

must not overlook is that of miscalculation. In spite of almost a century of close cultural and economic contacts between the United States and Japan, there was a conspicuous lack of perceptive understanding of each other, which was accompanied by deep-seated distrust on both sides. Neither side thought seriously that the other side would ever resort to arms. Then there were the preconceived and inaccurate notions of each other. In a sense, the American imposition of economic sanctions and the stationing of Japanese troops in China were the results and not the causes of this series of misunderstandings.

The purpose of this chapter is to identify some important thought patterns and events in Japan before and during the war as a means of providing some clues, inadequate as they may be, in the understanding of the Pacific War. It thus begins with Kita advocating military fascism as a panacea for Japan's social and economic ills (Document 1), followed by Japan's continental expansion policy, which eventually led to the creation of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (Documents 2–4). Japan's attempt to extricate herself from diplomatic isolation by aligning with Germany and Italy is treated next (Document 5). But difficulties with the United States followed, and the impasse the two countries reached, as seen from the Japanese perspective, is given in Document 6. The doctrinal basis in support of war as articulated in the *Way of Subjects* is reproduced in Document 7. The Taiseiyokusankai, or the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, is treated in Documents 8 and 9. The war meant cancelation of draft deferment for many students (Document 10), and some of them went on to volunteer for suicide missions (Document 11). The effect of bombing and other wartime-imposed difficulties on daily life is recaptured in the diary of a housewife (Document 12).

As the fortunes of war turned against Japan, surrender became inevitable, and the remaining portion of this chapter is devoted to Japan's decision to surrender (Documents 13–16).

While the scholarly communities both in Japan and in the West have avoided assessing Japan's "war guilt," that issue has remained a politically charged issue throughout the postwar years. Unlike the United States, which has since experienced the Korean, Vietnam, and Gulf wars, the Pacific War has remained "the war" in the Japanese consciousness. To the members of the Socialist Party, Japan was a guilty party that waged an aggressive war against its neighbors. Many in the Liberal Democratic Party and those of conservative persuasion felt that Japan fought for a righteous cause. The issue is further complicated by demands from the People's Republic of China, North Korea, and lately from South Korea for an apology from Japan. "I . . . express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology," so said Murayama Tomiichi (b. 1924), prime minister of Japan in 1995, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war. Even under normal circumstances, the statement would incite a lively debate. In this instance it was made worse by the fact that Murayama was a Socialist heading a shaky coalition government with the Liberal Democratic Party. As this incident suggests, near the end of the twentieth century, contempo-

rary Japan is still beholden to the Japan that fought the Pacific War. In reading the documents that follow, it may be well to keep that fact in mind.

AGITATION FOR MILITARY FASCISM

Of all the extreme nationalists, none equaled Kita Ikki (1883–1937) in influence. Kita was a dreamer in his youth, attaching himself to the revolutionary activities of the Chinese nationalists. When its leader, Sun Yat-sen, "failed to live up" to his promise of building an anti-imperialist, socialist state, the disillusioned man withdrew to Shanghai and wrote pamphlets advocating reforms of Japan. His General Outline of Measures for the Reconstruction of Japan (Document 1) first appeared in mimeographed form in 1923. Even though it was banned, Kita was able to gain adherents among young military officers. He urged that the Emperor suspend the constitution and place the country under martial law. These measures, he argued, were intended to give the Emperor complete freedom to suppress reactionary movement by the wealthy and by the peers. Destruction of the status quo would be accompanied by establishment of a socialist state that would control the national economy in the interest of the entire nation.

The appeal of Kita lay in his relentless attack, perhaps not unjustifiably, on the status quo symbolized by the oligarchy and private wealth. Since the beginning of modernization, the Japanese government consistently aided industry by imposing an undue tax burden on peasants and urban workers. While the rich became richer, many peasants and urban workers maintained living standards not much better than those of preindustrial days. Young officers who came from poverty-stricken areas saw in Kita's outcry for reform a panacea for all ills. A close affinity was discernible between Kita's doctrine and several assassination attempts and military coups staged by young officers during the 1930s. Kita was implicated in the February 26 incident of 1936 and was executed along with other conspirators. However, his idea of internal reform and external expansion lived on. The February 26 incident helped create a climate under which the Japanese government was forced to accept the policies advocated by the army as its own. Thus was begun Japan's path toward ultranationalism.

