# CONCISE DICTIONARY OF MODERN JAPANESE HISTORY

## A

**Abe Isoo** 1865–1949 安部磯雄
Native of Fukuoka Prefecture, Abe studied at Dōshisha and became a Christian; after studying in the West, he returned to Japan and became a Unitarian preacher. From 1899 he taught at Tokyo College (later Waseda University). He participated in the early Socialist movement, becoming a member of the Society for the Study of Socialism in 1898 and then president of the Socialist Society in 1900; in 1901 he was one of the founders of the Shakai Minshutō. Abe maintained a pacifist stance throughout the Russo-Japanese War, and his subsequent publication of the journal *Shin Kigen* (New Era) with Ishikawa Sanshirō marked his continuing activity as one of Japan's leading Christian Socialists. Though withdrawing from Socialist activity after 1910, Abe reemerged in 1924 to become president of the Japan Fabian Society. As a member of the Labor Farmer Party in 1926, then chairman of the Shakai Minshūtō, and finally as chairman of the Shakai Taishūtō from 1932, he remained a leading figure among right-wing Socialists until the war. In 1928 he was elected to the Diet. Abe withdrew from political activity in 1940 but postwar acted as adviser to the Japan Socialist Party.

Powles, C. H. "Abe Isoo: The Utility Man," in N. Bamba and J. F. Howes, eds. *Pacifism in Japan* (Kyoto, 1978).

**Abe Nobuyuki** 1875–1953 阿部信行
Native of Ishikawa Prefecture, graduating from the Military Academy, Abe rose to

the rank of general before being placed on the reserve list in 1936. In August 1939 he succeeded Hiranuma as prime minister and in this post advocated the formation of a new Chinese government under Wang Ching-wei and nonintervention in the war in Europe. Abe's cabinet failed to curb rampant inflation; other measures incurred the hostility of the Privy Council, Foreign Ministry, and Diet. Bereft of army support, the cabinet resigned in January 1940. Abe subsequently served as special envoy to China and in 1942 joined the House of Peers. His other official posts included the presidency of the Imperial Rule Assistance Political Association and from July 1944 the governorship of Korea.

Berger, G. M. *Parties Out of Power in Japan, 1931–1941* (Princeton, 1977).
Iwabuchi, T. "Japan's New Premier, General Nobuyuki Abe," *CJ* 8, no. 8 (Oct. 1939).
Shigemitsu, M. *Japan and Her Destiny* (London, 1958).

**Abolition of the Domains** (haihan chiken) 廃藩置県

During the Tokugawa period daimyō (feudal lords) ruled over semiautonomous areas known as *han* (domains), whose continuing existence after the Meiji Restoration was an obstacle to the creation of a centralized state. In 1869 many daimyō, following the lead of the ruling domains of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen, offered to surrender the domain registers to the emperor (*hanseki hōkan*), and the daimyō of all *han* subsequently became imperial governors of their former domains. The years 1869–1871 brought an increasing need for government intervention in the autonomy of the domains, and in August 1871 the prefectural system was extended to the whole of Japan (*haihan chiken*). Although something of a political gamble, the move met with relatively little opposition. The former daimyō were guaranteed stipend and nobility status, and the government took over the income and debts of the domain. The domains were replaced by urban districts (*fu*) and prefectures (*ken*) governed by officials sent out from Tokyo. This system of units of local administration under the central government had already been adopted in lands formerly held by the Tokugawa. In 1873 real local autonomy was virtually ended by the establishment of the new Home Ministry (*q.v.*), and in subsequent reorganizations the domains largely lost their identities.

Beasley, W. G. *The Meiji Restoration* (London, 1973).

**Abolition of the Han.** See ABOLITION OF THE DOMAINS; FEUDAL SYSTEM

**Adachi Kenzō** 1864–1948 安達謙蔵

Native of Kumamoto, in 1895 Adachi was involved in the murder of the Korean queen, Min, but was acquitted. He was a founder member of the Kumamoto National Party (Kokkentō). A member of the House of Representatives from 1902, from 1913 Adachi was active in the Rikken Dōshikai and later as a leading member of the Kenseikai and Minseitō. His political maneuverings caused him to be known as *senkyo no kamisama* (god of elections). Adachi was communications minister 1925–1927 and home minister 1929–1931, but his advocacy of a coalition cabinet after the Manchurian Incident split the Wakatsuki cabinet and helped bring it down. Adachi left the Minseitō and in 1932 formed and became president of the Kokumin Dōmei (National League).

Berger, G. M. *Parties Out of Power in Japan, 1931–1941* (Princeton, 1977).
Duus, P. *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taishō Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

**Admonition to Soldiers and Sailors.** See TAKEHASHI RISING

**Advisory Council on Foreign Relations** (Rinji Gaikō Chōsa Iinkai) 臨時外交調査委員会

In June 1917 the Terauchi cabinet, on the advice of Miura Gorō and Gotō Shinpei, established the Advisory Council on Foreign Relations in an attempt to unify the making of foreign policy and eliminate party strife over it. The council, which was directly responsible to the emperor, was presided over by the prime minister. Its membership comprised the home, foreign, war and navy ministers, three members of the Privy Council (Makino Nobuaki, Itō Miyoji, and Hirata Tōsuke), Hara Kei of the Seiyūkai, and Inukai Tsuyoshi of the Kokumintō. The Kenseikai leader, Katō Takaaki, refused to participate. The council was less influential after the war in view of Hara's large parliamentary majority, but it discussed the Siberian Intervention (*q.v.*) and had a strong voice in policy concerning the Versailles Peace Treaty (*q.v.*) and Washington Conference (*q.v.*). Until its abolition in September 1922, the council continued to be a forum where opposition leaders could be consulted, and it considerably restricted the foreign minister's influence in originating Japan's foreign policy.

Nish, I. H. *Japanese Foreign Policy, 1869–1942* (London, 1977).

**Agrarianism.** See NŌHONSHUGI

**Agriculture**

Agriculture was the main occupation during the Tokugawa period, with rice (*q.v.*) the major crop. In 1872 75% of the population was still engaged in farming, but by 1920 this proportion had fallen to 50%, and in 1977 to 19%. In 1975 farming households comprised 23 million people, of whom 13.5 million were engaged in agriculture, many of them part time. Reform of the land tax in the 1870s allowed peasants to possess land, and tax paid by cultivators still amounted to 60% of government income in 1894. Agricultural modernization after the Restoration increased yields although the actual growth rate of agriculture remains a matter of controversy. Products diversified (e.g., dairy products in Hokkaidō), and agriculture became more commercialized, but shortage of land, excess population, and the widespread cultivation of rice meant that plots remained small and intensively cultivated. During the Meiji period the agricultural sector was a source of labor, capital, and a potential market for industrialization, and it provided exports, especially raw silk (*q.v.*) (by 1913 one-third of total exports by value) in the early stages of industrialization. The difficulty of subsistence farming and heavy taxes created economic distress, leading to an increase in tenancy (by 1910 over 40% of land was tenanted) and fragmentation of land holdings. The rate of increase in agricultural production slowed after 1918, with population growth and rice imports marking a transition to an industrial economy. From 1920 rural areas increasingly suffered from a fall in the price of rice, and the situation was worsened by a slump in silk prices from the late 1920s. Rural distress was especially bad in northern areas, and awareness of intense rural poverty played a role in ultranationalist ideology both inside and outside the army. The postwar land reform (*q.v.*) increased agricultural efficiency, and technical change again increased rice production levels. Products have become much diversified, but in 1974 rice production, valued at ¥2,822,600 million, still amounted to 37% of agricultural production by value, followed by stock raising and then fruit and vegetables. Although the government has recently attempted to divert farmers into the production of other crops, continuing government subsidies for rice production suggest that its cultivation will remain profitable, but the increasing depopulation of farming villages is a matter of growing concern.

