illusion of cooperative expansionism.²⁸⁰

Unlike Yoshino, Rōyama was keenly aware of social inequity, and in the 1930s found his democratism assailed to a far greater extent.²⁸¹ In his *The Direction of Japanese Politics*, Rōyama perceived a 'second stage' in Japanese politics, influenced by a sense of a worldwide 'crisis of democracy' and thus he turned towards a 'social progressivism' which relied on institutional support for social welfare, rather than that of 'bourgeois government'.²⁸² Hence, Konoe's "New Order", the bureaucratism of which found its expression in the IRAA and Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, was primarily conceived by Rōyama and other members of the Shōwa Research Association (SRA), Konoe's personal think-tank.²⁸³ As a close advisor to Konoe and head of the World Policy Section, Rōyama's conception of an East Asian Cooperative Community was a complex one, which blamed Japan for treating Manchuria and Korea 'like colonies without any self-reflection' and stressed the importance of understanding Chinese interests.²⁸⁴ Building upon the ideas of earlier internationalists like Yoshino, Rōyama conceived of it as a voluntary collective, based on a developmental Sino-Japanese economic alliance, rather than on territorial empire.²⁸⁵ In his seminal 1938 article in *Kaizo*, Rōyama argued that Japan, confronted with Western hostility, must overcome entrenched nationalism,

²⁸⁰ Wilson, 'The Manchurian Crisis and Moderate Japanese Intellectuals', p. 516.

²⁸¹ Han, *An Imperial Path to Modernity*, p. 142.

²⁸² Rōyama, *The Direction of Japanese Politics*, cited in Koschmann, 'Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi', p. 187; Koschmann, 'Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi', p. 197; Han, *An Imperial Path to Modernity*, p. 142; Rōyama, *Foreign Policy of Japan*, p. 171.

²⁸³ Koschmann, 'Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi', p. 193.

²⁸⁴ Rōyama, cited in Han, *An Imperial Path to Modernity*, p. 184; Han, 'Rationalizing the Orient', pp. 503-504; Stegewerns, 'Forgotten Leaders'.

²⁸⁵ Stegewerns, 'Forgotten Leaders', p. 114; Han, 'Rationalizing the Orient', p. 481; Rōyama, cited in Han, 'Rōyama Masamichi', pp. 178-179.

‘construct[ing] a regional destiny’ based on consideration of the ‘heterogeneity of [different] cultures’.²⁸⁶ Thus, his *kyōdōtai* was not based in “Asian culture”, but in ‘regionalism pursued [for] security and development’.²⁸⁷ However, though Rōyama stated that ‘existing geopolitical conditions [were not] sufficient’ for the establishment of a Co-Prosperity Sphere and criticised the Greater Asia Association, whose nationalism and visions of *hakkō ichiu* he called unrealistic and anachronistic, as a senior state intellectual Rōyama actively supported wartime mobilisation efforts.²⁸⁸ Understanding pan-Asianists like Rōyama who supported the war effort, but were ideologically distinct from state ultranationalism, is vital to understanding the internationalist origins and diversity of pan-Asianism. Though Rōyama supported the state, he was not simply a propagandist, as evidenced by his pessimism about Japan’s war aims. His political vision, though transformed by the realities of his era, was based largely on the socialistic and internationalist ideals of previous generations of liberals.

Ozaki Hotsumi – Apostate and Martyr

Ozaki Hotsumi, partner of Richard Sorge, and the preeminent informant of the Sorge Spy Ring, was also a close friend of Konoe and a member of the SRA.²⁸⁹ Though scholarship on

²⁸⁶ Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, p. 504; Rōyama, cited in Koschmann, ‘Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 190.

²⁸⁷ Rōyama, cited in Koschmann, ‘Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 192; Koschmann, ‘Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi’, pp. 190-192.

²⁸⁸ Han, ‘Rationalizing the Orient’, p. 482; Aydin, ‘Japan’s Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order’, p. 17; Koschmann, ‘Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 196.

²⁸⁹ Chalmers Johnson, *An Instance of Treason: Ozaki Hotsumi and the Sorge Spy Ring* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1990), p. 1; Eri Hotta, ‘Ozaki Hotsumi: “The Ideal of the ‘East Asian Cooperative Body’ and the Objective Basis for Its Formation,” 1939’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 185-189, (p. 185).

him is particularly limited, it provides a fascinating insight into the often intertwined ideologies of liberalism, fascism, communism and authoritarianism. Undergoing a liberal education under the legal scholar Minobe Tatsukichi, Ozaki found his worldview threatened in the wake of the March 15th Incident, the Takikawa Incident of 1933, and the indictment of Minobe during the Organ Theory Affair, a period in which virtually all liberals either retired or “committed *tenkō*”.²⁹⁰ Consequently the SRA was formed in 1937 from the base of the exclusive *Asameshikai*, an informal policy discussion group consisting of Konoe’s closest friends and aides, and aimed to provide an outlet to those intellectuals who wished to retain some role in public affairs.²⁹¹ Ozaki was heavily involved in the New Political Order, believing it to contain the foundations of a Leninist state, and actually drafted the first plan, for a totalitarian mass party which could bring the Army to heel.²⁹² Yet, by the time the idea was accepted, during the second Konoe cabinet, the Army had largely neutered it, before implementing it as the IRAA.²⁹³ Certainly, Ozaki did not view his spying or his opposition to Army rule as incompatible with his role in the Research Association, and continued to publish articles critical of the Army’s China policy throughout the 1930s.²⁹⁴

Raised in colonial Taiwan, Ozaki had a keen awareness of the realities of colonial rule, recalling the ‘ruler-ruled’ dynamic as an ‘extraordinary experience’, and this grew into a potent

The only one English-language biography of Ozaki is: Johnson.

²⁹⁰ Johnson, p. 27; Johnson, p. 117.

²⁹¹ Johnson, p. 117; Hotta, ‘Ozaki Hotsumi’, p. 185.

²⁹² Johnson, p. 120; Ozaki Hotsumi, ‘The new national structure’, *Contemporary Japan*, 10 (1940), 1284-1292; Ozaki Hotsumi, “Tōa Kyōdōtai’ no rinen to sono seiritsu no kyakkanteki kiso’ [Principle of the “East Asian Cooperative Body” and the Objective Basis for Its Establishment], *Chūō Kōron*, January 1939, trans. by Eri Hotta, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 189-192.

²⁹³ Johnson, p. 121.

²⁹⁴ Johnson, p. 3.

humanistic concern over exploitative rule.²⁹⁵ Ozaki's visits to China made him aware of the chaos there, and he was naturally sympathetic with the plight of Chinese Communists.²⁹⁶ Though he described himself as both a nationalist and internationalist, in his *The Idea of "East Asian Community"*, published in the late 1930s, he conceived of a federalist body, like that of Rōyama, which could loosen the strangle-hold of Western colonialism.²⁹⁷ The views given in his 1939 article in *Chūō kōron* rejected naive Wilsonian idealism and reflected hopes for a cooperative post-capitalist East Asia. Yet at the same time, his interrogation records demonstrate he was 'not a simple communist', and rejected the utopian internationalism of the Comintern, supporting more pragmatic policies centred around China and Japan.²⁹⁸ Most importantly, his concerns for Asia were 'a reflection' rather than a 'camouflage' for his thought, and remained consistent throughout his elevation through political spheres, his spying and his discovery.²⁹⁹ Indeed, his 1939 article, whilst criticising the KMT, focused on the necessity of gaining Chinese support and argued that Japanese soldiers 'did not spill their precious blood [for material] compensation', but to bring about 'ultimate peace' in the East.³⁰⁰ Even following

²⁹⁵ Hotta, 'Ozaki Hotsumi', p.185; Ozaki, *Memorandum Part I*, cited in Johnson, p. 186.

For key examples of Japanese exploitation/war crimes see: Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (London: Penguin Group, 1997); Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Wakabayashi Bob Tadashi, "'Imperial Japanese" Drug Trafficking in China: Historiographic Perspective', *Sino-Japanese Studies*, 13 (2000), pp. 3-19.

For bureaucratic support for "benevolent rule" see: Roger H. Brown, 'Shepherds of the People: Yasuoka Masahiro and the New Bureaucrats in Early Showa Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 35 (2009), 285-319, (pp. 285-290).

²⁹⁶ Hotta, 'Ozaki Hotsumi', p. 185

²⁹⁷ Katō Yoko, 'Pan-Asianism and national reorganization: Japanese perceptions of China and the United States, 1914-19', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 67-82, (p. 68); Hotta, 'Ozaki Hotsumi', p. 188.

²⁹⁸ Hotta, 'Ozaki Hotsumi', p. 189; Ozaki, cited in Hotta, 'Ozaki Hotsumi', p. 189.

²⁹⁹ Hotta, 'Ozaki Hotsumi', p. 189.

³⁰⁰ Ozaki, "Tōa Kyōdōtai", pp. 191-192.

Ozaki's arrest on October 15th 1941, Konoe refused to believe his guilt, and suspected it was a plot by the military.³⁰¹ Iwabuchi Tatsuo, a close personal friend of Konoe, said he saw him depressed only twice, when Ozaki was arrested and when Japan surrendered.³⁰² Indicatively, Ozaki's trial began with him reading from Sato Tsuji's *Philosophy of the Imperial Way*, and his first *tenkōsho* demonstrated his belief in the just cause of his actions.³⁰³ Throughout his life, Ozaki was willing to critique Marxism, and in that *tenkōsho* assailed it for a 'mistaken [...] estimate' of nationalism.³⁰⁴ Expecting a prison sentence, Ozaki was shocked when he was sentenced to death.³⁰⁵ Thus, Ozaki died both a traitor and a patriot, a nationalist and an internationalist, a communist and a fascist, but above all an idealist. His life demonstrates the surprising malleability of different ideologies under extreme pressure, but through its consistently altruistic aims underlines the stark differences between idealists and propagandists.

Konoe Fumimaro and the Poison Chalice

Prime Minister from 1937-39 and 1940-41, and leader of the IRAA, Konoe Fumimaro played a prominent role in wartime policy-making; he has been described variously as a fascist, expansionist, and as 'a man of great parts fated to fail'.³⁰⁶ Ultimately, the hopes of a generation

³⁰¹ Johnson, p. 179.

³⁰² Johnson, p. 179.

³⁰³ Johnson, p. 193.

³⁰⁴ Johnson, p. 193; Ozaki, cited in Johnson, p. 193.

³⁰⁵ Johnson, p. 198.

³⁰⁶ Gordon M. Berger, 'Japan's Young Prince. Konoe Fumimaro's Early Political Career, 1916-1931', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29 (1974), 451-457, (p. 452).

There is only two major English-language biographies of Konoe: Kazuo Yagami, *Konoe Fumimaro and the Failure of Peace in Japan, 1937-1941: A Critical Appraisal of the Three-Time Prime Minister* (North Carolina: McFarland &

rested upon his shoulders, and his emphasis on political reform, his widespread popularity, and support from a variety of political groups, led many to believe he could both reform the corruption of the democratic parties while moderating expansionism and totalitarianism.³⁰⁷ Hotta, who portrays the SRA as overwhelmingly fascist, similarly suggests Konoe was simply a fascistic expansionist, both vast oversimplifications.³⁰⁸ The SRA contained great diversity of members, and whilst some planned for military dictatorship, others clearly supported mass rule.³⁰⁹ Though Konoe was a stringent critic of party rule, this was in part drawn from his studies of socialism and Marxian economics at university, and throughout the 1920s Konoe supported representative government.³¹⁰ Similarly, Konoe's response to the formation of the League of Nations was a complex one, like many Japanese politicians and intellectuals, he criticised Wilsonianism for maintaining an inequitable world order.³¹¹ Writing in 1918, Konoe framed challenging this as vital to Japan's 'right to survival', and demanded that all nations decolonise, open their markets and end discriminatory immigration policies.³¹² Though Konoe

Company, 2006); Yoshitake Oka, *Konoe Fumimaro: A Political Biography*, trans. by Shumpei Okamoto and Patricia Murray (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1972:1983).