1 General Outline of Measures for the Reconstruction of Japan, 1923²

Section 1. The Emperor of the People

Suspension of the constitution: In order to establish a firm base for national reconstruction, the Emperor, with the aid of the entire Japanese nation and by

²Kita Ikki, *Kokka Kaizōan Genri Taikō*, in *Kita Ikki Chosakushū (Works of Kita Ikki)*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1959), pp. 219–81. Preface, epilogue, and notes are omitted from this translation.

invoking his imperial prerogatives, shall suspend the constitution for a period of three years, dissolve the two houses of the Diet, and place the entire country under martial law.

The true significance of the Emperor: We must make clear the fundamental principle that the Emperor is the sole representative of the people and the pillar of the state.

To clarify this doctrine, there shall be instituted a sweeping reform in the imperial court, consistent with the spirit shown by Emperor Jimmu in the founding of the nation and by Emperor Meiji in the Restoration. The incumbent privy councilors and other officials shall be replaced by men of ability, sought throughout the realm, capable of assisting the Emperor.

An Advisory Council shall be established to assist the Emperor. Its members, fifty in number, shall be appointed by the Emperor.

Whenever the Cabinet Council so decides or the Diet places a vote of nonconfidence against him, an Advisory Council member shall submit his resignation to the Emperor. However, this procedure shall not be interpreted to mean that council members are responsible to the Cabinet or to the Diet.

Abolition of the peerage system: By abolishing the peerage system, we shall be able to remove feudal aristocracy, which constitutes a barrier between the Emperor and the people. In this way the spirit of the Meiji Restoration can be newly proclaimed.

The House of Peers shall be replaced by a deliberative council that shall review decisions made by the House of Representatives. The Deliberative Council may reject for a single time only any decisions of the House of Representatives.

Members of the Deliberative Council shall consist of men distinguished in various fields of activities, elected by each other or appointed by the Emperor.

Popular election: All men twenty-five years of age and above shall have the right to elect and be elected to the House of Representatives, exercising their rights with full equality as citizens of Great Japan. Similar provisions shall apply to all local self-governing bodies. Women shall not be permitted to participate in politics.

Restoration of people's freedom: Existing laws that restrict people's freedom and circumvent the spirit of the constitution shall be abolished. These laws include the civil service appointment ordinance, peace preservation law, press act, and publication law.

National reconstruction Cabinet: A national reconstruction Cabinet shall be formed during the time martial law is in effect. In addition to the existing ministries, the Cabinet shall establish such ministries of industries as described below and add a number of ministers without portfolio. Members of the reconstruction Cabinet shall be selected from outstanding individuals throughout the country, avoiding those who are at present connected with military, bureaucratic, financial, or party cliques.

All present prefectural governors shall be replaced by national reconstruction

governors, selected in accordance with a policy similar to the one above.

National reconstruction Diet: A popularly elected national reconstruction Diet shall convene to discuss matters pertaining to reconstruction during the time martial law is in effect. However, this Diet shall not have the power to debate those basic national reconstruction policies proclaimed by the Emperor.

Granting of imperial estate: The Emperor shall set a personal example by granting to the state, the land, forests, shares and similar properties held by the Imperial Household. The expenses of the Imperial Household shall be limited to 30 million yen per annum appropriated from the national treasury. However, the Diet may authorize additional expenditures if the need arises.

Section 2: Limitation on Private Property

Limitation on private property: No Japanese family shall possess property in excess of one million yen. A similar limitation shall apply to Japanese citizens holding property overseas. No one shall be permitted to make a gift of property to those related by blood or to others, or to transfer his property by other means with the intent of circumventing this limitation.