Hayami, Y. *A Century of Agricultural Growth in Japan* (Tokyo, 1975).
International Society for Educational

Information. *Postwar Japanese Agriculture* (Tokyo, 1973).
O.E.C.D. *Agricultural Policy in Japan* (Paris, 1974).

**Aikoku Kōtō** 愛国公党
The Aikoku Kōtō (Patriotic Public Party) was a political society founded in January 1874 by Itagaki Taisuke (*q.v.*) in Tokyo. Members included Gotō Shōjirō, Etō Shinpei, and Soejima Taneomi, all of whom had resigned from the government over the invasion of Korea (*q.v.*). The group advocated the equality of men and popular rights and submitted to the government a memorial for an elected assembly, but it had no popular support nor organizational structure and was soon disbanded. Itagaki founded a second political party of the same name in May 1890, but after the August 1890 election it merged with the Jiyūtō (*q.v.*) and the Daidō Club to form the Rikken Jiyūtō.

Cody, C. E. "A Study of the Career of Itagaki Taisuke, 1837–1919," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1965.
Scalapino, R. A. *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, 1967).

**Aikokusha** 愛国社
The Aikokusha was the name given to Japan's first national political party. It was founded at Osaka in February 1875 at a conference of local popular rights groups called by Itagaki Taisuke's Risshisha (*q.v.*). The Aikokusha's aim was constitutional parliamentary government. It resolved to establish a Tokyo headquarters and hold a biennial conference, but funds were nonexistent and membership very small, so with Itagaki's return to the government after the Osaka Conference (*q.v.*), the Aikokusha virtually ceased to exist. When the popular rights movement later spread among farmers, the Risshisha ressuscitated the Aikokusha; it held conferences in 1878 and 1879, and at the fourth conference in March 1880, where delegates claimed to represent 96 organizations with a total membership of over 98,000, the Aikokusha voted to initiate a nationwide petition movement and changed its name to Kokkai Kisei Dōmei (League for the Establishment of a Diet) (*q.v.*).

Ike, N. *The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan* (Baltimore, 1958).

**Ainu**
The indigenous population of Hokkaidō, the Ainu traded with Japanese during the Tokugawa period. Many were also hired as fishing labor and were frequently badly treated. From the early 19th century the Japanese adopted a sporadically executed assimilation policy, but the Ainu suffered through the post-Restoration reforms, and many fell into dire poverty. Their lack of any concept of the private ownership of land meant that under these reforms all communal land passed to the government, and the Ainu kept only the land on which they lived. With many Ainu forced to abandon hunting, this land proved insufficient to provide a living from farming. Increasingly, the Ainu also lost the special treatment they had received in the early years after the Restoration. Ainu numbers decreased rapidly in relation to Japanese immigrants. In 1873 the Ainu constituted 95% of Hokkaidō's population, but by 1897 this figure had fallen to only 22%. By 1900 only 17,500 Ainu remained; they failed even to maintain their numbers because of medical problems, especially alcoholism, tuberculosis, and venereal disease. Sporadic and unsuccessful attempts had been made to educate the Ainu, but these were largely dependent on missionaries. By the 1890s the state of the Ainu had become a topic of national discussion, which provoked the 1899 Ainu Protection Law. This law, which remained in force until 1937, rationalized the hitherto sporadic policies relating to the Ainu and had wide provisions relating to employment, relief, medical treatment, education, and communal property owning; nevertheless,

it failed to make any fundamental difference to the condition of the Ainu. The government's basic policy remained assimilation, and this was mostly supported by the Ainu leaders. In 1937 the Ainu Protection Law was revised, abolishing land grants and special primary education for the Ainu, and other provisions were merged with general welfare legislation. In 1960 there were still some 17,000 Ainu, but few were pure-blooded. Ainu language and culture have undergone a severe decline, and the few remaining Ainu communities are now no more than tourist attractions.

"Ainu Rights," *JQ* 21, no. 3 (July-Sept. 1974).
Batchelor, J. *Ainu Life and Lore* (rprt. New York, 1971).
Hilger, M. I. *Together with the Ainu: A Vanishing People* (Norman, Okla., 1971).
Sala, G. C. "Protest and the Ainu of Hokkaido," *Japan Interpreter* 10, no. 1 (Summer 1975).
Takakura, S. "The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (1960).

**Aizawa Incident** (Aizawa jiken) 相沢事件
On 12 August 1935 Major-General Nagata Tetsuzan, head of the Military Affairs Bureau, was assassinated by Lieutenant-Colonel Aizawa Saburō. Aizawa had protested against the enforced resignation of Masaki Jinzaburō as inspector of military education earlier that year and had been posted to Formosa. A member of the *kōdō* faction (*q.v.*), he believed that Nagata was responsible both for Masaki's resignation and for other moves against the faction. Complicated by political factors, the trial was delayed by the February 26 Rising (*q.v.*), but Aizawa was eventually executed in July 1936.

Byas, H. *Government by Assassination* (London, 1943).
Storry, R. *The Double Patriots* (London, 1957).

**Aizu** 会津
*Han* in northeast Honshū now part of Fukushima Prefecture. During the last years of the Tokugawa period, Aizu, whose ruling family was related to the Tokugawa, was one of the Bakufu's strongest supporters. At the time of the coup of January 1868 the Aizu daimyō, Matsudaira Katamori, was military governor of Kyoto, and Aizu forces participated in the first Bakufu defeat at Toba-Fushimi. In May 1868 Aizu, supported by an alliance of northeastern *han*, became a focus of resistance to the imperial forces. The castle at its capital, Aizu-Wakamatsu, eventually fell in autumn 1868 after heavy Aizu losses; the domain was laid waste, and the Matsudaira family and retainers transferred to a small fief at the northern tip of Honshū, which proved inadequate to support them.

Bolitho, H. "Aizu, 1853–1868," in G. Daniels and P. Lowe, eds. *BAJS Proceedings* 2, pt. 1 (Sheffield, 1977).

**Akahata Incident.** See RED FLAG INCIDENT

**Akita Incident** (Akita jiken) 秋田事件
In spring 1881 members of the Akita Risshikai, a union of samurai and farmers formed in 1880 as part of the popular rights movement, devised a plot to overthrow the government. Under the leadership of Shibata Asagorō the group stole funds to carry out their conspiracy, but the plot was discovered and the participants convicted of treason. The national popular rights movement disclaimed any involvement in the plot.

**Alcock, Sir Rutherford** 1809–1897
After serving as a consul in China, Alcock arrived in Japan in 1859 to head the British diplomatic mission. With Townsend Harris (*q.v.*) he played a major role in the early development of Japan's foreign relations as well as in promoting British interests in Japan and became one of the most influential of the foreign diplomatic

representatives of the time. Alcock went to England on leave in March 1862, but on his return to Japan in March 1864 he strongly urged the bombardment of Shimonoseki (*q.v.*). He was recalled later in 1864 but was British minister in China 1865–1871.

Alcock, R. *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of Three Years' Residence in Japan,* 2 vols. (London, 1863).
Beasley, W. G. *Select Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy, 1853–1868* (London, 1967).
McMaster, J. "Alcock and Harris: Foreign Diplomacy in Bakumatsu Japan," *MN* 22, nos. 3–4 (1967).

**All Japan General Federation of Labor.** See LABOR MOVEMENT

**All Japan Industrial Labor Unions Conference.** See LABOR MOVEMENT

**All Japan Labor Unions Conference.** See LABOR MOVEMENT

**All Japan Proletarian Youth League.** See YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

**Allied Council for Japan** (Rengōkoku Tainichi Rijikai) 連合国対日理事会
The allied foreign ministers conference in Moscow in December 1945 established the Allied Council for Japan, which was to meet in Tokyo. Consisting of representatives from the U.S., U.S.S.R., Nationalist China, and the British Commonwealth and chaired by SCAP (*q.v.*) or his representative, the council was to consult with and advise SCAP over the implementation of surrender terms and the Occupation and administration of Japan. From April 1946 two meetings a month were held, and in the early stages of the Occupation the council played an active part in promoting such matters as land reform (*q.v.*), but its establishment had been opposed by Douglas MacArthur, who rarely attended after the first meeting, and the exercise of its function was hindered both by his obstructiveness and by increasing U.S.-U.S.S.R. mistrust. The San Francisco Peace Treaty brought its existence to an end.