³⁰⁷ Berger, p. 451; Kazuo, p. 41; Roger H. Brown, 'The Konoe Cabinet's "Declaration of a New Order in East Asia," 1938', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 167-169.

³⁰⁸ Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 141; Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War*, p. 66.

³⁰⁹ Yoshitake, p. 92.

³¹⁰ Berger, p. 473; Eri Hotta, 'Konoe Fumimaro: "A Call to Reject the Anglo-American Centred Peace," 1918', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 311-314.

³¹¹ Hotta, 'Konoe Fumimaro', p. 312; Konoe Fumimaro, 'Eibei Hon'i Heiwashugi o Hai Su' [A Call to Reject the Anglo-American Centred Peace], *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, 746 (1918), 23-26, trans. by Eri Hotta, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 315-317, (p. 315).

For contemporary reactions to intransigence of world order see: Honda Masujirō, 'The Evolution of Japanese Diplomacy', *The Journal of Race Development*, 3 (1912), 188-200, p. 200; Katsuizumi Sotokichi, *Critical Observation on the Washington Conference* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1922), p. 5; Kiyoshi K. Kawakami, 'The Unsolved Naval Problems of the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 863-879, (p. 867).

³¹² Konoe, 'Eibei Hon'i Heiwashugi o Hai Su', p. 315.

supported expansionism, it was primarily economic rather than territorial, and despite 'legitimising Japan's expansion', it was his beliefs that provided his rhetoric, rather than the other way around.³¹³

Certainly, he supported the establishment of Manchukuo, 'forced' by the exclusionary immigration policy of the Western powers and the "need" for Japanese emigration, but like many this was (wrongly) based in the belief of anarchy and despotism in China, and should not necessarily be attributed simply to self-justification.³¹⁴ Indeed, after the outbreak of war with the US, Konoe published a series of self-critical memoirs, admitting to his failings to oppose fascism, escalation in China, and war with the US.³¹⁵ Though ultimately Konoe did expand the war, passing the General Mobilisation Law of 1938, and bears heavy responsibility for this, like Ishiwara he opposed expansion of the war at its outset, refusing to fulfill Army Minister

³¹³ Hotta, 'Konoe Fumimaro', p. 311.

³¹⁴ Konoe Fumimaro, 'Manchoukuo, precursor of Asiatic renaissance and the government by Wang-tao (Kingly Way) based on theocracy', *Contemporary Manchuria*, 1 (1937), 1-17; Azuma Eiichiro, "Pioneers of Overseas Japanese Development": Japanese American History and the Making of Expansionist Orthodoxy in Imperial Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 67 (2008), 1187-1226.

For similar views see Shigeharu Matsumoto, 'Party Battles in Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 5 (1932), 299-305; Tadao Yanaihara, 'Problems of Japanese administration in Korea', *Pacific Affairs*, 11 (1938), 198-207; Kaneko Kentarō, *The Situation in the Far East* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1904); Matsuoka Yosuke, 'Economic Co-Operation of Japan and China in Manchuria and Mongolia: Its Motives and Basic Significance', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 786-795; Uyeda Teijiro, 'The Future of the Japanese Population', *Pacific Affairs*, 6 (1933), 297-304, (p. 297).

For Western criticism of this view see: Robert S. Morton, 'Japan and China: A War of Minds', *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 305-314, (pp. 305-306); Franz Michael, 'Japan's "Special Interests" in China', *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 407-411, (p. 408).

³¹⁵ Berger, pp. 451-452.

For critique of Konoe's claims see: James B. Crowley, 'A Reconsideration of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 22 (1963), 277-291, p. 278.

For support for Konoe's conciliatory narrative see: Daniel B. Ramsdell, 'The Nakamura Incident and the Japanese Foreign Office', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25 (1965), 51-67.

Sugiyama's request for reinforcements.³¹⁶ He remained convinced that Japan was not ready to fight China, and certainly not the US, and claims to have only supported full mobilisation when it seemed inevitable.³¹⁷ Indeed, in 1935 Konoe had supported an agreement with Chiang Kai-Shek to abolish the unequal treaties, and to sign an economic and military alliance, though the plan was scuppered by the Army; a far cry from his call for annihilation of the KMT in January 1938.³¹⁸ Konoe was fervently opposed to war with the US, and his memoirs reflect his well-founded fears that Army activism resulted in the US 'not see[ing] any sincerity' in his Cabinet's diplomatic efforts.³¹⁹ Indeed, the failure of the April 1941 agreement between the US and Japan, which had planned for a negotiated peace in China, resulted in Konoe's resignation July 16th 1941, and a few short months later Japan and the US were at war.³²⁰ Konoe felt 'deeply responsible' for the rise of Fascism and the China Incident, and his claim to have attempted to remedy this by 'thoroughly devot[ing him]self' to rapprochement with the US is evidenced through a number of his policy proposals.³²¹

In the post-war period Konoe furthered himself from the expansionist camp, assailing the "military clique" for having destroyed world peace and, at MacArthur's impetus, he became

³¹⁶ Gordon, p. 204; Hotta, 'Konoe Fumimaro', p. 314; Kazuo, p. 45.

³¹⁷ For Konoe's unpreparedness for war see: Sekiguchi, 'The Changing Status of the Cabinet in Japan', p. 5.

³¹⁸ Kazuo, p. 47.

³¹⁹ Kazuo, p. 132.

³²⁰ Konoe Fumimaro, *The Memoirs of Prince Fumimaro Konoe* (Tokyo: Nippon Times, 1945), p. 39; Yoshitake, p. 120; Yoshitake, p. 134.

³²¹ Kazuo, p. 162; Yoshitake, p. 120.

For Konoe's propagandistic support for these wars see: Konoe Fumimaro, 'Statement by the Japanese Prime Minister (Prince Konoe), December 22, 1938', in *U.S. Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, 2 vols (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-41), I, pp. 477-81; Konoe Fumimaro, 'Radio Speech by the Japanese Prime Minister (Prince Konoe), [2 November 1938]', in *U.S. Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, 2 vols (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-41), I, pp. 477-81.

thoroughly involved in constitutional revision.³²² Just a few days after his appointment, discussing the formation of a political party with his friend Kiya Ikusaburo, he remarked ‘Shall we kick off, at long last?’, though his involvement was soon cut short.³²³ On December 6th, after Konoe’s refusal to cooperate in Operation Blacklist’s attempts to absolve the Emperor of responsibility, and amidst intense public criticism, MacArthur’s General Headquarters issued an arrest warrant in Konoe’s name.³²⁴ In a letter shortly before his trial was due to begin, he lamented that while he did bear responsibility for the China Incident, ultimately, responsibility lay with the Emperor.³²⁵ In the end, Konoe felt unable to testify against the Emperor, or to testify falsely, so on the night of the 15th of December 1945, after putting his son to bed, he lay quietly down, swallowed a cyanide capsule and never woke up.³²⁶

The ‘War to Destroy Evil’

From dreams to nightmares, the gradual transformation of pan-Asianism from a form of anti-government activism, to extra-state reformism, to intra-state reformism, and finally to state promotion was complete by 1941.³²⁷ Certainly, the line had been blurred before, and

³²² Yoshitake, p. 182.

³²³ Yoshitake, p. 184.

³²⁴ Yoshitake, pp. 185-189.

³²⁵ Kazuo, p. 161.

³²⁶ Yoshitake, p. 195; Kazuo, p. 5.

³²⁷ For state use of pan-Asianism rhetoric see: Hiranuma Kiichiro, “‘The New Asiatic Order’”, Speech broadcast by Baron Hiranuma Kiichirō on 4 March 1939’, trans. by Domei News Agency, in *Japan’s Diplomacy and Its Aims as Outlined in Speeches and Remarks by Hachiro Arita, Foreign Minister, at the 74th Session of the Imperial Diet, 1938-39* (Tokyo: The Japan Times and the Mail, 1939), Appendix I, pp. 24-27, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 196-199; Galen M. Fisher, ‘Main Drive Behind Japanese National Policies’, *Pacific Affairs*, 13 (1940), 381-392, (p. 388); A. J. Grajdanzev, ‘Japan’s Co-Prosperity Sphere’, *Pacific Affairs*, 16 (1943), 311-328.

For influence of pan-Asianism on foreign affairs see: Gates.

distinguishing between authentic ideology and pure propaganda was increasingly difficult from the time of Konoe's first Premiership onwards.³²⁸ This final phase largely came to characterise narratives of pan-Asianism, and generalist works, like those by John Dower, tend to focus on the undoubtedly inauthentic and racist overtones of "pan-Asian" projects during this period.³²⁹ Yet, propaganda drew from a variety of sources, not just ultranationalist ones, and like pan-Asianism itself evidenced a century of contestation between East and West, tradition and modernity; simultaneously glorifying the Emperor-centred *kokutai* and Japan's modernising mission.³³⁰ Though propaganda had been present for decades, it reached new heights from 1937 to 1941, the period in which the notion of a "thought war" came into vogue.³³¹ From July 1937 to March 1941 the Cabinet Information Office's *Weekly Report* expanded its readership from 160,000 to 1.5 million, and in 1937 and 1938 respectively, it held a propaganda exhibit and a "Thought-War Symposium".³³² The Symposium was attended by over 100 bureaucrats, officers, media executives and academics, and represented a significant shift in efforts to win

³²⁸ For mobilisational tactics see: Richard J. Smethurst, 'The Creation of the Imperial Military Reserve Association in Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 30 (1971), 815-828.

³²⁹ Dower, pp. 262-292.

³³⁰ Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2006), p. 184; Kushner, p.16; Ward, *The Problem of "Thought"*, p. 330.

For links between national mythos and wartime propaganda see: Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 'Kanokogi Kazunobu, "Imperial Asia," 1937', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 149-152, (pp. 151-152); Kanokogi Kazunobu, *Sumera Ajia* [Imperial Asia] (Tokyo: Dōbun Shoin, 1937), p. 118, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 152-153.

³³¹ Kushner, p. 25.

For attempts to create official, propagandistic, pan-Asian bodies see: Roger H. Brown, 'Matsumoto Gaku and the Japan Culture League, 1933', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 129-130; Torsten Weber, 'The Greater Asia Association and Matsui Iwane, 1933', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 137-142.

³³² Max Ward, 'Crisis ideology and the articulation of fascism in interwar Japan: the 1938 Thought-War Symposium', *Japan Forum*, 26 (2014), 462-485, (p. 462); Kushner, p. 28; Kushner, p. 25.

the fight for ideological supremacy, with the inaugural lecture by Fujisawa Chikao, the Japanist ideologue, promoting notions of ideological “cleansing” quite apart from the reformism of earlier pan-Asianists.³³³ Likewise, the sign outside the three week exhibition, attended by 700,000 people, cited an attempt to ‘engineer a united thought war effort’; gone were the days of diversity and dissent.³³⁴

Framed as esoteric and exoteric pan-Asianism by Victor Koschmann, this provides a framework for understanding intellectual criticism of the culturalist visions of Asia promoted by government agencies.³³⁵ The distinction between the work produced by popular organisations like the Greater Asia Association and that produced by the SRA was vast, and the absence of practical developmental plans, like Rōyama’s, at the Greater East Asia Conference in November 1943, demonstrated how pan-Asianism had lapsed from an ideology, to mere rhetoric.³³⁶ Although the Co-Prosperity Sphere was primarily formulated by Miki Kiyoshi, an SRA intellectual, his strident pacifism demonstrates the divide between intellectual ideology and its use by the state; and Miki would eventually die in prison following the dissolution of the SRA in November

³³³ Ward, ‘Crisis ideology’, p. 475; Fujisawa Chikao, ‘The Japanese Spirit and the Thought War’, cited in Ward, ‘Crisis ideology’, p. 475.