Nationalization of excess amount over limitation on private property: Any amount that exceeds the limitation on private property shall revert to the state without compensation. No one shall be permitted to resort to the protection of present laws in order to avoid remitting such excess amount. Anyone who violates these provisions shall be deemed a person thinking lightly of the example set by the Emperor and endangering the basis of national reconstruction. As such, during the time martial law is in effect, he shall be charged with the crimes of endangering the person of the Emperor and engaging in internal revolt and shall be put to death.³

Section 3: Three Principles for Disposition of Land

Limitation on private landholding: No Japanese family shall hold land in excess of 100,000 yen in current market value. . . .

. . . Land held in excess of the limitation on private landholding shall revert to the state. . . .

Popular ownership of land reverted to state: The state shall divide the land granted by the Imperial Household and the land reverted to it from those whose holdings exceed the limitation and distribute such land to farmers who do not possess their own lands. These farmers shall gain title to their respective lands by making annual installment payments to the state. . . .

Land to be owned by the state: Large forests, virgin land that requires large capital investment, and land that can best be cultivated in large lots shall be owned and operated by the state.

³Kita then advocates the establishment of a Council of Veterans Association as a permanent agency directly responsible to the reconstruction cabinet charged with the tasks of: (1) maintaining order, (2) investigating excess property held by families and individuals, and (3) collecting excess amounts.

Section 4: Control of Large Capital

Limitation on private property: No private industry shall exceed the limit of ten million yen in assets. A similar limitation shall apply to private industries owned by Japanese citizens overseas.

Nationalization of industries exceeding the limitation: Any industry whose assets exceed the limitation imposed on private industry shall be collectivized and operated under state control. . . .

Industrial Organization of the State

No. 1. Ministry of Banking: The assets of this ministry shall come from the money expropriated from large banks whose assets exceed the limitation on private industry and from individuals whose net worth exceeds the limitation on private property.

[The functions of this ministry shall include] overseas investment by utilizing its abundant assets and unified operation, making loans to other industrial ministries and to private banks, equitable adjustment of prices and currency in circulation, and guaranteeing the absolute safety of people's deposits.

No. 2. Ministry of Navigation: Ships and other assets expropriated from private lines in excess of the limitation on private property shall be utilized mainly for transoceanic voyages in order to attain supremacy over the [seven] seas. [The ministry shall also] engage in shipbuilding (naval and commercial) and other activities.

No. 3. Ministry of Mines: Large mines whose assets or market values exceed the limitation on private industry shall be expropriated and operated by this ministry. It shall also operate overseas mining industries financed by the Ministry of Banking and engage actively in developing national mines in newly acquired colonies concurrently with the development of private mining industries.

No. 4. Ministry of Agriculture: Management of nationally owned land; management of Taiwan sugar industry and forestry; development of Taiwan, Hokkaido, Karafuto (Southern Sakhalin), and Chōsen (Korea); development of South and North Manchuria and colonies to be acquired in the future; and management of large farms when acquired by the state.

No. 5. Ministry of Industries: Various large industries expropriated by the state shall be reorganized, unified, and expanded to form a truly large industrial combine through which all types of industries may acquire competitive advantages now possessed by comparable foreign industries. The ministry shall also operate industries urgently needed by the nation but not undertaken by the private sector. Naval Steel Works and Military Ordnance Factories shall be placed under this ministry's jurisdiction and be operated by it.

No. 6. Ministry of Commerce: This ministry shall distribute all agricultural and industrial commodities produced by the state and private parties, adjust domestic commodity prices, and engage actively in overseas commerce. For this purpose, the ministry shall calculate the rates of customs duties for submission to the Cabinet.

No. 7. Ministry of Railways: This ministry shall replace the present Board of Railways and place under its unified operation the Chōsen and South Manchurian Railways. It shall acquire title to railways in future colonies and engage actively in the construction of new railways.

Railways whose assets do not exceed the limitation on private industry shall be open to private operation.