Ball, W. M. *Japan, Enemy or Ally?* (New York, 1949).
Daniels, G. "Nationalist China in the Allied Council: Policies Toward Japan, 1946–1952," *Hokkaidō Law Review* 27, no. 2 (Nov. 1976).

**Allied Powers GHQ.** See SCAP

**Amakasu Incident.** See ŌSUGI SAKAE

**Amamiya Silk Mill Dispute** (Amamiya Seishi sōgi) 雨宮製糸争議
In February 1886 the owners of 73 silk mills in the Kōfu (Yamanashi) area employing some 4,500 female workers formed an organization to tighten their joint control over their labor force. The resulting attempt to enforce harsher working conditions provoked over 100 women at the Amamiya mill, one of the largest in the area, into refusing to work until conditions were improved. The withdrawal of labor on 14 June 1886 is regarded as Japan's first factory strike. The dispute was ended in two days by the employer's granting concessions, and it triggered off a succession of similar disputes in the area. But its significance was small and localized; its importance lies in its existence as a historical event rather than as the precursor of a successful and organized labor movement.

**Amur River Society.** See KOKURYŪKAI

**Ana-Boru Dispute.** See ANARCHISM

**Anarchism**
Anarchist ideas were first openly expounded in Japan by Kōtoku Shūsui after 1905; he rejected authority and argued that socialism must be achieved through direct action of organized workers since the Diet would always be the weapon of the propertied classes. A split within the Socialist movement followed between anarchists and social democrats. The dominant form of anarchism in Japan was anarcho-syndicalism; adherents aimed at the liberation of the working class but did not recognize parliamentary activity and the leadership of political parties, instead wishing to bring down capitalism by direct action of unions through general strikes, boycotts, and sabotage. They also regarded organized workers at plant level as the basic unit not only of revolutionary struggle but also of production and distribution in any new society. After Kōtoku's death in 1911, the anarcho-syndicalist group was led by Ōsugi Sakae, and his doctrines dominated the labor movement 1921–1922. After the Russian Revolution the popularity of Bolshevik ideas grew, and by 1922 a conflict between the Bolsheviks and anarcho-syndicalists had split the labor and Socialist movements. This was the so-called Ana-Boru dispute. The anarcho-syndicalists still rejected the leadership of political parties, advocating a loose confederation based on autonomous plant unions and direct economic action through strikes to achieve workers' control over production. The Bolsheviks advocated the building of strong united labor organizations, obtaining public support, and raising political issues. The split was worsened by the anarchists' problems in the Soviet Union and the anarchists' use of offensive tactics in a period of recession. After the founding of the Japan Communist Party and the murder of Ōsugi in 1923, anarcho-syndicalism yielded its dominance of the labor movement to communism. Government suppression meant the loss of successive leaders, and with the manifest failure of anarcho-syndicalism as a revolutionary tactic, as opposed to the obvious success of Bolshevism, it lost most of its influence. In 1926 there occurred a split between anarchists and syndicalists, and they have not reemerged as a united movement. Postwar activities by anarchists have been minimal despite some revival among the Zengakuren (*q.v.*) from 1958.

Notehelfer, F. G. *Kōtoku Shūsui: Portrait of a Japanese Radical* (Cambridge, 1971).
Totten, G. O. *The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan* (New Haven, 1966).

**Anarcho-Syndicalism.** See ANARCHISM

**Anglo-Japanese Alliance** (Nichiei Dōmei) 日英同盟
Some Japanese, notably Itō Hirobumi, wished for a Russian alliance to effect a local compromise over Russo-Japanese relations, and the Germans had pushed for a triple alliance with Britain and Japan, but following negotiations between Hayashi Tadasu, Japanese envoy in London, and Lord Lansdowne an Anglo-Japanese alliance was concluded, to be effective from 30 January 1902. The terms of the alliance recognized a common interest in opposing Russian expansion, promising mutual help for the preservation of U. K. rights and interests in China, and of Japan's interests in China and Korea. If either signatory power engaged in hostilities with one power in the Far East area, the other would remain neutral, but hostilities with two or more powers would oblige the other signatory power to participate. The treaty's term was five years. The British regarded the alliance as an end to "Splendid Isolation" and a warning to Russia; the Japanese regarded it as a triumph, putting her on an equal footing with the great powers and enabling her to fight Russia without fear of Russia's invoking her alliance with France. In August 1905 the alliance terms were revised and broadened to provide for the defense of British interests in India and a more precise recognition of Japan's hegemony in Korea, and its term was ex-

tended to 10 years. Improved relations with Russia, deteriorating relations with Germany, and Japan's annexation of Korea rendered further revision desirable, and renewal in 1911 also excluded the U. S. from the sphere of application. Japan invoked the alliance in order to declare war on Germany in 1914. It remained legally in force until the effecting of the Washington Four-Power Treaty, which replaced it in August 1923.

Lowe, P. C. *Great Britain and Japan, 1911–1915* (London, 1969).
Nish, I. H. *Alliance in Decline* (London, 1972).
———. *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: The Diplomacy of Two Island Empires* (London, 1966).
Pooley, A. M. *Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi* (London, 1915).

**Annexation of Korea.** See KOREA, COLONY OF

**Anpo.** See U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY

**Ansei Purge** (Ansei no Taigoku) 安政の大獄
A series of measures carried out by Ii Naosuke 1858–1859 to suppress powerful rivals and opponents inside and outside the Bakufu. Opposition had centered on the twin problems of the shōgunal succession dispute (*q.v.*) and conclusion of the U. S.-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce (*q.v.*). Ii removed from office many of his main opponents within the Bakufu; he forced daimyō from both *fudai* and *tozama han* into retirement and banned Hitotsubashi Keiki from public life. The purge extended to the court, members of the antiforeign, pro-emperor movement and others connected with the Hitotsubashi party. Over 100 people were affected and eight executed, including Yoshida Shōin.

Beasley, W. G. *The Meiji Restoration* (London, 1973).

**Ansei Treaties.** See U. S.-JAPAN TREATY OF AMITY AND COMMERCE

**Anti-Bakufu Movement** (Tōbaku undō) 討幕運動
The downfall of the Bakufu and restoration of power to the emperor was in many ways the logical corollary of *sonnō* (*q.v.*) ideas, and the term *anti-Bakufu movement* embraces both those who, during the 1860s, aimed at the overthrow of the Tokugawa regime by force (the *tōbaku* [destroy the Bakufu] faction) and those who wished for a peaceful transference of the responsibility for national rule from Bakufu to emperor. From the early 1860s Chōshū openly defied the Bakufu, but it was only after the conclusion of an alliance in 1866 with Satsuma, which had hitherto advocated *kōbu gattai* (*q.v.*) policies, that successful armed struggle to overthrow the Bakufu became a possibility. Advocates of peaceful transition, led by Tosa, achieved the shōgun's resignation late in 1867, but Satsuma and Chōshū, and other more hostile to the Bakufu, seized power at court, and their victory in the subsequent hostilities gave them dominance in the new government.

Beasley, W. G. *The Meiji Restoration* (London, 1973).
Craig, A. *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).
Harootunian, H. *Toward Restoration* (Berkeley, 1970).
Jansen, M. B. *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Meiji Restoration* (Princeton, 1961).