³³⁴ Ward, ‘Crisis ideology’, p. 422; Kushner, p. 25.

³³⁵ Aydin, ‘Japan’s Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order’, p. 19; Koschmann, ‘Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi’, p. 185.

³³⁶ Gordon, p. 211.

For the proceedings of the Conference see: Li Narangoa, ‘The Assembly of the Greater East Asiatic Nations, 1943’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 243-247; The Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations, “Joint Declaration of Greater East Asiatic Nations”, *The Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations*, ed. by Gō Toshi (Tokyo: The Nippon Times, 1944), in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, p. 248; Tōjō Hideki, ‘The Construction of Greater East Asia and the establishment of world peace’, in *The Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations*, ed. by Gō Toshi (Tokyo: The Nippon Times, 1944), in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 249-253.

1940.³³⁷ Consequently, the ‘internal paradoxes’ and contradictions found in much of the historiography are often the result of attempts to contain all Asianisms within a singular narrative, based on state efforts at codification in pursuit of propagandistic goals.³³⁸ Tōjō’s repression of humanistic pan-Asian projects, like the Red Swastika Society, and of intellectuals, as evidenced by a speech he gave in the Diet forbidding any criticism of ‘Greater East Asia unification’, stood in stark opposition to the pan-Asian intellectuals who had laid the ideological foundations for expansionism.³³⁹ Pan-Asianism was no longer tied to internationalism, even faintly, and Yasuoka Masahiro, the prominent *éminence gris*, fervently opposed anything which might endanger the *kokutai*, writing that Japan must ‘maintain racial purity’.³⁴⁰ More stark was

³³⁷ Aydin, ‘Japan’s Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order’, p. 19; Susan Townsend, *Miki Kiyoshi, 1897-1945: Japan’s Itinerant Philosopher* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 157.

For wartime promotion of the Co-Prosperity Sphere see: Sven Saaler, ‘Matsuoka Yōsuke and the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, 1941’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 223-225, (p. 224); Matsuoka Yosuke, ‘Address by the Foreign Minister of Japan’, Yosuke Matsuoka, delivered before the 76th session of the Imperial Diet, 21 January 1941’, *Contemporary Japan*, February 1941, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 225-227, (p. 225).

³³⁸ Aydin, ‘Japan’s Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order’, p. 24; Saaler, *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, p. 221; Duara, ‘The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism’, p. 124.

³³⁹ Grajdanzev, p. 313.; Peattie, p. 312; Peattie, p. 327.

For conservative criticism of Japan’s “holy-war” see: Earl H. Kinmonth, ‘The Mouse That Roared: Saito Takao, Conservative Critic of Japan’s “Holy War” in China’, *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 25 (1999), 331-360.

For the suppression of the reformists see: Yanaga, ‘Recent Trends in Japanese Political Thought’, p. 125; Christopher W. A. Szpilman, ‘Conservatism and its Enemies in Prewar Japan: The Case of Hiranuma Kiichiro and the Kokuhonsha’, *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 30 (1998), 101-133.

³⁴⁰ Matsuoka, ‘Address by the Foreign Minister of Japan’, p. 265; Roger H. Brown, ‘Yasuoka Masahiro: “Education for Japanese Capable of Being Leaders of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” 1942’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 263-265, (p. 265).

the change in tone, gone were the doubts of Rōyama and Konoe, and in their place was Tōjō, pronouncing that this was 'truly a war to destroy evil'.³⁴¹

³⁴¹ Tōjō, p. 252.

For similar propagandistic claims see: Joel V. Berreman, 'The Japanization of Far Eastern Occupied Areas', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1944), 168-180; The Trans-Pacific, "'Lessons for China'", *The Trans-Pacific*, 16 December 1937, p. 3.

For the efficacy of this rhetoric see: Zeljko Cipris, 'Seduced by Nationalism: Yone Noguchi's 'Terrible Mistake'. Debating the China-Japan War with Tagore', *Japan Focus*, 11 (2007), 1-14.

Conclusion

A history strewn with imprisonment, suicide and execution, many were martyred in their battles for and against the state. Yet the line between the two was thinly drawn, and many stood swaying over the precipice. Recognising how these intellectuals contributed to the expansionist ideologies which they, varyingly, spoke out against, is crucial in demonstrating the mechanisms by which states adopt and malign existing idealism. The growing closeness of intellectual and state is tied, inextricably, with Japanese conceptions of self, of state, and of Japan's international role. Indeed, the changes to the pursuit of ideology can be explained less by the individual integrity of these intellectuals, but by the political atmosphere in which they were situated. The notion of "world trends" was overwhelmingly present in the writings of Taishō and Shōwa intellectuals, and the alliance of 1930s reformists with rightist groups is best understood in light of their straitened circumstances. Shōwa statism and war-time propaganda did not miraculously emerge from nothing, they had their roots in earlier liberalism and internationalism, which gradually warped in an increasingly inhospitable world. The conflicts between East and West, "modernity" and "tradition", "liberalism" and "authoritarianism", "socialism" and "elitism", "reformism" and "conservatism", are often overdrawn, and many intellectuals were situated in the centre of these debates. This complexity challenges polarising narratives of pan-Asianism and *tenkō*, suggesting less distinct shifts and more continuity. Re-interpreting these "liberals", "traitors", "fascists" and "nationalists" as pragmatists with complex ideologies serves not to excuse their actions, but instead indicates the malleability of

ideology and the ease with which reformers can provide the foundations for authoritarianism and expansionism.

Whilst, utopian, idealistic notions of *hakkō ichiu* were certainly strongly linked to exoteric and propagandistic pan-Asianism, ideas of “world peace” similarly permeate the more rationalist works of intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s.³⁴² Certainly, the developing conceptions of the state during the Meiji period came to play a crucial role in internationalist, regionalist and nationalist visions of the world. Despite often being portrayed as the arch-nemesis of early pan-Asianism, Fukuzawa’s work was central to modern conceptions of Japan, both in modernising and leadership terms. Certainly, Fukuzawa was no rabid advocate of Westernisation, he valued Japanese culture and like most intellectuals had a nuanced view of Westernisation which also recognised the potential threats. While the historiography portrays a distinct dichotomy between supposed “Westernisers” and earlier Asianists like Okakura, there were undoubtedly a number of similarities. Despite Okakura’s pacifism, his clear conception of Japanese cultural superiority was central to later expansionism. Even Miyazaki, who espoused one of the only truly altruistic, egalitarian forms of pan-Asianism laid the basis for Sun Yat-Sen’s conditional endorsement of the term, which was seized upon by Japanese propagandists during the war.³⁴³

³⁴² For similar notions of “world peace” in a European context see: Cromwell A. Riches, ‘The League of Nations and the Promotion of World Peace’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 175 (1934), 123-132; Matthias Ezberger, *The League of Nations: The Way to World Peace*, trans. by Bernard Miall (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1919).

³⁴³ Roger H. Brown, ‘Sun Yat-sen: “Pan-Asianism,” 1924’, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 75-78.

Warning: The following work has propagandistic intent: Sun Yat-Sen, ‘Pan-Asianism’, in *China and Japan: Natural Friends—Unnatural Enemies: a Guide for China’s Foreign Policy* (Shanghai: China United Press, 1941), pp. 78-85.

Certainly Meiji pan-Asianists stood further outside the state, but the shallow roots of liberalism were central to the transformation from idealists to realists. Whilst the efforts of constitutionalists were largely admirable, the highly conservative *kokutai* plagued Japanese politics for decades. Here, again, is a distinction between the state elites, who wished to limit the effects of popular participation, and the external reformers, who hoped for a more egalitarian, liberal state. The “liberal” Taishō parties were beset by setbacks, and their widespread lack of popularity reflected the corruption and elitism resulting from their alliance with the oligarchs. Yet, without compromise with the oligarchs the powers of liberal reformers were extremely limited, mirroring the situation in the 1930s, where without compromise with authoritarian elites, reformers had virtually no influence. Thus, liberalism was, to an extent, doomed to fail, even its arch advocates, like Yoshino, felt obliged to criticise it. The most liberal worldviews generally supported some form of Empire, and consequently they gave way to increasingly illiberal worldviews built on similar foundations. Indeed, forms of populism espoused by Yoshino inevitably bore some resemblance to the “fascistic” ideals of Kita.

Yet, this view of Kita as “fascistic” and of Ishiwara as an interminable expansionist suggest a far closer relation between their ideology and that of the state than was actually existent. While both set in motion the formation of the war-time state, Kita in particular had a complex ideology that was highly reformist, and based as much in religiosity as nationalism.

For Sun Yat-sen’s warnings about Japanese imperialism see: Sun Yat-sen, ‘Inukai Tsuyoshi ate shokan’ [Letter from Sun Yat-sen to Inukai Tsuyoshi] (1923), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 251-254.

For Japanese claims of Sun Yat-sen’s support see: Sugita Teiichi, ‘Address on the occasion of the founding of the League for the Equality of Races,’ in *The Dawn over Asia*, ed. by Paul Richard (Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1920), pp. 90-92; Weber, p. 139.

Consequently the radicalism of his work is often under represented. Though in word it bore some similarity to the authoritarianism of the 1940s, his intent differed vastly. While the war-time state presented itself as newly cleansed and reformist, it was highly conservative and never dreamed of implementing the often socialistic ideas of Kita.

Crucially, the transition from liberal internationalism to conservative regionalism, best represented by Nitobe, Nagai and Rōyama, was not an ideological transition, but a pragmatic one, which resulted from changes to international relations, and the extent of expression available to them. This intellectual pragmatism is vital in understanding continuity and consistency, and the complexity that escapes “tenkō” narratives. Though it is easy to decry “betrayal”, few outlets were available to reformers. Indeed, Ozaki’s genuine involvement in the drafting of this new state, and espionage against it, demonstrates how far the state fell short of the conceptions of its intellectual visionaries. The move from practical policy considerations to gushing rhetoric signalled the end of moderate intellectual involvement, though not influence. This rhetoric was steeped in reductionist versions of complex ideals that, in their entirety, sought to challenge and reform the state. Consequently the legacy of these individuals is that of flawed reformers, and the nightmarish resurrection of their broken dreams.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Japanese Sources

A Treaty Between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, Signed December 13, 1921, Relating to their Insular Possessions and Insular Dominions in the Pacific Ocean (1921) <<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0332.pdf>> [Accessed 07 April 2017]

Aizawa, Yushushi, 'Teiki-ihen' [A Guide to Morals] (1833), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, p. 49

Ajia Kyōkai, *Ajia Kyōkai Hōkoku* [Foundation Manifesto of the Ajia Kyōkai] (1883), trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 59-60

Akagi, Roy Hidemichi, 'Japan's Economic Relations With China', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 488-510

Anesaki, Masaharu, 'Religions in Japan', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Nitobe Inazō et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), pp. 102-116

Arita, Hachirō, *Japan's Diplomacy: Its Aims and Principles* (Tokyo: The Japan Times & Mail, 1939)

Chiba, Takusaburō , ‘An Essay on the Way of the King The Way of the King’ [Ōdōron] , trans. by Richard Devine (1882:1979)

Dai Ajiashugi, ‘Dai Ajia Kyōkai Sōritsu Shushi’ [The reasons for the founding of the Greater Asia Association], *Dai Ajiashugi*, 1 (1933), 2-5, trans. by Torsten Weber, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 142-144

Dōkōkai, ‘The Dokokai. An Association for Bringing about Equality between Koreans and Japanese’, *The Asian Review*, 2 (1921), 277-79

Emperor Hirohito, ‘The Jewel Voice Broadcast’ [Gyokuon-hōsō] (1945)

<<http://www.worldwarII.org/p/jewel-voice-broadcast-was-radio.html>> [Accessed 07 April 2017]

Fukuzawa, Yukichi, ‘An Outline of a Theory of Civilization’ [Bunmeiron no Gairyaku] (1875), in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 34-41

-----, *Datsu-A Ron* [On Leaving Asia], trans. by Dwight Tat Wai Kwok, in *A Translation of Datsu-A Ron: Decoding a Prewar Japanese Nationalistic Theory* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1885: 2009)

-----, *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, trans. by Eiichi Kiyooka (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1899:1948)

Genyōsha Shashi Hensankai, *Genyōsha Shashi* [The Official History of the Genyōsha] (Tokyo: Genyōsha Shashi Hensankai, 1917), trans. by Joel Joos, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary*

- History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 64-68
- Hirano, Kuniomi, 'Seiban Sosaku' [Fundamental Measures for Expelling the Barbarians] (1863), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, p. 50
- Hirano, Yoshitarō, *Dai Ajishugi no Rekishiteki Kiso* [The Historical Basis of Greater Asianism: Japanese], (Tokyo: Kawada Shobō, 1945), trans. by Mutō Shūtarō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 275-280
- Hiranuma, Kiichiro, "'The New Asiatic Order'", Speech broadcast by Baron Hiranuma Kiichirō on 4 March 1939', trans. by Domei News Agency, in *Japan's Diplomacy and Its Aims as Outlined in Speeches and Remarks by Hachiro Arita, Foreign Minister, at the 74th Session of the Imperial Diet, 1938-39* (Tokyo: The Japan Times and the Mail, 1939), Appendix I, pp. 24-27, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 196-199
- Hiroshi, Saito, 'A Japanese view of the Manchurian situation' (1933), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), II, pp. 55-65
- Honda, Masujirō, 'The Evolution of Japanese Diplomacy', *The Journal of Race Development*, 3 (1912), 188-200
- Hosoi, Hajime, *Nihon no Ketsui* [Japan's Resolve] (Tokyo: Nihon Yūben Taikai Kōdansha, 1932), pp. 322-25, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary*

History, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 120-122

Imperial Rescript Relating to The Declaration of War on the United States and Great Britain

(1941) <<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/21651/lot/242/>> [Accessed 07 April 2017]

Imperial Rescript Relating to Withdrawal from the League of Nations (1933)

<<http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/pre-war/330327a.html>> [Accessed April 07 2017]

Inoue, Masaji, *Excerpt from Kyojin Arao Sei, Tsuketari Jūni Risshiden* [The Giant Arao Sei, Including Lives of Twelve Patriots], (Sakura Shobō, 1910), pp. 145-57, trans. by Michael A. Schneider in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 71-72

Inouye, Junnosuke, 'The Economic and Industrial Development of Modern Japan', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Nitobe Inazō, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), pp. 271-306

Ishiwara, Kanji, et al., 'Sengen' [Manifesto], in *Tōa Renmei Kensetsu Yōkō* [Prospectus for Constructing the East Asian League], ed. by Tōa Renmei Kyōkai (Tokyo: Ritsumeikan Shuppanbu, 1940), trans. by Roger H. Brown, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, p. 204

-----, *Tōa Renmei no Hitsuzensei* [The Inevitability of the East Asian League], in *Tōa Renmei Kensetsu Yōkō* [Prospectus for Constructing the East Asian League], ed. by Tōa Renmei Kyōkai (Tokyo: Ritsumeikan Shuppanbu, 1940), 1-7, trans. by Roger H.

- Brown, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 204-207
- Itagaki, Taisuke, 'Memorial on the Establishment of a Representative Assembly', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 54-55
- , 'On Liberty', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 66-67
- Itō, Hirobumi, 'Memorial on Constitutional Government' (1880), in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 59
- Japanese Government, 'Statement by the Japanese Government, November 3, 1938', in *U.S. Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, 2 vols (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-41), I, pp. 477-81
- Japan-Manchukuo Protocol* (1932)
- <<http://www.ibiblio.org/chinesehistory/contents/03pol/c02sd03.html>> [Accessed 07 April 2017]
- Kaneko, Kentarō, *The Situation in the Far East* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1904)
- Kaneko, Umaji, 'A Survey of Philosophy in Japan, 1870-1929', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Nitobe Inazō, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), pp. 56-69

Kanokogi, Kazunobu, *Sumera Ajia* [Imperial Asia] (Tokyo: Dōbun Shoin, 1937), p. 118, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 152-153

Katsu, Kaishū, *Excerpt from Katsu Kaishū Zenshū* [Collected Writings of Katsu Kaishū], trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 51

Katsuizumi, Sotokichi, *Critical Observation on the Washington Conference* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1922)

Kawakami, Kiyoshi K., 'The Unsolved Naval Problems of the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 863-879

Kido, Takayoshi, 'Letter from Kido Takayoshi to Sugiyama Takatoshi, January 26, 1872', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 14

-----, 'Shogiku Kido-ko den', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 16-17

Kikujiro, Ishii, 'The Permanent Bases of Japanese Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs*, 11 (1933), 220-229

Kita, Ikki, 'Excerpt from Shina Kakumei Gaishi' [An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution] (Tokyo: Daitōtaku, 1915:1921), in *Kita Ikki Chosakushū* [Collected Works by Kita Ikki], 2

- vols (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1959) II, pp. 115-116, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 275-276
- , *Fundamental Principles for the Reorganization of Japan* [1919], trans. Brij Tankha in *Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan: A Vision of Empire*, ed. Brij Tankha (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006), pp. 161-229
- Kita, Reikichi, 'Gokai Saretaru Ajiashugi' [Misunderstood Asianism], *Tōhō Jiron*, 7 (1917), 8-10, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 300-301
- , 'Waha Kuni no Daishimei' [The Great Mission of Our Country], *Tōhō Jiron*, 12 (1917), 19-21, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 302-303
- Kōakai, *Kōakai Hōkoku* [Foundation Manifesto of the Kōakai] (1880), trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 57-58
- Kodera, Kenkichi, *Dai Ajiashugiron* [Treatise on Greater Asianism] (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1916), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 260-262

- Kokuryūkai, 'Kokuryūkai Sōritsu Shui' [Foundation Gist of the Kokuryūkai] (1901), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 126-127
- Konoe, Atsumaro, 'Dōjinshu Dōmei, Tsuketari Shina Mondai Kenkyū no Hitsuyō', [An Alliance of the Same Race and the Necessity of Studying the Chinese Question] (1898), trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 62-63
- Konoe, Fumimaro, 'Eibei Hon'i Heiwashugi o Hai Su' [A Call to Reject the Anglo-American Centred Peace], *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, 746 (1918), 23-26, trans. by Eri Hotta, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 315-317
- , 'Manchoukuo, precursor of Asiatic renaissance and the government by Wang-tao (Kingly Way) based on theocracy', *Contemporary Manchuria*, 1 (1937), 1-17
- , 'Radio Speech by the Japanese Prime Minister (Prince Konoe), [2 November 1938]', in *U.S. Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, 2 vols (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-41), I, pp. 477-81
- , 'Statement by the Japanese Prime Minister (Prince Konoye), December 22, 1938', in *U.S. Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, 2 vols (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-41), I, pp. 477-81

-----, *The Memoirs of Prince Fumimaro Konoye* (Tokyo: Nippon Times, 1945)

Maeda, Tamon, 'Political Difficulties of the Japan Diet', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 471-478

Matsui, Iwane, *The Question of Manchuria and its Independence: some reflections on fundamental points* (Geneva: Kundig, 1932)

-----, 'Dai Ajiashugi' [Greater Asianism], *Kingu*, 1933, May Issue Supplement 'Jikyoku Mondai: Hijōji Kokumin Taikai' [The Problems concerning the Current Situation: A People's Rally in Times of Emergency], pp. 2-9, trans. by Torsten Weber, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 144-147

Matsumoto, Gaku, 'Eastern Culture and Its Peculiar Features', *Cultural Nippon*, 8 (1940), 1-15

Matsuoka, Yosuke, 'Economic Co-Operation of Japan and China in Manchuria and Mongolia: Its Motives and Basic Significance', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 786-795

-----, 'Dissolve the Political Parties', *Contemporary Japan*, 4 (1932), 661-667

-----, "Address by the Foreign Minister of Japan", Yosuke Matsuoka, delivered before the 76th session of the Imperial Diet, 21 January 1941', *Contemporary Japan*, February 1941, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 225-227

Ministry of Education [Manchukuo], *Excerpt from Gaoji xiaoxuexiao xiushen jiaokeshu disice* [Upper Grade, Elementary School, Textbook for Self-Cultivation] (1935), I, trans. by Prasenjit Duara, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and

Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 165-166

-----, *Excerpt from Zhuji xiaoxuexiao xiushen jiaokeshu*

[Beginning Grade, Elementary School, Textbook for Self-Cultivation] (1935), IV, trans. by Prasenjit Duara, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 164-165

Minobe, Tatsukichi [Inazō], 'Chikujo kenpo seigi', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm.

Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 162

-----, 'Dai rokujugo gikai no kaiko', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed.

Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 163

-----, 'Kenryoku no ranyo to kore ni hanko', in *Sources of Japanese*

Tradition, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 161

-----, Lectures on the Constitution [Kenpō Kōwa] (1913), in *Sources of*

Japanese Tradition, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 155-161

Miyaoka, Tsunejirō, 'Growth of Liberalism in Japan' [1918], in *Japanese Propaganda: Selected*

Readings: Pamphlets, 1891-1939, ed. by Peter O'Connor, 10 vols (Tokyo: Global Oriental, 2005), II, 361-389

Miyazaki, Masayoshi, *Tōa Renmei Ron* [On the East Asian League] (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1938), pp.

44-53, trans. by Michael A. Schneider, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by

Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and

Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 182-183

Miyazaki, Tōten, *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten*, trans. by

Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902: 1982)

-----, 'Rikkōho Sengen' [Election Manifesto] (1915), trans. by Christopher W. A.

Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher

W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 137-138

-----, 'Tokyo yori' [From Tokyo] (1919), trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-*

Asianism: A Documentary History, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2

vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 138-139

Mori, Kaku, 'Hijōji no hijō shudan' [Extraordinary Means for Extraordinary Times], *Diamond*, July

1932, trans. by Christopher Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by

Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and

Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 126-127

Motosada, Zumoto, *The Origin and History of the Anti-Japanese Movement in China* (Tokyo: The

Herald Press, 1932)

Nagai, Ryūtarō, 'The White Peril', *The Japan Magazine*, 3 (1913), 39-42

-----, 'Ajia saiken no seisen' [Holy War for the Reconstruction of Asia], *Nihon Bunka*,

10 (1937), 27-42, trans. by Roger H. Brown, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed.