**Anti-Bolshevism League** (Sekka Bōshidan) 赤化防止団
Violent right-wing group founded October 1922 by lawyer and Kokuryūkai member Yonemura Kaichirō. The league aimed at the eradication of socialism and had branches throughout the country carrying on "patriotic" campaigns and intimidating strikers and leftist organizations. Its membership never exceeded 2,000, and in 1923 Yonemura stabbed to death a Communist who had attacked the

league's headquarters, and he was imprisoned. The group soon afterwards ceased to exist, but there is a postwar organization of the same name. It is also known as the Anti-Red League.

Storry, R. *The Double Patriots* (London, 1959).
Tanin, O., and E. Yohan. *Militarism and Fascism in Japan* (London, 1934).

**Anti-Comintern Pact** (Nichidokui Bōkyō Kyōtei) 日独伊防共協定 Concluded in Berlin between Japan and Germany 25 November 1936. In Japan there was strong army pressure to conclude the pact, and a leading role was played by Ōshima Hiroshi, Japan's military attaché in Berlin. The two countries agreed to exchange information concerning the Comintern and to take measures to oppose its activities. A secret additional protocol provided for mutual consultation and the cessation of activity beneficial to the U.S.S.R. by one signatory should the other open hostilities with Russia. The pact was extended in November 1937 to include Italy. For Japan the pact was a step away from her international isolation since the Manchurian Incident (*q.v.*) and toward the Tripartite Pact (*q.v.*) of 1940.

Boyd, C. "The Role of Hiroshi Oshima in the Preparation of the Anti-Comintern Pact," *JAH* II, no. 1 (1977).
Ikle, F.W. *German-Japanese Relations, 1936–1940* (New York, 1956).
Ohata, T. "The Anti-Comintern Pact, 1935–1939," in J. W. Morley, ed., *Deterrent Diplomacy: Japan, Germany, and the U.S.S.R., 1935–1940* (New York, 1976).
Presseisen, E. L. *Germany and Japan: A Study in Totalitarian Diplomacy, 1933–1941* (The Hague, 1958).

**Anti-Japanese Movement (China)** The first boycott of Japanese goods by the Chinese was in 1908, but from 1914 anti-Japanese feeling expressed in boycotts and demonstrations gained momentum in response to such incidents as Japan's occupation of former German concessions in China (1914), the Twenty-One Demands (1915) (*q.v.*), and the Nishihara Loans (*q.v.*). After 1918 Chinese students returning en masse from Japan in protest and resentment at the failure of China's calls at the Paris Peace Conference for cancellation of the Twenty-One Demands and return of the Shantung Peninsula initiated the so-called May 4 Movement when demonstrations, boycotts, and strikes prevented China's signing the peace treaty. From the early 1920s Japan shifted toward a policy of economic infiltration, and tariff disputes led to strikes in Japanese-owned plants 1925–1926. The 1927 Shantung Expeditions (*q.v.*) marked the revival of more open Japanese intervention in Chinese affairs, and attempts to organize a nationwide boycott of Japanese goods inflicted severe economic damage on Japan. The Chinese populace was further inflamed by the Wanpaoshan Incident of July 1931, when a dispute between local Korean and Chinese farmers in Wanpaoshan, Manchuria, led to anti-Chinese riots in Korea. After the Manchurian Incident (*q.v.*) Shanghai became the center of an increasingly strong nationwide movement of strikes and boycotts, but continuing Japanese encroachments gradually led the Chinese to try to resist further aggression by force. Initially the Kuomintang government gave little strong support to the resistance movement, preferring to fight its internal battle against the Communists before tackling Japan, but it was pressurized by increasing Chinese nationalism and worsening Japanese aggression; in 1937 a united front to oppose the Japanese was formed after the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian. The Chinese Communist Party had been the dominant element in the anti-Japanese movement in Manchuria since 1935. The united military front against Japan was in principle maintained until 1945.

Chow, T. T. *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

Coox, A. D., and H. Conroy eds. *China and Japan: Search for Balance Since World War I* (Santa Barbara, 1978).
Jansen, M. B. *China and Japan* (Chicago, 1975).

**Anti-Japanese Movement (Korea).** See KOREAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

**Antimonopoly Law.** See ZAIBATSU DISSOLUTION

**Antinuclear Movement.** See PEACE MOVEMENT

**Anti-Red League.** See ANTI-BOLSHEVISM LEAGUE

**April 16 Arrests.** See JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY

**Arahata Kanson (Katsuzō)** 1887–1981 荒畑寒村(勝三)
Native of Yokohama, Arahata became interested in socialism and in 1904 joined the Heiminsha (*q.v.*). Remaining active in the Socialist movement after the Heiminsha's demise, he was influenced by Kōtoku Shūsui and turned to anarcho-syndicalism; imprisoned after the 1908 Red Flag Incident (*q.v.*), he subsequently published the journal *Kindai Shisō* (Modern Thought) with Ōsugi Sakae. Turning to Bolshevism in 1922, he sat on the first central committee of the new Japan Communist Party; he was subsequently imprisoned several times for his adherence. He opposed the dissolution of the party in 1924 and subsequently broke with it because of his opposition to Fukumotoism (*q.v.*), becoming a leading figure in the Rōnō faction in the debate over Japanese capitalism. He moved away from communism toward social democracy and was arrested late 1937 for united front activities. In 1946–1948 he was a member of the central executive committee of the Japan Socialist Party and a Diet member 1946–1949, but he left politics to spend his time as a writer and critic. His works include histories of the Socialist and labor movements in Japan and translations into Japanese.

Beckmann, G. M., and G. Okubo. *The Japanese Communist Party, 1922–1945* (Stanford, 1969).
Colbert, E. *The Left Wing in Japanese Politics* (New York, 1952).

**Araki Sadao** 1877–1966 (Baron, 1935) 荒木貞夫
Native of Tokyo, graduating from the Military Academy, Araki held various army posts including those of military attaché in Russia and section head at the General Staff. Briefly inspector-general of military education in 1931, he became war minister the same year, retaining the post until his resignation in 1934 on grounds of ill health; he was subsequently appointed to the Supreme Military Council. As war minister Araki conducted a major army reshuffle, establishing members of his own personal clique in dominant positions; he took a strong stand on the matter of the military budget and supported the establishment of an independent Manchurian state. Strongly identified with the reform movement among the young officers, he was regarded as one of the leaders of the *kōdō* faction (*q.v.*) and was placed on the reserve list in 1936 after the February 26 Rising (*q.v.*). As minister of education under Konoe and Hiranuma 1938–1939 Araki reinforced the military slant of education and culture. Tried after the war as a class "A" war criminal, he was sentenced to life imprisonment but was released in 1955 due to illness.

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## Army

An imperial guard (*goshinpei*, later *konoehei*) for the personal protection of the emperor and under his command was formed by volunteers from Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa in 1871, but the basis of Japan's modern army was established by the introduction of conscription after 1872. Initially organized for domestic security, members of the army inherited the prestige formerly accruing to samurai, and the army became an instrument of national unity. Influenced by French and German models, a separate War Ministry was established in 1872 to be headed by someone of at least major-general rank. In 1878 a new independent General Staff took over military command matters, leaving military administration to the War Ministry. Major reforms at this time led to the formation of a professional military establishment in the 1880s, although initial Chōshū dominance of the army was only very slowly eroded. The Meiji constitution placed the army outside Diet and cabinet control by making the emperor supreme commander of the armed forces and by recognizing the right of military leaders to appeal directly to the throne. A supreme military council and military advisers were appointed to advise the emperor. Matters such as martial law lay outside the jurisdiction of the regular courts. In 1898 the Department of Military Education (Kyōiku Sōkanbu) was established. The army controlled various educational establishments including preparatory schools, specialist colleges, the War College, and the Military Academy (1873), whose graduates became the officer elite. It also controlled factories engaged in military production. During time of war an imperial headquarters (*daihon'ei*) was established, directly responsible to the emperor; this happened in 1894–1895, 1904–1905, and 1937–1945. By 1894 the strength of the army was seven divisions; victories gave it increasing prestige, and by 1907 there were 19, but attempts to expand further contributed to the Taishō Political Crisis (*q.v.*), and further expansion came only during the 1914–1918 war. Pressure for disarmament reduced the army's strength to 17 divisions (250,000 men) in 1925, but tanks, artillery, and planes were invested in and considerable rationalization and modernization took place. The army grew from the late 1920s, and in 1945 there were nearly 200 divisions comprising over 5½ million men. From the start the army played an important role in spreading not only practical skills and knowledge but also nationalist ideology. Under the influence of Yamagata Aritomo the army developed as a stronghold of conservative and nationalist values, and after 1900 its political influence increased. In 1900 it was stipulated that the war minister must be a general on the active list, and although this provision was abolished in 1913, it was reintroduced in 1936. At all times the war minister was in a difficult position between army and cabinet. From the 1920s the three most important figures in the army, the war minister, the chief of staff, and the inspector-general of military education, consulted on the appointment of a war minister, and in effect the army could bring a cabinet down by a refusal to appoint a representative. In conjunction with the so-called "independence of the supreme command"—the fact that the command function was potentially free of political checks applied through the cabinet—this gave the army a base for extending its influence into nonmilitary affairs. Although in the Meiji period there had been strict limitations imposed on the military's involvement in politics, the growth of radicalism among younger officers from the 1920s and the legal independence of the military from civilian authority stimulated it to play an increasingly dominant role in national politics. The civilian authorities had no say in the affairs of the military. Independent army moves in Manchuria in the early 1930s indicated that civilian governments were unable to dictate foreign policy. Military influence throughout the country was helped by three decades of inculcation of conservative and nationalist values through the Imperial Reservists' Association (*q.v.*) and other local organizations, and also by military training for all those above middle-school age, which was introduced in 1925 partly to alleviate

military unemployment due to disarmament. Despite internal dissent, after 1936 the army achieved considerable control of foreign and domestic policymaking, and its authority was not challenged until the closing stages of the war. The army and those institutions connected with it were disbanded by the Occupation authorities, and military forces were disallowed under the 1947 constitution. The Self-Defense Force (*q.v.*) has since been established.

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**Asahi Shinbun.** See NEWSPAPERS

**Asano Sōichirō** 1848–1930 浅野総一郎

A samurai from Toyama region, in 1871 Asano went to Tokyo after failing in business at home. Possessing no capital, he engaged in the sale of coke and firewood. He developed contacts with Shibusawa Eiichi, and with his help rented and later purchased (1884) the government-owned, loss-making Fukagawa Cement Works. Renamed Asano Cement, the business prospered with the assistance of government orders, and from there Asano, known as the "Cement King," diversified his interests. An almost reckless innovator, much of his financial support came from Yasuda Zenjirō. By his death Asano had built up a huge business empire founded on cement, metals, and shipping interests. After 1918 the business was controlled by a family partnership and known as one of the smaller *zaibatsu,* but unlike most *zaibatsu* builders Asano's attempts at banking were unsuccessful, and much of the funding continued to be done through the Yasuda group. After a decline in the 1920s the concern revived after the Manchurian Incident and at its peak controlled (directly or indirectly) 87 companies with capital of ¥500 million. Postwar connections between the various companies were dissolved, but many of them remain influential.

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**Asano Zaibatsu.** See ASANO SŌICHIRŌ

**Ashida Hitoshi** 1887–1959 芦田均

Native of Kyoto, Ashida graduated from Tokyo Imperial University and entered the Foreign Ministry but resigned after the Manchurian Incident over policy disagreements. He then entered the Diet as a Seiyūkai member. Despite his opposition to militarist policies, Ashida was elected nine times subsequently, including once in 1942 as a non-government-sponsored candidate. He also lectured at Keiō University and was president of the *Japan Times* 1933–1940. In 1945 he became minister of welfare. He subsequently helped Hatoyama to form the Japan Liberal Party but in March 1947 participated in the founding of the Democratic Party, of which he became president in May. Advocating moderate policies, he cooperated with the Socialist Party and in June 1947 became foreign minister and deputy prime minister under Katayama. In March 1948 he succeeded Katayama as prime minister,

heading a coalition cabinet of Democratic Party, Socialist Party, and Kokumin Kyōdōtō (National Cooperative Party) members. Ashida promoted the import of foreign capital to aid economic recovery and vigorously opposed communism. On the orders of SCAP he removed the right of strike and collective bargaining from public and government unions. However, Ashida's cooperation with the Socialists alienated the conservative wing of his own party; the Socialists also became divided, and the cabinet resigned in October 1948 over accusations of corruption among cabinet members in connection with the Shōwa Electrical Company. Ashida himself was acquitted in 1958. He remained active in politics during the early 1950s but spent much of his time writing on diplomatic history, notably a history of World War II.

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**Ashio Copper Mine** 足尾銅山
In Tochigi Prefecture. Owned by the Bakufu in the Tokugawa period, in 1877 the mine was taken over by Furukawa Ichibei and subsequently became the focal enterprise of his mining empire. Furukawa undertook mechanization and management reforms, and by the later Meiji period the mine was producing over 40% of Japan's total copper production; a large proportion was exported. From the 1880s the mine was notorious as a source of pollution. Effluent in the Watarase and Tone rivers killed fish, massive deforestation led to widespread flooding with polluted waters, and the livelihood of many was threatened. A petition movement for the mine to be closed was led in the Diet by Tanaka Shōzō from 1891, but it had little effect, and pollution worsened. Renewed protest from 1897 led to mass demonstrations in Tokyo, on occasion bringing clashes with police, and the pollution became a national issue. The government directed the mine to enforce the antipollution measures agreed in 1897, but results were slow. In December 1901 Tanaka made a direct appeal to the throne. The protest movement subsequently declined although the Copper Pollution Law, which was passed, proved inadequate. Due to the pollution problem and to fierce labor disputes in the late Meiji and Taishō periods, the mine's production declined, and copper ceased to be mined at Ashio in 1973.

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**Asō Hisashi** 1891–1940 麻生久
A farmer's son from Ōita Prefecture, Asō read law at Tokyo University, where he became interested in socialism. After graduating, he became a reporter, but in 1919 he joined the Yūaikai (*q.v.*) as head of its mining section and founded a national organization for miners. He participated in the Shinjinkai (*q.v.*). He was subsequently among the leaders of the Sōdōmei and active in the proletarian party movement where he was among the leadership of moderate parties such as the Nihon Rōnōtō (Japan Labor Farmer Party) of 1926, the Nihon Taishūtō (Japan Masses' Party), and the Shakai Taishūtō. He was elected to the Diet in 1936. From the early 1930s he began to support alignment with reformist elements and the army to oppose the existing political parties and to move toward support of the war. This made him willing to cooperate with Konoe in forming a single, national renovationist party, and he was actively participating in the New Structure Movement (*q.v.*) at the time of his death.

Wray, W. D. "Asō Hisashi and the Search for Renovation in the 1930s," *HPJ* 5 (1970).

**Atomic Bomb.** See HIROSHIMA; NAGASAKI

**Automobile Industry.** See CAR INDUSTRY

**Ayukawa Yoshisuke.** See NISSAN ZAIBATSU

# B

**Baba Tatsui** 1850–1888 馬場辰猪
Member of a Tosa samurai family, in 1866–1870 Baba studied at Keiō and in 1870–1878 in England, where he concentrated on law. During this stay he wrote a Japanese grammar (*Nihongo Bunten*), organized an association of Japanese students, and advocated treaty revision, writing *The Treaty Between Japan and England* and *The English in Japan*. After his return he became active in the popular rights movement. He became vice-president of the Jiyūtō in 1881 but resigned in 1882 over Itagaki's trip abroad. He wrote in the *Kyōson Zasshi* (Live and Let Live), the *Jiyū Shinbun*, and the *Chōya Shinbun*. He was interested in legal education, founding the Meiji Gijuku, and started a legal advice bureau. In 1885 he was detained for six months on an explosives charge and on acquittal in June 1886 went to America, where he died in Philadelphia.