- by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 156-159
- , 'Some Questions for President Roosevelt', *Contemporary Japan*, 7 (1939), 563-573
- Nakae, Chōmin, *Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government*, trans. Nobuko Tsukui (1887:1984)
- Nakamura, Masano, 'Japan's Debt to China', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 50-51
- Nakano, Seigō, 'Bōkoku no Sanga' [The Mountains and Rivers of a Fallen State], in *Sekai Seisaku to Kyokutō Seisaku* [Global and Far Eastern Policy] (Tokyo: Shiseidō Shoten, 1917), pp. 326-328, pp. 396-398, trans. by Stefano von Loë, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 52-53
- , 'Kono Issen: Kokumin wa ika ni Tatakaubeki' [This One War - How the People Should Fight], *Tōhōkai*, (1942), 13-16, trans. by Stefano von Loë, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 53-54
- Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai, [Patriotic Society for Japanese Literature], 'Final Declaration of the First Greater East Asia Writers Conference', in *Nihon Bungaku Hōkokukai*, ed. by Sakuramoto Yoshio (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1996), trans. by Eddy Dufourmont, in *Pan-*

- Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 231-232
- Nitobe, Inazō, *Bushido, The Soul of Japan* (New York: George H. Putnam's Sons, 1900)
- , 'Japan's Preparedness for International Co-operation', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 46-56
- , 'Two Exotic Currents in Japanese Civilization', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Nitobe Inazō, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), pp. 1-24
- , 'On The Dangers of Intolerance', *Pacific Affairs*, Conference Supplement, 6 (1993), 493-496
- , 'Japan, the League of Nations, and the Peace Pact' (1936), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), II, pp. 14-24
- Noritake, Tsuda, 'Japan and China Closely Bound by Culture, Art Expert Asserts', *The Trans-Pacific*, 23 December 1937, p. 4
- Okakura, Kakuzō [Tenshin], *The Awakening of Japan* (New York: The Century, 1905)
- , *The Book of Tea* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906)
- , *The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1920)
- Ōkawa, Shūmei, and Mitsukawa Kametarō, *Foundation Principles of the Yūzonsha* (Tokyo: Otakebi, 1920), trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary*

- History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 60-61
- , *Fukkō Ajia no Shomondai* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1922), pp. 23-26, trans. by Christopher W. A. Szpilman, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 72-74
- Okuma, Shigenobu, 'To Members of the Kaishinto, March 14, 1882', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 68-69
- , 'The Foreign Policy of Japan', *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 1 (1896), 6-11
- , 'The Future of the Japanese', *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 9 (1897), 376-381
- , 'Illusions of the White Race' in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 160-170
- , 'Memorial on a National Assembly', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 61-62
- Ozaki, Hotsumi, "Tōa Kyōdōtai' no rinen to sono seiritsu no kyakkanteki kiso' [Principle of the "East Asian Cooperative Body" and the Objective Basis for Its Establishment], *Chūō Kōron*, January 1939, trans. by Eri Hotta, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by

- Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 189-192
- , 'The new national structure', *Contemporary Japan*, 10 (1940), 1284-1292
- Ozaki, Yukio, 'Our Ambition', *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 4 (1896), 9-13
- , 'Japan's Defective Constitutional Government', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 63-78
- Ozaki, Yukio, 'The Voice of Japanese Democracy', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 70
- Ozawa, Shotarō, *A Speech on the Revision of Treaties with Japan to Western Nations* (Michigan: Register Publishing, 1891)
- Rikitaro, Fujisawa, 'The Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 21-48
- Rōyama, Masamichi, 'The South Manchurian Railway Zone: And the Nature of Its Administration', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 1018-1034
- , 'Tōa Kyōdōtai no Riron' [The Principles of an East Asian Cooperative Community: Japanese Original], *Kaizō*, November 1938, pp. 6-27, trans. by Jung-Sun Han, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 176-178
- , *Foreign Policy of Japan: 1914-1939* (Tokyo: Japanese Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941)

Sawayanagi, Masatarō, 'Asianism', *The Japan Magazine*, 7 (1916), 141-144

Seiichi, Sakuma, *The Duty of Japan towards Asia, In her Self-Interest* (Tokyo: Matsushita Press, 1916)

Sekiguchi, Tai, 'Political Conditions in Japan: After the Application of Manhood Suffrage', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 907-922

Sekiguchi, Yasushi, 'The Changing Status of the Cabinet in Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 11 (1938), 5-20

Setsuo, Uenoda, 'Japan's Firm Policy Prevailed on China to Seek Co-Operation', *The Trans-Pacific*, 11 April 1935, p. 5

-----, "Japan's Firm Policy Prevailed on China to Seek Co-Operation", *The Trans-Pacific*, 11 April 1935, p. 6

Shibusawa, Eiichi, 'Peace on the Pacific—Japan and the United States', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 273-277

Shigeharu, Matsumoto, 'Party Battles in Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 5 (1932), 299-305

Shinobu, Jumpei, 'The Diplomatic Relations of Japan', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Nitobe Inazō, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), pp. 231-255

Shinpei, Goto, 'The Japanese Question in America', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 189-203

Shintaro, Ishihara, *That Japan Can Say No*, trans by. Frank Baldwin (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991)

Soyeda, J. and T. Kamiya, *A Survey of the Japanese Question in California* (San Francisco: 1913)

- Sugimori, Kojiro *The Principles of the Moral Empire* (London: University of London, 1917)
- Sugita, Teiichi, 'Address on the occasion of the founding of the League for the Equality of Races,' in *The Dawn over Asia*, ed. by Paul Richard (Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1920), pp. 90-92
- Sugita, Teiichi, 'Dai Aja Gasshōron' [An Argument for Uniting Greater Asia], *Tōyō Bunka*, 8 (1924), 7-13, trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 265-269
- Tadao, Yanaihara, 'Problems of Japanese administration in Korea', *Pacific Affairs*, 11 (1938), 198-207
- Takaki, Yasaka, 'World Peace Machinery and the Asia Monroe Doctrine', *Pacific Affairs*, 5 (1932), 941-953
- Tarui, Tōkichi, *Daitō Gappōron* [Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East] (1893), trans. by Kyu Hyun Kim, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 77-83
- The Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations, "Joint Declaration of Greater East Asiatic Nations", *The Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations*, ed. by Gō Toshi (Tokyo: The Nippon Times, 1944), in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, p. 248
- The China Weekly Review, "Serious Racial Element in Sino Japanese Struggle", *The China Weekly Review*, December 10, 1938

The China Weekly Review, “The War is Over! Long Live the War”, *The China Weekly Review*,
December 10, 1938

The Constitution of the Empire of Japan [Meiji boshin], trans. by Itō Miyoji (1889)

The Far East, ‘Alleged Understanding between Great Britain and Japan’, *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 8 (1897), 319-323

The Far East, ‘The Enforcement of the Revised Treaties in Japan’, *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 1 (1896), 1-6

The Far East, ‘The Evolution of Japanese Politics’, *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 2 (1896), 4-10

The Far East, ‘The Tendency in the Recent History of Japan’, *The Far East: An English Edition of the Kokumin-No-Tomo*, 2 (1896), 1-4

The Tokyo Major War Crimes Trial: The Transcripts of the Court Proceedings of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, ed. by R. Pritchard, 124 vols (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), LXVIII-LXIX

The Trans-Pacific, “Lessons for China”, *The Trans-Pacific*, 16 December 1937, p. 3

The Trans-Pacific, ‘Japan Quits the League’, *The Trans-Pacific*, 11 April 1935, p. 3

The Trans-Pacific, ‘Japanese Troops in Nanking While Tokyo Mapping Policy to Deal with Future China’, *The Trans-Pacific*, 16 December 1937, p. 5

Tōa Dōbunkai, ‘Tōa Dōbunkai shuisho’ [Manifesto of the East Asian Common Culture Society], *Tōa Jiron*, 1 (1898), 1, trans. by Urs Matthias Zachmann in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, p. 119

Tōjō, Hideki, 'The Construction of Greater East Asia and the establishment of world peace', in

The Assembly of Greater East-Asiatic Nations, ed. by Gō Toshi (Tokyo: The Nippon Times, 1944), in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 249-253

Tokutomi, Sohō [Iichirō], 'Japan's Mighty Mission', in *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?*, ed. by Taraknath Das (Shanghai: 1917), pp. 153-159

-----, 'Jishuteki gaiko no igi', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm.

Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 133

-----, 'Senji gaigen', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 135

-----, 'Shorai no Nihon', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 128-132

-----, 'Showa Ishi ron', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 133-145

-----, 'Jimu Ikkagen' [An Opinion on Current Issues], trans. by Alistair Swale, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 283-286

Uchida, Minoru, 'Open discussion: "Japan as a Totalitarian State"', *Amerasia*, I (1938), 133-136

Uchida, Ryōhei, 'Jo' [Preface], in *Ajia Taikan* [Overview of Asia], ed. by Kokuryūkai Shuppanbu

(Tokyo: Kokuryūkai Shuppanbu, 1918), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A*

Documentary History, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols

(Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 127-128

-----, 'The Asian Review and the Kokuryu-kai', *The Asian Review*, 1 (1920), 3-5, in

Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A.

Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 128-130

Uyeda, Teijiro, 'The Future of the Japanese Population', *Pacific Affairs*, 6 (1933), 297-304

Yamagata, Bantō, 'Yumenoshiro' [A Castle of Dreams] (1820), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in

Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A.

Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 48-49

Yamagata, Isoh, 'A World Unsafe for Democracy', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K.

(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 11-20

Yamasaki, Keichi, 'The Japanese Mandate in the South Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 95-112

Yamasaki, Keichi, 'The Japanese Press on the London Naval Treaty', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930),

682-687

Yanaga, Chitoshi, 'Recent Trends in Japanese Political Thought', *Pacific Affairs*, 13 (1940), 125-

137

-----, 'The military and the government in Japan' (1941), in *Imperial Japan and the*

World, 1931-1945, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), I, pp. 144-155

Yasaka, Takaki, 'World Machinery and the Asia Monroe Doctrine' (1932), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), II, pp. 43-54

Yashuchi, Sekiguchi, 'The changing status of the cabinet in Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 11 (1938), 198-207

Yasuoka, Masahiro, *Daitōa Kyōeiken no Shidōsha taru beki Nihonjin no Kyōiku* [Education for Japanese Capable of Being Leaders of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere], (Tokyo: Keimeikai, 1943), trans. by Roger H. Brown, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 265-270

Yokoi, Shōnan, 'Kokuze Sanron' [Three Theses on State Policy] (1860), trans. by Matsuda Kōichirō, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 50

Yoshino, Sakuzō, 'Liberalism in Japan', in *What Japan Thinks*, ed. by Kawakami K. K. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 79-92

-----, 'Politics in Japan', in *Western Influences in Modern Japan: A Series of Papers on Cultural Relations*, ed. by Nitobe Inazō, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1931), pp. 256-270

-----, "'In the Name of the People": An Explanation of Politics in Japan in Terms of Sovereign and Populace', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931) 189-200

-----, 'On the Meaning of Constitutional Government and the Methods by Which it Can be Perfected' [Kensei no hongo o toite sono yūshū no bi o seisu no to o ronzu], in

Sources of Japanese Tradition, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, p. 164-180

Non-Japanese Sources

Anstice, E. H., 'Japan's "Dangerous" Students', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 695-699

-----, 'Youthful Radicalism in the Far East', *Pacific Affairs*, 6 (1933), 387-393

Berreman, Joel V., 'The Japanization of Far Eastern Occupied Areas', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1944),
168-180

Bisson, T. A., 'The United States and the Orient: A Survey of the Relations of the United States
With China and Japan—June 1, 1929, to September 1, 1930', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930),
1118-1145

-----, 'The United States and the Far East: A Survey of the Relations of the United States
with China and Japan-September 1, 1930 to September 1, 1931', *Pacific Affairs*, 5 (1932),
66-81

-----, 'Observations on fascism in Japan', *Amerasia*, I (1938), 347-56

-----, 'Japan as a Political Organism', *Pacific Affairs*, 17 (1944), 392-420

Boeke, J. H., 'The Recoil of Westernization in the East', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1936), 333-346

Bywater, Hector C., 'Japanese and American Naval Power in the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 8 (1935),
168-175

Cabinet Briefing: The Lytton Report. Japan and The League of Nations, November 1932 (London: 1932) <<http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-24-235-CP-404-1.pdf>>

[Accessed 07 April 2017]

Colegrove, Kenneth W., 'Japan as a totalitarian state', *Amerasia*, 1 (1938), 1-17

Ezberger, Matthias, *The League of Nations: The Way to World Peace*, trans. by Bernard Miall (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1919)

Fahs, Charles B., 'Recent Japanese Politics', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 193 (1937), 145-149

Fisher, Galen M., 'Main Drive Behind Japanese National Policies', *Pacific Affairs*, 13 (1940), 381-392

G., E., 'Disarmament in the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 795

Grajdanzev, A. J., 'Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere', *Pacific Affairs*, 16 (1943), 311-328

Green, Elizabeth, 'Nara and Kyoto: Their Opening Significance', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 747-751

-----, 'Crisis in Manchuria', *Pacific Affairs*, 4 (1931), 1005-1013

-----, 'Progress of the Manchurian Disease: As Viewed from Peiping and Tokyo', *Pacific Affairs*, 5 (1932), 42-65

Lasker, Bruno, 'Propaganda as an Instrument of National Policy', *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 152-160

Lattimore, Owen, 'The Phantom of Mengkukuo', *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 420-427

Lederer, Emil, 'Fascist tendencies in Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 7 (1934), 373-85

Lytton, Victor, 'The Problem of Manchuria', *International Affairs*, 11 (1932), 737-56

Magistretti, William, 'Japan's New Order in the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 14 (1941), 198-206

- McClatchy, V. S., 'Japanese-American Relations and the Second Generation', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 200-203
- Michael, Franz, 'Japan's "Special Interests" in China', *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 407-411
- Moore, Frederick, *With Japan's Leaders: An Intimate Record of Fourteen Years as Counsellor to the Japanese Government, Ending December 7, 1941* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942)
- Morton, Robert S., 'Japan and China: A War of Minds', *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 305-314
- Norman, Herbert E., 'The Genyosha: A Study in the Origins of Japanese Imperialism', *Pacific Affairs*, 17 (1944), 261-284
- Power, Joseph E., 'The Japanese Constitution and the Militarists', *Pacific Affairs*, 15 (1942), 188-194
- Redman, H. Vere, 'Japan governed by "the Camp"' (1934), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), I, pp. 48-55
- Richard, Paul, 'Universal League for the Equality of Races, Foundation Manifesto', in *The Dawn Over Asia* (Madras: Ganesh & Co. Publishers, 1920), pp. 89-97
- Riches, Cromwell A., 'The League of Nations and the Promotion of World Peace', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 175 (1934), 123-132
- Sadler, A. L., 'Chanoyu or The Tea Philosophy of Japan a Western Evaluation', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 635-644
- Sansom, George, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1931)
- , 'Liberalism in Japan', *Foreign Affairs*, 19 (1941), 551-560
- Shu-hsi, Hsu, 'Japan and Manchuria', *Pacific Affairs*, 3 (1930), 854-864

- Shui-Kung, Ching, 'The Kirin-Tunhua Railway and Japanese Expansion: From a Chinese Viewpoint', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 495-497
- Spinks, Charles Nelson, 'The Termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance', *Pacific Historical Review*, 6 (1937), 321-340
- , 'Bureaucratic Japan' (1941), in *Imperial Japan and the World, 1931-1945*, ed. by Anthony Best, 2 vols (Oxford: Routledge, 2011), I, pp. 156-166
- , 'Indoctrination and Re-Education of Japan's Youth', *Pacific Affairs*, 17 (1944), 56-70
- Sun, Yat-sen, 'Preface', in *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten*, trans. by Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902: 1982), pp. 289-290, (p. 289).
- , 'Inukai Tsuyoshi ate shokan' [Letter from Sun Yat-sen to Inukai Tsuyoshi] (1923), trans. by Sven Saaler, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 251-254
- , *China and Japan: Natural Friends—Unnatural Enemies: a Guide for China's Foreign Policy* (Shanghai: China United Press, 1941)
- Taiguin, I., 'Japan and Overpopulation', *Pacific Affairs*, 2 (1929), 405-408
- The Round Table, 'The Lytton Report', *The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 89 (1932), 64-89
- Time Magazine, 'War with China: Regrets', *Time Magazine*, December 27, 1937

Wilson, Woodrow, *The Fourteen Points* (1918)

<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp> [Accessed 07 April 2017]

Young, A. Morgan, 'The Press and Japanese Thought', *Pacific Affairs*, 10 (1937), 412-419

Young, C. Walter, 'Sino-Japanese Interests and Issues in Manchuria', *Pacific Affairs*, 1 (1928), 1-20

Secondary Sources

Akita, George, 'The Meiji Constitution in Practice: The First Diet', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1 (1962), 31-46

-----, and Hirose Yoshihiro, 'The British Model. Inoue Kowashi and the Ideal Monarchical System', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 49 (1994), 413-421

Allen, William Sheridan, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1930-1935* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966)

Altman, Albert A. and Harold Z. Schiffrin, 'Sun Yat-sen and the Japanese: 1914-16', *Modern Asian Studies*, 6 (1972), 385-400

Arendt, Hannah, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Schocken Books, 2004)

Arneson, Richard, *Liberalism*, 2 vols (San Diego: University of California, 1992)

Asada, Masafumi, 'The China-Russia-Japan Military Balance in Manchuria, 1906-1918', *Modern Asian Studies*, 44 (2010), 1283-1311

Aydin, Cemil, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007)

-----, 'Japan's Pan-Asianism and the Legitimacy of Imperial World Order, 1931-1945',
Japan Focus, 6 (2008), 1-32

Azuma, Eiichiro, "'Pioneers of Overseas Japanese Development': Japanese American History and
the Making of Expansionist Orthodoxy in Imperial Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*,
67 (2008), 1187-1226

Baier, Karl, 'A Zen Nazi in Wartime Japan: Part II: The Formation and Principles of Count
Durckheim's Nazi Worldview and his interpretation of Japanese Spirit and Zen', *The
Asia-Pacific Journal*, 11 (2013), <[http://apjif.org/2013/11/48/Karl-
Baier/4041/article.html](http://apjif.org/2013/11/48/Karl-Baier/4041/article.html)> [Accessed 07 April 2017]

Beasley, W. G., *The Modern History of Japan* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963)

-----, *Japanese Imperialism: 1894-1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)

Beckmann, George M., 'Political Crises and the Crystallization of Japanese Constitutional
Thought, 1871-1881', *Pacific Historical Review*, 23 (1954), 259-270

-----, *The Making of the Meiji Constitution: The Oligarchs and the
Constitutional Development of Japan, 1868-1891* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1957)

Bellamy, Richard, *Liberalism and Modern Society: An Historical Argument* (Cambridge: Polity
Press, 1992)

Berger, Gordon M., 'Japan's Young Prince. Konoe Fumimaro's Early Political Career, 1916-1931',
Monumenta Nipponica, 29 (1974), 451-457

Blaxell, Vivian, 'New Syonan and Asianism in Japanese-era Singapore', *Japan Focus*, 6 (2008), 1-

Bracher, Karl Dietrich, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Effects of National Socialism*, trans. By Jean Steinberg (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970)

Brown, Delmer M., *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California, 1955)

Brown, Roger H., 'Visions of a virtuous manifest destiny: Yasuoka Masahiro and Japan's Kingly Way', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 133-150

-----, 'Shepherds of the People: Yasuoka Masahiro and the New Bureaucrats in Early Showa Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 35 (2009), 285-319

-----, 'Ishiwara Kanji's "Argument for an East Asian League," 1940', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 201-204

-----, 'Matsumoto Gaku and the Japan Culture League, 1933', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 129-130

-----, 'Nagai Ryūtarō: "Holy War for the Reconstruction of Asia," 1937', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, p. 155

-----, 'Sun Yat-sen: "Pan-Asianism," 1924', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 75-78

-----, 'The Konoe Cabinet's "Declaration of a New Order in East Asia," 1938', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 167-169

-----, 'Yasuoka Masahiro: "Education for Japanese Capable of Being Leaders of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," 1942', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 263-265

Burkman, Thomas W., 'Nationalist actors in the internationalist theatre: Nitobe Inazō and Ishii Kikujirō and the League of Nations', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 89-113

-----, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008)

Cameron, Craig M., 'Race and Identity: The Culture of Combat in the Pacific War', *The International History Review*, 27 (2005), 550-566

Chang, Iris, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (London: Penguin Group, 1997)

Chen, Edward I-te, 'Japan's Decision to Annex Taiwan: A Study of Itō-Mutsu Diplomacy, 1894-95', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 37 (1977), 61-72

Cipris, Zeljko, 'Seduced by Nationalism: Yone Noguchi's 'Terrible Mistake'. Debating the China-Japan War with Tagore', *Japan Focus*, 11 (2007), 1-14

Conroy, Hilary, 'Government versus "Patriot": The Background of Japan's Asiatic Expansion',
Pacific Historical Review, 20 (1951), 31-42

-----, 'Japan's War in China: An Ideological Somersault', *Pacific Historical Review*, 21
(1952), 367-379

-----, 'Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism', *The American Historical Review*, 60
(1955), 818-829

Craig, Albert, 'Fukuzawa Yukichi', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary,
Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II,
pp. 32-34

-----, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge:
Harvard University, 2009)

Crowley, James B., 'Japanese Army Factionalism in the Early 1930's', *The Journal of Asian
Studies*, 21 (1962), 309-326

-----, 'A Reconsideration of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident', *The Journal of Asian
Studies*, 22 (1963), 277-291

-----, 'A New Asian Order: Some Notes on Prewar Japanese Nationalism', in *Japan
in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D.
Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 270-298

Cullen, L. M., *A History of Japan, 1582-1941: Internal and External Worlds* (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Devine, Richard, 'The Way of the King. An Early Meiji Essay on Government', *Monumenta
Nipponica*, 34 (1979), 49-72

Dickinson, Frederick, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919*

(Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2001).