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**Baibunsha.** See SAKAI TOSHIHIKO

**Bakufu-Han System.** See TOKUGAWA BAKUFU

**Bakuhan System.** See TOKUGAWA BAKUFU

**Banchōkai.** See IMPERIAL RAYON SCANDAL

**Banking**
Exchange companies had existed in the Tokugawa period, and in the early Meiji period many quasi-banks and exchange companies carried on small-scale banking and related activities. The word *bank* (*ginkō*) was used first in 1876 by Mitsui and subsequently by other private banking institutions. In 1872 the government, with the aim of setting up an American-style banking system and also assisting the samurai class, passed regulations to encourage the establishment of currency-issuing national banks, but only after the regulations were modified in 1876 did national banks develop on any scale; they remained highly dependent on government funds. Under Matsukata Masayoshi, banking policy shifted toward adoption of an English model. The Bank of Japan was established in 1882, and eventually all note issue was centralized. Under the 1890 Banking Regulations all other banks ultimately became ordinary banks. National banks had disappeared by 1899. In addition, the government established special banks to promote specific aims, such as the Yokohama Specie Bank (started business 1880) to finance foreign trade and the Japan Hypothec Bank (1896) for long-term investment in industry and agriculture. Overall banks were important in funding productive activity, especially in industry, because little capital was raised elsewhere, but the degree of their contribution to economic development remains a matter of controversy. Banks played a crucial role in *zaibatsu*

development (*q.v.*), and some grew to a great size, but there remained many small banks vulnerable in times of financial panic. After the 1927 financial crisis (*q.v.*) the government passed the Bank Law to control banking activities; its provisions included a prohibition on banks with under ¥1 million capital. Special banks were abolished by the Occupation authorities, but otherwise banks were little affected by the reforms. They continue to play an extremely influential role in funding economic activity of all kinds (relatively little capital is raised on the open market) and in forging links between various enterprises. Some bank specialization in function has also recurred.

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**Bansho Torishirabejo.** See KAISEIJO

**Besshi Copper Mine.** See SUMITOMO ZAIBATSU

**Bikini Incident** (Bikini hibaku jiken) ビキニ被爆事件
On 1 March 1954 the U.S. exploded a hydrogen bomb at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. The crew of a Japanese fishing vessel 125 miles (200 kilometers) from the site, outside the designated danger area, all suffered from radiation sickness. One man died, and hundreds of tons of contaminated fish had to be destroyed. Although legal responsibility for the damage was not assigned, the U.S. government awarded $2 million compensation in January 1955. This incident, in conjunction with uncertainty caused by further tests, caused considerable anxiety to the Japanese and provided a stimulus to the peace movement, especially that element of it calling for a ban on nuclear weapons. Nuclear tests in the Pacific also harmed Japanese interests by making certain fishing areas out of bounds.

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**Black Dragon Society.** See KOKURYŪKAI

**Blood League Incident** (Ketsumeidan jiken) 血盟団事件
After the failure of the October Incident (*q.v.*) Inoue Nisshō organized a terrorist group known as the Blood League (Ketsumeidan). The group, which mostly consisted of young peasants from Ibaragi, took an oath to eliminate those public figures whom they regarded as having betrayed their country internationally or as having enriched themselves at the expense of farmers and peasants. The league had connections with the naval group which carried out the May 15 Incident (*q.v.*). Their slogan was "one man, one death." On 9 February 1932 Inoue Junnosuke, Minseitō leader and former finance minister, was shot dead, and on March 5 the same fate befell Dan Takuma, managing director of Mitsui enterprises. The assassins' arrest revealed the league's existence, and 14 members were arrested, including Inoue. He and three others were sentenced to life imprisonment, the rest to shorter terms.

Butow, R. *Tojo and the Coming of War* (Stanford, 1961).
Storry, R. *The Double Patriots* (London, 1957).

**Bluestocking Society.** See SEITŌSHA

**Boissonade, Gustave Emile** 1825–1910
Boissonade taught law at Grenoble and Paris universities and came to Japan in 1873 on the invitation of the Japanese

government. He pioneered Western legal education in Japan, teaching French legal theory, criminal and civil law. A strong adherent of natural law theories, Boissonade advised the government on legal aspects of both domestic and foreign affairs; he also drafted new criminal and civil codes on the French pattern, but the latter was never implemented. He was active in the movement to abolish torture and opposed the presence of foreign judges in Japanese courts as envisaged by the treaty revision proposals of 1887. From the late 1880s Prussian legal theories became influential in Japan, and Boissonade returned to France in 1895.

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**Bombardment of Kagoshima.** See NAMAMUGI INCIDENT

**Bombardment of Shimonoseki**
Following the Bakufu's failure to expel all foreigners by June 1863, as it had agreed to do under pressure from the court, Chōshū immediately initiated attacks on Western ships passing through the straits of Shimonoseki. The attacks persisted despite U.S. and French retaliation against the Shimonoseki forts, and in summer 1864 ships from Great Britain, the U.S., France, and Holland bombarded the forts and landed troops. A peace agreement was quickly signed between Chōshū and the powers, and the event marked a shift of emphasis in domain policies away from antiforeignism toward a single-minded opposition to the Bakufu.

Craig, A. *Chōshū in the Meiji Restoration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).
Satow, E. *A Diplomat in Japan* (London, 1921).

**Bonin Islands** (Ogasawara Shotō)
小笠原諸島
Known by the Japanese as the Ogasawara Islands, the Bonins are a chain of islands running due south of Tokyo Bay. Almost uninhabited until the 19th century, from the 1820s British and U.S. colonists lived on the islands. A Japanese colony was started in 1861. Both Bakufu and Meiji government asserted Japanese ownership of the islands, which were a center for sugar growing and fishing, and these claims were eventually recognized by Britain and the U.S. In 1875 Japan declared ownership of the islands, and in 1880 they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Tokyo metropolitan authorities. Most of the islanders left for the mainland during 1945, and after Japan's defeat the rest were also forcibly removed there. The islands were placed under U.S. military control, which under the San Francisco Peace Treaty was replaced by American exercise of U.N. trusteeship, although Japan's residual sovereignty was recognized. Only those with Western ancestry were permitted to return to live in the islands, and during the 1960s there was increasing agitation for the islands' return to Japan. An agreement for their return was signed between Japan and the U.S. in April 1968 and took effect in June. The islands are again part of the Tokyo local government area.

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Kublin, H. "The Ogasawara Venture (1861–1863)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1951).
Mendel, D. H. *The Japanese People and Foreign Policy* (Berkeley, 1961).

**Boshin War** (Boshin sensō)
戊辰戦争
Name given to the 1868–1869 civil war between former supporters of the Bakufu and troops of the anti-Bakufu movement fighting to unify the country in the name of the emperor. In January 1868 a court decree stripped the shōgun of his title and lands, and Tokugawa Keiki withdrew to Osaka with his forces. On January 26 forces from Aizu and Kuwana *han* (without the shōgun's permission) marched on Kyoto, determined to subdue Satsuma and the other "rebels." The following day

they clashed with Satsuma and Chōshū forces at Toba-Fushimi. Although outnumbered three to one by the Bakufu force of 15,000, the "imperial" troops drove the Bakufu's supporters back toward Osaka, achieving victory in the first battle of the war. His support waning, the shōgun withdrew to Edo. In May, following negotiations between Saigō Takamori and Katsu Kaishū, he surrendered Edo castle without a fight to the newly formed "imperial" army, although the elite of the old shōgunate army, the Shōgitai, held out for several weeks at Ueno. The strongest resistance came from an alliance of northeastern *han* led by Aizu (*q.v.*), which yielded only in November after bitter fighting and considerable devastation. Enomoto Takeaki pursued isolated resistance in Hokkaidō until July 1869. The foreign powers maintained neutrality in the fighting.

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Sheldon, C. D. "The Politics of the Civil War of 1868," in W. G. Beasley, ed., *Modern Japan: Aspects of History, Literature, and Society* (London, 1975).

**Boxer Rebellion** (Giwadan undō) 義和団運動

After the Sino-Japanese War (*q.v.*) antiforeign resentment increased in China, and the activities of the Boxers, a violent antiforeign group who attacked missionaries, converts, and Chinese with foreign connections, spread in the last years of the century. By 1900 the movement threatened Peking. In June members laid siege to the Peking legations, killing the German ambassador. The empress dowager at first supported the movement and declared war on the powers but then, fearing antidynastic tendencies, tried to suppress it. A seven-power force whose largest contingent was 8,000 Japanese eventually relieved the legations in mid-August; they were joined slightly after by a German contingent. Much of the city was laid waste. In 1901 China was forced to pay out massive compensation and accept the stationing of foreign troops. Russia used the situation to advance her influence in Manchuria, which indirectly hastened the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Russo-Japanese War. Japan also made moves to strengthen her position in China.

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Lensen, G. A., ed. *Korea and Manchuria Between Russia and Japan* (Tallahassee, Fla., 1966).
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**Broadcasting**

Experimental radio transmitting was carried out in Japan from 1905. The first radio stations were licensed in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Osaka in 1924 and started broadcasting in 1925. In March 1926 these were consolidated into the Japan Broadcasting Association (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai-N.H.K.), a half-private, half-public body, which had a monopoly of all radio broadcasting. Further regional broadcasting stations were established, and the whole organization came under the supervision of the Communications Ministry. Until 1945 this government-controlled service was an important propaganda weapon, and during the Occupation as well radio transmission was subject to considerable censorship. Under the 1950 Broadcasting Law N.H.K. was reorganized as a public corporation, and commercial radio stations financed by advertising started operating in 1951. Although experiments had been carried out before the war, television transmission by N.H.K. and private companies did not begin until 1953. The growth of television led to a decline in radio audiences, but, subsequently, they revived because of such technological advances as stereo and transistors; by the mid-1960s almost all households had radios. In 1968 the radio license was abolished, and a differential color/black-and-white licensing system

for television now funds N.H.K. By late 1975 91% of households had color televisions. Educational broadcasting has been carried out since the late 1920s and is now very widespread, though N.H.K. remains the most important educational broadcaster. As of 1977 there were 91 television broadcasting organizations and 51 radio broadcasting organizations.

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## Buddhism

Buddhism, originally introduced into Japan from the 6th century, had become popularized during the 13th – 14th centuries and continued to flourish during the early Tokugawa period. It was patronized by the state but was closely subordinated to shōgunal authority and essentially used as a political tool for maintaining social order and control. The Tokugawa's emphasis on certain Neo-Confucian doctrines to support the status quo and revival of interest in Shintō from the 18th century were potentially damaging to Buddhism's official status, but the fusion of Buddhist and Shintō practices as an integral part of the life of the people maintained the position of Buddhist beliefs, when, with the exception of Zen, perhaps, doctrines were prone to stultification and Buddhism's official position was weak. The government's attempts after the Meiji Restoration to establish Shintō as a state religion led to the disestablishment of Buddhism in 1868. The government's attempts to sever all ties between Buddhism and Shintō following the partial fusion that had occurred during the Edo period always discriminated in favor of Shintō both in the sphere of religious practices and in the case of physical endowments such as buildings. Many priests were secularized. For a few years virulent anti-Buddhism at a lower level led to violence and rioting. Attempts to interfere with Buddhism largely ceased from the mid-1870s, but attempts to reform and revive organized Buddhism were not particularly successful, even after its theoretical equality with Shintō was pronounced by the 1889 constitution. Few Buddhist sects flourished in the period up to 1945 although the Japanese still retained many Buddhist rituals and a strong identification with Buddhism. Dissatisfaction with Buddhism as an organized religion contributed to the growth of new sects in Japan, and although these are considered by the Japanese to come under the category of the so-called "new religions," several of them have basically Buddhist beliefs. The most conspicuously successful in the postwar period has been Sōka Gakkai (Value-Creating Study Society), which is a lay organization of the traditionally nationalistic Nichiren Shōshū sect. The Sōka Gakkai, originally founded in the 1930s by Makiguchi Tsunesaburō, was revived in 1947 following suppression during the war and is now the largest voluntary organization of any kind in Japan. Much of its growth has been under the presidency of Ikeda Daisaku 1960 – 1979. In 1977 Nichiren Shōshū claimed over 16 million adherents, the majority of whom were in Sōka Gakkai; it also has members outside Japan. The Kōmeitō (*q.v.*) was established as its political wing in 1964, and although the formal connection has been severed, much of Kōmeitō's support is still drawn from Sōka Gakkai members, giving the sect considerable political influence. The traditional sects have been less successful, but figures in 1977 showed that over 84 million Japanese, some 75% of the population, declared an affiliation to some form of Buddhism. This affiliation is not necessarily institutionalized, but Buddhist rituals remain an integral part of the life of most Japanese.

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**Bunmei Kaika.** See CIVILIZATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT

**Buraku Emancipation Movement**
(Buraku kaihō undō)
部落解放運動

The *burakumin* (*eta* and *hinin*), the outcast class of Japan, trace their origins to ancient times. They were given legal equality in 1871, but discrimination in work, place of residence, and marriage continued. An increasing awareness of this continuing social discrimination stimulated the formation of *burakumin* organizations after 1903, advocating improvement of the conditions of life through self-help. In March 1922 the national Suiheisha (Leveling Society) was formed; its first conference attracted some 2,000 participants. It condemned all discrimination, advocated political, economic, and social freedom by national solidarity and the *burakumin*'s own efforts, and aimed to attract both liberals and radicals. After 1925 the Suiheisha was increasingly dominated by Bolshevik ideas; many members believed that status discrimination could only be overcome by proletarian revolution, and the Suiheisha became a major element in the proletarian movement. Under the leadership of Matsumoto Jiichirō, who was elected to the Diet in 1936, the society was active throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but even at its peak membership was only 35,000 – 40,000, some 4% of all *burakumin*. Grass-roots activities remained weak, and many leaders were lost in the suppression of the late 1920s. The Suiheisha was never officially dissolved during the war but became completely inactive. Late in 1946 its tradition was revived by Matsumoto in the National Committee for Buraku Emancipation, which after 1950 developed into a mass organization whose attempts to improve the life of the *burakumin* have received the support of many left-wing groups. In 1955 it was renamed the Buraku Emancipation League (Buraku Kaihō Dōmei). A large number of *burakumin* communities have been organized into the league, but its strong left-wing tendencies stimulated the founding of a more moderate organization, the Dōwakai, and rivalry between the two organizations has impeded the progress toward emancipation. Discrimination still persists on a wide scale.