Doak, Kevin M., 'Building National Identity through Ethnicity: Ethnology in Wartime Japan and

After', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 27 (2001), 1-39

-----, 'Liberal nationalism in imperial Japan: the dilemma of nationalism and

internationalism', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy,*

Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge,

2003), 17-42

-----, 'The concept of ethnic nationality and its role in Pan-Asianism in imperial Japan',

in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed.

by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 168-182

Dower, John, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, (New York: Pantheon

Books, 1993)

Driscoll, Mark, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's*

Imperialism, 1895-1945 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010)

Duara, Prasenjit, 'Japanese Pan-Asianism in Manchukuo, 1935', in *Pan-Asianism: A*

Documentary History, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols

(Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 163-164

Duara, Prasenjit, 'The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism', *Journal of World History*, 12

(2001), 99-130

- DuBois, Thomas David, 'Local Religion and the Imperial Imaginary: The Development of Japanese Ethnography in Occupied Manchuria', *The American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), 52-74
- Dufourmount, Eddy, 'The First Greater East Asia Writers Conference, 1942', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 229-231
- Duus, Peter, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1968)
- , 'Nagai Ryūtarō: The Tactical Dilemmas of Reform', in *Personality in Japanese History*, ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 399-424
- , 'Nagai Ryūtarō and the "White Peril", 1905-1944', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1971), 41-48
- , 'Yoshino Sakuzō: The Christian as Political Critic', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 4 (1978), 301-326
- , 'The White Peril, 1913', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 161-164
- Edward, Walter, 'Forging Tradition for a Holy War: The "Hakkō Ichiu" Tower in Miyazaki and Japanese Wartime Ideology', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 29 (2003), 289-324
- Epp, Robert, 'The Challenge from Tradition: Attempts to Compile a Civil Code in Japan, 1866-78', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 22 (1967), 15-48

- Etō, Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen, 'Introduction', in *My Thirty-Three Years' Dream: The Autobiography of Miyazaki Tōten*, trans. by Etō Shinkichi and Marius B. Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902: 1982), pp. xiii-xxvii
- Felice, Renzo De, *Interpretations of Fascism*, trans. by Brenda Everett (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977)
- Fletcher, Miles, 'Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Showa Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 39 (1979), 39-63
- Gates, Rustin B., 'Pan-Asianism in Prewar Japanese Foreign Affairs: The Curious Case of Uchida Yasuya', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 37 (2011), 1-27
- Gordon, Andrew, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to Present* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2003)
- Gowen, Robert Joseph, 'Great Britain and the Twenty-One Demands of 1915: Cooperation versus Effacement', *The Journal of Modern History*, 43 (1971), 76-106
- Griffin, Edward G., 'The Universal Suffrage Issue in Japanese Politics, 1918-25', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1972)
- Griffiths, Owen, 'Militarizing Japan: Patriotism, Profit, and Children's Print Media, 1894-1925', *Japan Focus*, 9 (2007), 1-30
- Hall, John Whitney, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1991)
- Hamada, Koichi and Asahi Noguchi, *The Role of Preconceived Ideas in Macroeconomic Policy: Japan's Experiences in the Two Deflationary Periods* (Conneticut: Yale University Economic Growth Centre, 2005)

Han, Jung-Sun, 'Rationalizing the Orient: The "East Asia Cooperative Community" in Prewar Japan', *Momumenta Nipponica*, 60 (2004), 481-514

-----, 'Envisioning a Liberal Empire in East Asia: Yoshino Sakuzō in Taisho Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 33 (2007), 357-382

-----, 'Rōyama Masamichi and the "Principles of an East Asian Cooperative Community," 1938', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 175-176

-----, *An Imperial Path to Modernity: Yoshino Sakuzō and a New Liberal Order in East Asia, 1905-1937* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012)

Hansen, Wilburn, *When Tengu Talk: Hirata Atsutane's Ethnography of the Other World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2008)

Harootunian, Harry D., 'Introduction: A Sense of an Ending and the Problem of Taishō', in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 3-28

-----, 'Between Politics and Culture: Authority and the Ambiguities of Intellectual Choice in Imperial Japan', in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 110-155

-----, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2000)

He, Jing, 'Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism, 1903-1906', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 101-104

Henshall, Kenneth G., *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999)

Hopper, Helen M., 'Mori Ogai's Response to Suppression of Intellectual Freedom, 1909-12', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29 (1974), 318-413

Hoston, Germaine A., 'The State, Modernity, and the Fate of Liberalism in Prewar Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 51 (1992), 287-316

Hotta, Eri, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War: 1931-45* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

-----, 'Konoe Fumimaro: "A Call to Reject the Anglo-American Centred Peace," 1918', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 311-314

-----, 'Ozaki Hotsumi: "The Ideal of the 'East Asian Cooperative Body' and the Objective Basis for Its Formation," 1939', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 185-189

Huish, David J., 'The Meirokusha: Some Grounds for Reassessment', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 31 (1972), 208-229

Ichiro, Fujimura, 'Tōten Miyazaki and Sakuzō Yoshino: Thoughts on Asian Solidarity and Universalism in Pre-war Japan', *Asian Culture and History*, 9 (2017), 1-5

- Iklé, Frank W., 'The Triple Intervention. Japan's Lesson in the Diplomacy of Imperialism',
Monumenta Nipponica, 22 (1967), 122-130
- Iriye, Akira, 'Kayahara Kazan and Japanese Cosmopolitanism', in *Personality in Japanese History*,
 ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970),
 pp. 373-398
- , *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London: Longman,
 1987)
- , *Japan and the Wider World: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present*
 (London: Longman, 1997)
- Itū, Takashi, and George Akita, 'The Yamagata-Tokutomi Correspondence. Press and Politics in
 Meiji-Taisho Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 36 (1981), 391-423
- Jansen, Marius B., 'Oi Kentaro: Radicalism and Chauvinism', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 11
 (1952), 305-316
- , *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954)
- , *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000)
- Johnson, Chalmers, *An Instance of Treason: Ozaki Hotsumi and the Sorge Spy Ring* (Stanford:
 Stanford University, 1990)
- Joos, Joel, 'The Genyōsha (1881) and Premodern Roots of Japanese Expansion', in *Pan-Asianism:
 A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols
 (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 61-64
- Kasza, Gregory J., 'Fascism from below? A Comparative Perspective on the Japanese Right,
 1931-1936', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 19 (1984), 607-629

- Kato, Yoko, 'Pan-Asianism and national reorganization: Japanese perceptions of China and the United States, 1914-19', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 67-82
- Kazuo, Yagami, *Konoe Fumimaro and the Failure of Peace in Japan, 1937-1941: A Critical Appraisal of the Three-Time Prime Minister* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2006)
- Kim, John Namjun, 'The temporality of empire: The imperial cosmopolitanism of Miki Kiyoshi and Tanabe Hajime', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 151-167
- Kim, Kyu Hyun, 'Tarui Tōkichi's Arguments on Behalf of the Union of the Great East, 1893', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 73-77
- Kinmonth, Earl H., 'The Mouse That Roared: Saito Takao, Conservative Critic of Japan's "Holy War" in China', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 25 (1999), 331-360
- Kitaoka, Shin'ichi, 'The Army as a Bureaucracy: Japanese Militarism Revisited', *The Journal of Military History*, 57 (1993), 67-86
- Kobayashi Hiroharu, 'Rōyama Masamichi's perception of international order from the 1920s and 1930s and the concept of East Asian Community', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 135-167

- Koschmann, J. Victor, 'Asianism's Ambivalent Legacy', in *Network Power: Japan and Asia*, ed. by Peter J. Katzenstein, and Takashi Shiraishi (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1997), pp. 83-112
- , 'Constructing destiny: Rōyama Masamichi and Asian regionalism in wartime Japan', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 185-199
- Krebs, Gerhard, 'World War Zero? Re-assessing the Global Impact of the Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905', *Japan Focus*, 10 (2012), 1-23
- Kublin, Hyman, 'The Origins of Japanese Socialist Tradition', *The Journal of Politics*, 14 (1952), 257-280
- Kuno, Yoshi S., *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*, 3 vols (Berkeley: University of California, 1937)
- Kuroki, Morifumi, 'The Asianism of Kōa-kai and the Ajia Kyōkai', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 34-51
- Kuronuma, Yuji, *Showa Depression: A Prescription for "Once in a Century Crisis"* (Tokyo: Japan Center for Economic Research, 2009)
- Kushner, Barak, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2006)
- Large, Stephen S., 'The Japanese Labor Movement, 1912-1919: Suzuki Bunji and the Yuaikai', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 29 (1970), 559-579

-----, 'Nationalist Extremism in Early Shōwa Japan: Inoue Nisshō and the 'Blood-Pledge Corps Incident', 1932', *Modern Asian Studies*, 35 (2001), 533-564

-----, 'Substantiating the nation: terrorist trials as nationalist theatre in early Showa Japan', in *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*, ed. by Sandra Wilson (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), pp. 55-69

Lebra, Joyce Chapman, 'Okuma Shigenobu and the 1881 Political Crisis', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 18 (1959), 475-487

-----, *Ōkuma Shigenobu: Statesman of Meiji Japan* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1973)

Li, Narangoa, "Universal values and Pan-Asianism: the vision of Omotokyo" in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), 52-81

-----, 'The Assembly of the Greater East Asiatic Nations, 1943', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 243-247

Linz, Juan J., *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (London: Lynne Rienner, 2000)

Loe, Stefano von, 'Nakano Seigō: Populist, Fascist, Pan-Asianist, 1917/1942', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 45-51

Lone, Stewart, 'The Japanese Annexation of Korea 1910: The Failure of East Asian Co-Prosperity', *Modern Asian Studies*, 25 (1991), 143-173

Lory, Hillis, *Japan's Military Masters* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973)

- Luebbert, Gregory M., *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe* (New York: Oxford University, 1991)
- Marshall, Byron K., 'Academic Factionalism in Japan: The Case of the Tōdai Economics Department, 1919-1939', *Modern Asian Studies*, 12 (1978), 529-551
- Masao, Maruyama, *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, ed. by Ivan Morris (London: Oxford University, 1963)
- Masataka, Kosaka, 'The Showa Era (1926-1989)', *Daedalus*, 119 (1990), 27-47
- Masato, Matsui, 'The Russo-Japanese Agreement of 1907: Its Causes and the Progress of Negotiations', *Modern Asian Studies*, 6 (1972), 33-48
- Masuru, Ikei, 'Japan's Response to the Chinese Revolution of 1911', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25 (1966), 213-227
- Matsuda, Koichiro, 'The Concept of "Asia" before Pan-Asianism', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 45-48
- Matsumoto, Kenichi, 'Okakura Tenshin and the Ideal of Pan-Asianism', in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, ed. by Brij Tankha (New Delhi: Global Oriental, 2009), pp. 11-21
- Mayo, Marlene J., 'The Korean Crisis of 1873 and Early Meiji Foreign Policy', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1972), 793-819
- McClain, James L., *Japan: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002)
- Merk, Frederick, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963)

Mikiso, Hane, 'Early Meiji Liberalism. An Assessment', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 24 (1969), 353-371

-----, 'The Sources of English Liberal Concepts in Early Meiji Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 24 (1969), 259-272

Minichiello, Sharon, *Retreat From Reform: Patterns of Political Behaviours in Interwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984)

Miwa, Kimitada, 'Pan-Asianism in modern Japan: nationalism, regionalism and universalism' in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 21-33

Morinosuke, Kajima, *The Emergence of Japan as a World Power, 1895-1925* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1968)

Moussa, H. and J. Obata, 'Economic Development and Financial Structure in Japan, 1868-1927', *Atlantic Canada Economics Association, Working Paper Series* (2002)

Mutō, Shūtārō, 'Hirano Yoshitarō: "The Historical Basis of Greater Asianism," 1915', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 271-275

Nish, Ian, 'Japan's Indecision During the Boxer Disturbances', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 20 (1961), 449-461

-----, 'An Overview of Relations between China and Japan, 1895-1945', *The China Quarterly*, 124 (1990), 501-623

-----, *Japan's Struggle With Internationalism: Japan, China and The League of Nations*, 1931-3 (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993)

- , *Japanese Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period* (Westport: Praeger, 2002)
- Noguchi, Takehiko and Teruko Craig, 'Mishima Yukio and Kita Ikki: The Aesthetics and Politics of Ultrnationalism in Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 10 (1984), 437-454
- Nolte, Sharon H., 'National Morality and Universal Ethics. Ōnishi Najime and the Imperial Rescript on Education', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 38 (1983), 283-294
- Noriko, Kawamura, 'Wilsonian Idealism and Japanese Claims at the Paris Peace Conference', *Pacific Historical Review*, 66 (1997), 503-526
- Notehelfer, Fred G., 'Tokutomi Sohō: A Japanese Nationalists View of the West and Asia', in *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University, 2006), II, pp. 127-128
- Ohno, Kenichi, *The Economic Development of Japan* (Tokyo: GRIPS Development Forum, 2006)
- Orbach, Danny, 'A Japanese Prophet: Eschatology and Epistemology in the Thought of Kita Ikki', *Japan Forum*, 23 (2011), 339-361
- Peattie, Mark R., *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975)
- Pierson, John D., 'The Early Liberal Thought of Tokutomi Sohō. Some Problems of Western Social Theory in Meiji Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29 (1974), 199-224
- , *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957: A Journalist for Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980)
- Pinnington, Adrian, 'Introduction', in *Japanese Propaganda: Selected Readings: Books, 1891-1939*, ed. by Peter O'Connor, 10 vols (Tokyo: Global Oriental, 2005) II, pp. 1-26
- Quo, Fang-quei, 'Jiyushugi: Japanese Liberalism', *The Review of Politics*, 28 (1966), 477-492

-----, 'Democratic Theories and Japanese Modernization', *Modern Asian Studies*, 6 (1972), 17-31

Ramsdell, Daniel B., 'The Nakamura Incident and the Japanese Foreign Office', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25 (1965), 51-67

Rozman, Gilbert, 'Internationalism and Asianism in Japanese Strategic Thought From Meiji to Heisei', *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 9 (2008), 209-232

Saaler, Sven, *Pan-Asianism in Meiji and Taisho Japan — A Preliminary Framework* (Tokyo: German Institute of Japanese Studies, 2002)

-----, 'Pan-Asianism in modern Japanese history: overcoming the nation, creating a region, forging an empire' in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1-18

-----, 'The Construction of Regionalism in Modern Japan: Kōdera Kenkichi and His "Treatise on Greater Asianism" (1916)', *Modern Asian Studies*, 41 (2007), 1261-1294

-----, 'Germany, Sun-Yat-sen, and Pan-Asianism, 1917-1923', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 243-245

-----, 'Japan, Korea, and Pan-Asianism: The Dōkōkai, 1921', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 63-65

-----, 'Matsuoka Yōsuke and the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, 1941', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 223-225

-----, 'Pan-Asianism during and after World War I: Kōdera Kenkichi (1916), Sawayanagi Masatarō (1919), and Sugita Teiichi (1920)', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 255-260

-----, 'Pan-Asianism, the "Yellow Peril," and Suematsu Kencho, 1905', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 141-144

-----, 'The Kokuryūkai, 1901-1920', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 121-126

-----, 'The Kokuryūkai (Black Dragon Society) and the Rise of Nationalism, Pan-Asianism, and Militarism in Japan, 1901-1925', *International Journal of Asian Studies*, 11 (2014), 125-160

Saaler, Sven and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 'Introduction: The Emergence of Pan-Asianism as an Ideal of Asian Identity and Solidarity, 1850-2008', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 1-42

Sato, Kazuo, 'Sun Yat-sen's 1911 Revolution had Its Seeds in Tokyo', *Japan Focus*, 5 (2007), 1-7

- Sattar, Sadia, *Old Friendships: Exploring the Historic Relationship Between Pan-Islamism and Japanese Pan-Asianism* (Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburg, 2008)
- Scalapino, Robert A., *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan: The Failure of the First Attempt* (Berkeley: University of California, 1967)
- Schad-Seifert, Annette, 'Constructing national identities: Asia, Japan and Europe in Fukuzawa Yukichi's theory of civilization', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 45-68
- Schencking, J. Charles, 'The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Culture of Catastrophe and Reconstruction in 1920s Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 34 (2008), 295-331
- Schneider, Michael A., 'Kōa—Raising Asia: Arao Sei and Inoue Masaji', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 69-70
- , 'Miyazaki Masayoshi: "On the East Asian League," 1938', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 179-182
- Semmel, Bernard, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1993)
- Shūichi, Katō, 'Taishō Democracy as the Pre-Stage for Japanese Militarism', in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 217-236
- Shunsuke, Tsurumi, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan, 1931-1945* (London: KPI, 1982)

-----, 'Tenko kenkyū', in *Tsurumi Shunsuke shū*, 9 vols (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1991), IV

Silberman, Bernard S., 'The Political Theory and Program of Yoshino Sakuzō', *The Journal of Modern History*, 31 (1959), 310-324

-----, 'Bureaucratic Development and the Structure of Decision-Making in the Meiji Period: The Case of the Genrō', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 27 (1967), 81-94

-----, 'The Bureaucratic Role in Japan, 1900-1945: The Bureaucrat as Politician', in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 183-216

-----, 'Conclusion: Taishō Japan and the Crisis of Secularism', in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 437-454

Siniawer, Eiko Muruko, 'Liberalism Undone: Discourses on Political Violence in Interwar Japan', *Modern Asian Studies*, 45 (2011), 973-1002

Smethurst, Richard J., 'The Creation of the Imperial Military Reserve Association in Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 30 (1971), 815-828

Sontheimer, Kurt, 'Anti-democratic Thought in the Weimar Republic', in *The Path to Dictatorship, 1918-1933*, trans. by John Conway (New York: Anchor Books, 1966), pp. 32-49

Soviak, Eugene, 'The Case of Baba Tatsui. Western Enlightenment, Social Change and the Early Meiji Intellectual', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 18 (1963), 191-235

Spaulding, Robert M., 'Japan's Search for Cultural Identity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14 (1972), 514-520

- Stegewerns, Dick, 'The dilemma of nationalism and internationalism in modern Japan: national interest, Asian brotherhood, imperial cooperation or world citizenship?', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 3-16
- , 'Yoshino Sakuzō: the isolated figurehead of the Taishō generation', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 114-132
- , 'Forgotten Leaders of the interwar debate on regional integration: introducing Sugimori Kōjirō', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 101-114
- Steven, R. P. G., 'Hybrid Constitutionalism in Prewar Japan', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 3 (1977), 99-133
- Storry, Richard, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957)
- , *A History of Modern Japan* (London: Cassell, 1960)
- , 'Soldiers of the Showa Empire', *Pacific Affairs*, 49 (1976), 102-107
- Swale, Alistair, 'Tokutomi Sohō and the "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," 1917', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 279-282

Swale, Alistair, 'Tokutomi Sohō and the problem of the nation-state in an imperialist world', in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian brotherhood, or world citizenship?*, ed. by Dick Stegewerns (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 69-88

Synder, Louis L., *Macro-Nationalism: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984)

Szpilman, Christopher W. A., 'Conservatism and its Enemies in Prewar Japan: The Case of Hiranuma Kiichiro and the Kokuhonsha', *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies*, 30 (1998), 101-133

-----, 'Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion', *Modern Asian Studies*, 36 (2002), 467-490

-----, 'Between Pan-Asianism and nationalism: Mitsukawa Kametaro and his campaign to reform Japan and liberate Asia', in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 85-100

-----, 'Hiranuma Kiichirō: "The New Asiatic Order," 1939', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 193-196

-----, 'Hosoi Hajime: "Japan's Resolve," 1932', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 117-120

- , 'Kanokogi Kazunobu, "Imperial Asia," 1937', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 149-152
- , 'Kita Ikki: "An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution," 1915, and "The Outline of a Plan for the Reconstruction of Japan", 1919', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 271-275
- , 'Kita Reikichi: "Misunderstood Asianism" and "The Great Mission of Our Country," 1917', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 297-300
- , 'Miyazaki Tōten's Pan-Asianism, 1915-1919', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 133-136
- , 'Mori Kaku: "Extraordinary Means for Extraordinary Times," 1932', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 123-126
- , 'Ōkawa Shūmei: "Various Problems of Asia in Revival," 1922', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 69-72

- , 'The Yūzonsha's "War Cry," 1920', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 55-60
- Szpilman, Christopher W. A. and Sven Saaler, 'Pan-Asianism as an Ideal of Asian Identity and Solidarity, 1850-Present', *Japan Focus*, 9 (2011), 1-29
- Talmon, J. L., *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1952)
- Tanin, O. and E. Yohan, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973)
- Tankha, Brij, *Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan: A Vision of Empire* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006)
- , 'Okakura Tenshin: Writing a Good History upon a Modern Plan', in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, ed. by Brij Tankha (New Delhi: Global Oriental, 2009), pp. 27-48
- , 'Okakura Tenshin: "Asia is One," 1903', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 93-96
- Tetsuo, Najita, 'Inukai Tsuyoshi: Some Dilemmas in Party Development in Pre-World War II Japan', *The American Historical Review*, 74 (1968), 492-510
- , 'Some Reflections on Idealism in the Political Thought of Yoshino Sakuzō', in *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, ed. by Bernard S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (Michigan: The University of Michigan, 1974), pp. 29-66
- Tipton, Elise K., *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2002: 2008)

- Tomasi, Massimiliano, 'Oratory in Meiji and Taisho Japan: Public Speaking and the Formation of a New Written Language', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 57 (2002), 43-71
- Tomoko, Akami, 'Nation, State, Empire and War: Problems of Liberalism in Modern Japanese History and Beyond', *Japanese Studies*, 25 (2005), 119-140
- Townsend, Susan, *Miki Kiyoshi, 1897-1945: Japan's Itinerant Philosopher* (Leiden: Brill, 2009)
- Tsutsui, William M., *A Companion to Japanese History*, ed. by William M. Tsutsui (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007)
- Turner, John E., 'The Kenseikai: Leader vs Party Liberal', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 11 (1952), 317-334
- Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi, "'Imperial Japanese" Drug Trafficking in China: Historiographic Perspective', *Sino-Japanese Studies*, 13 (2000), pp. 3-19
- Wakakuwa, Midori, 'Japanese Cultural Identity and Nineteenth-century Asian Nationalism: Okakura Tenshin and Swami Vivekananda', in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, ed. by Brij Tankha (New Delhi: Global Oriental, 2009), pp. 22-26
- Ward, Max, *The Problem of "Thought": Crisis, National Essence and the Interwar Japanese State* (Michigan: UMI Dissertation Publishing, 2011)
- , 'Crisis ideology and the articulation of fascism in interwar Japan: the 1938 Thought-War Symposium', *Japan Forum*, 26 (2014), 462-485
- , 'Displaying the Worldview of Japanese Fascism: The Tokyo Thought War Exhibition of 1938', *Critical Asian Studies*, 47 (2015), 414-439

- Weber, Torsten, 'The Greater Asia Association and Matsui Iwane, 1933', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), II, pp. 137-142
- Weland, James 'Misguided Intelligence: Japanese Military Intelligence Officers in the Manchurian Incident, September 1931', *The Journal of Military History*, 58 (1994), 445-460
- Wilson, George M., 'Kita Ikki's Theory of Revolution', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 26 (1966), 88-99
- , *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1969)
- Wilson, Sandra, 'The Manchurian Crisis and Moderate Japanese Intellectuals: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations', *Modern Asian Studies*, 26 (1992), 507-544
- Yamamuro, Shin'ichi, *Manchuria Under Japanese Dominion*, trans by. Joshua A. Fogel (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)
- Yoshimi, Takeuchi, 'Profile of Asian Minded Man X: Ōkawa Shūmei', *The Developing Economies*, 7 (1969), 367-379
- Yoshitake, Oka, *Konoe Fumimaro: A Political Biography*, trans. by Shumpei Okamoto and Patricia Murray (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1972:1983)
- Young, Louise, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999)

Zachmann, Urs Matthias, 'Blowing Up a Double Portrait in Black and White: The Concept of Asia in the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi and Okakura Tenshin', *East Asia Cultures Critiques*, 15 (2007), 345-368

-----, 'Konoe Atsumaro and the Idea of an Alliance of the Yellow Race, 1898', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 85-89

-----, 'The Foundation Manifesto of Kōakai (Raising Asia Society) and the Ajia Kyōkai (Asia Association), 1880-1883', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 53-58

-----, 'The Foundation Manifesto of the Tōa Dōbunkai (East Asian Common Culture Society), 1898', in *Pan-Asianism: A Documentary History*, ed. by Sven Saaler and Christopher W. A. Szpilman, 2 vols (Plymouth, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), I, pp. 115-119