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**Bureaucracy**

A status-based bureaucracy existed under the Tokugawa shōgunate, but this was already breaking down by the late Tokugawa period. In the early years after the Meiji Restoration there was no formal recruitment practice for the higher bureaucracy; enrollment was based on individual factors such as attitude to the Restoration, personal connections, and Western knowledge. Through the 1870s and 1880s the higher bureaucracy was dominated by men from Satsuma and Chōshū. From 1887 higher civil service examinations were instituted, and after 1893 all but the highest offices were subject to exam appointment, but despite this the top bureaucracy remained the province of a trained elite, some 75% of whom came from Tokyo Imperial University's law department. During the period of Taishō Democracy (*q.v.*) members of political parties had more access to the highest appointments, and top bureaucrats could be more easily dismissed, but after 1932 all senior dismissals had to be brought before a status committee, which in effect provided considerable guarantee of position for top bureaucrats. The Meiji constitution strengthened the position of the bureaucracy; its regulation by imperial ordinance rather than by law permitted the political parties and Diet only limited control over it. It retained its position as the core of the executive branch, and the

practice of bureaucratic, transcendental cabinets further strengthened its position vis-à-vis the legislature. The bureaucracy was not regarded as a body of politically neutral, professional public servants carrying out the decisions of a democratically elected government and responsible to the people but as chosen servants of the emperor responsible to him alone. A tradition of respect for officialdom was continued by this concept. Due to a lack of legislature from 1868 to 1890, the executive wing was supreme, and bureaucracy was synonymous with government, but even after the Meiji period the higher bureaucracy had major political influence. This influence rested largely on the tradition of such political involvement, the weakness of the legislature, and the genuinely essential administrative role of the bureaucracy. Contacts with the nonproletarian political parties were close, many ex-bureaucrats holding high office within them. Overall, the bureaucracy prewar was a powerful conservative force; the so-called "reformist" bureaucrats especially assisted the triumph of reactionary policies in the 1930s. Nevertheless, the Occupation authorities did not subject the bureaucracy to punitive action, although a few individuals were purged. Postwar public employees have been appointed according to the 1947 State Employees Law and the 1950 Regional Employees Law. Members of the bureaucracy are regarded as servants of the whole community, and constitutional limits are placed on their power, notably by the position of the Diet as the highest organ of state. No civil servant is allowed the right to strike. However, the role of the bureaucracy during the Occupation and the fact that most of its traditional practices were unchanged permitted its continuing prestige, and the subservience of the higher bureaucracy to the Diet and its responsibility to the people is not always established in fact. The higher civil service largely remains the province of a few university departments and is still legally politically powerful, influencing affairs through Diet committees and cabinet bureaus. The tradition of executive supremacy is hard to break. Many senior bureaucrats enter politics after early retirement, reinforcing an already strong identification with the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. The entry of other bureaucrats into business reinforces the existence of a government-politics-big-business nexus. In various ways, therefore, entry into the bureaucracy is still the key to political influence.

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# C

**Cabinet system**

The cabinet system was initiated in December 1885 to replace the Dajōkan system (*q.v.*). The national administration was separated from the imperial household, and the cabinet was its highest organ. The cabinet consisted of the heads of various ministries presided over by a prime minister with an imperial mandate to form a government, and although the power of the prime minister was somewhat controlled by the Meiji constitution (*q.v.*), cabinets for long remained transcendental, not responsible to the Diet. Participation by party politicians in cabinets did increase after the Meiji period, but until the 1920s the *genrō* (*q.v.*) remained responsible for choosing the prime minister; after that it was done by consensus. The prime minister's power was greatly re-

stricted by the existence of the Privy Council (*q.v.*) and the increasing influence of the armed forces. Prewar cabinets included among their members the director of the Legislative Bureau and the chief of the Cabinet Secretariat. Also under cabinet control were the Information Bureau (1940–1945), which coordinated news, propaganda, and control of thought and speech, and the Statistics Bureau (founded in 1898). During the years of the Sino-Japanese and Pacific wars (1937–1945) the cabinet appointed cabinet advisers for consultation on important policy matters. Under the 1947 constitution the cabinet has executive power. It consists of 15 to 20 members, all of whom must be civilians and a majority of whom are chosen from the majority party in the Diet. It bears collective responsibility toward the Diet, especially the House of Representatives. The prime minister's powers have been correspondingly increased although he has to maximize support behind his own position within his party. His own office, equivalent to the Cabinet Office in the U.K., is now very large, to some extent reducing the prime minister's dependency on the bureaucracy of the various ministries. The Bureau of Legislation, after some changes, was reconstituted under that name in 1952, but neither its head nor the chief of the Cabinet Secretariat (formerly *shokikanchō*, now *kanbō chōkan*) is by right a cabinet member, although they may well be ministers of state, as are the heads of many of the agencies controlled by the cabinet. Despite the changes, the cabinet maintains close contacts with the bureaucracy while the Liberal Democratic Party holds power and is also subject to checks from elements within the party.

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**Cairo Declaration** (Kairo sengen) カイロ宣言

After talks in Cairo in November 1943 Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek issued a joint declaration stating that the war against Japan would be pursued until Japan surrendered unconditionally and that in order to restrain and punish Japanese aggression Japan would be divested of all Pacific islands seized or occupied since 1914. Manchuria, Taiwan, and the Pescadores would be returned to China, and Korea would become independent. The declaration was the first statement of the war concerning Japanese-held territory, and its stipulations were later subsumed under the Potsdam Declaration (*q.v.*).

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**Capitalism (Japanese).** See JAPANESE CAPITALISM DEBATE

**Car Industry**

The first cars were imported into Japan in the late 1890s, and in 1907 Japan produced her first petrol engine car, but despite government assistance after 1914 (due to the military importance of the industry) few companies were successful. The cars produced were technologically primitive and expensive due to the underdevelopment of the machine-tool and other related industries; they could not compete with American manufacturers such as Ford and General Motors who were already engaged in mass production and who set up factories in Japan in the 1920s. In 1930 only 500 Japanese vehicles were produced. Government protection of domestic vehicle production through tax and exchange measures increased steadily after the Manchurian Incident, and in 1941 nearly 44,000 vehicles were produced. During the Pacific War many facilities were diverted to produce ships

and airplanes, but concentration on the production of small and medium-sized vehicles brought rapid revival in the years after the Korean War. In recent years the export success of the Japanese car industry, dominated by a few large firms, has become legendary, with exports expanding faster than domestic sales. In 1976 some 8 million vehicles were produced, of which close on 3 million were exported, and further expansion since then has caused considerable problems in Japan's trading relations with the United States and the E.E.C.

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**Carolines.** See MANDATED TERRITORIES

**Central Review.** See CHŪŌ KŌRON

**Chang Tso-lin, Assassination of** (Chōsakurin bakusatsu jiken) 張作霖爆殺事件

During 1928 the Tanaka cabinet, fearful of Chinese unification under the Nationalists (Kuomintang) after the failure of the Shantung Expeditions (*q.v.*), urged Marshall Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian warlord, to forestall his defeat by the Kuomintang by retreating from Peking and consolidating his position in Manchuria. There the Japanese hoped that under Japanese tutelage he would act as the ruler of a Manchuria cut off from the main body of Kuomintang China. Members of the Kwantung Army (*q.v.*), however, wished to depose Chang in favor of his son and occupy Manchuria. On 4 June 1928, as Chang was retreating toward Mukden, his train was blown up just outside the city in a plot engineered by Kōmoto Daisaku and other staff officers of the Kwantung Army. Chang was killed instantly, but the incident did not initiate wider hostilities. The explosion was attributed by the Japanese to nonuniformed members of the Kuomintang, but the real circumstances soon emerged and the hush-up and the failure to punish the conspirators forced the Japanese cabinet to resign in July 1929. The army's report on the affair was not published and the conspirators were never charged with the assassination, many of them remaining active in radical circles. Chang was succeeded by his son, Chang Hsüeh-liang, who by December 1928 had joined with the Kuomintang in vigorous resistance to the Japanese.

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**Changkufeng Incident** (Chōkohō jiken) 張鼓峰事件

On 29 July 1938, following previous border incidents, fighting erupted between Russian and Japanese troops at Changkufeng near the convergence of the Soviet, Korean, and Manchukuo borders. Fighting was bitter, and by the time a cease-fire negotiated in Moscow came into force on August 11 there had been several thousand casualties on both sides. The Tokyo war crimes tribunal declared the incident to be aggressive war on the part of Japan.

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