Vast income of the national treasury: The vast income realized by the industrial ministries shall be sufficient for the expenditures of various service ministries and guarantee adequate living standards for the people as described below. Therefore, with the exception of basic income taxes, all other inequitable taxes shall be abolished. Without exception, all industrial ministries shall be taxed in a manner similar to all private industries.

Monopoly of salt and tobacco shall be abolished. Based on the principle that state-owned industries and privately owned industries can coexist, their production shall be open to private enterprise. . . . There shall be uniform taxes on both forms of production. . . .

Section 5: Rights of Workers

Functions of the Ministry of Labor: A Ministry of Labor shall be established within the Cabinet to protect the rights of all workers employed by state-owned and privately owned industries. Industrial disputes shall be submitted to the Ministry of Labor for arbitration in accordance with a law to be enacted independently. This arbitration shall be uniformly binding on all industrial ministries, private industries, and workers.

Wages: Wages shall be in principle determined by free contract. Disputes over wages shall be resolved by the Ministry of Labor in accordance with the law described above.

Working hours: Working hours shall be set uniformly at eight hours a day. Wages shall be paid for Sundays and holidays when no work is performed. Farm workers shall receive additional wages for the overtime work performed during the busy farming seasons.

Distribution of profits to workers: One half of the net profits of private industries shall be distributed to workers employed in such industries. All workers, mental and physical, shall participate in the profit distribution proportionate to their salaries or wages. Workers shall elect their own representatives to participate in the industry's management planning and bookkeeping. Similar provisions shall apply to farm workers and landlords.

Workers employed in state-owned industries shall receive semiannual bonuses in lieu of the profit distribution. Instead of participating in management planning and bookkeeping, such workers shall exercise their influence over the total industrial structure of the state through the House of Representatives.

Establishment of employee-shareholder system: Every private corporation shall set up a provision under which physical and mental workers in their em-

ployment shall have the right to become stockholders of the corporation.

Protection of tenant farmers: The state shall enact a separate law, based on the basic human rights, to protect tenant farmers tilling the land owned by small landlords whose holdings do not exceed the limitation on private land.

Women's labor: Women's labor shall be free and equal to that of men. However, after the reconstruction, the state shall make it a matter of national policy that the burden of labor shall not rest on the shoulders of women. In order to prepare women to replace men in providing needed labor in a national emergency, women shall receive education equal to that of men.

Section 6: People's Right to Live

Children's right to live: Children under fifteen years of age without both parents or father, having rights as children of the state, shall be uniformly supported and educated by the state. . . .

Support of the aged and disabled: The state shall assume the responsibility of supporting those men and women sixty years of age or over who are poor and do not have natural-born or adopted sons. Similar support shall be given to those disabled and crippled persons who are poor, unable to work, and without fathers and sons.

Rights to education: National (compulsory) education shall last for a period of ten years from ages six to sixteen. Similar education shall be given to both male and female. There shall be instituted a fundamental reform in the educational system, with the aim of building a foundation for the furtherance of individual talents by imparting knowledge of worldwide scope based on the spirit of Japan and developing each individual's mind and body consistently throughout the ten-year period.

English shall be abolished and Esperanto shall become the second language.⁴

Section 8: Rights of the State⁵

Continuation of the conscript system: The state, having rights to existence and development among the nations of the world, shall maintain the present conscript system in perpetuity. . . . Soldiers in active service shall receive stipends from the state. In army bases and in warships, there shall be no difference in the enjoyment of provisions among officers, soldiers and seamen, except the emblems signifying their respective ranks.

With regard to alien races residing in present and future colonies, a voluntary enlistment system may be adopted.

⁴In the remaining paragraphs, Kita discusses protection of women's rights, freedom from interference by governmental officials, and rights to private property not in excess of the limitations previously imposed.

⁵Section 7, which is omitted, outlines gradual incorporation of Korea into the political and administrative system of Japan proper, and application of the reconstruction principles to Korea, Taiwan, and other present and future colonies.

Positive right to start war: In addition to the right of self-defense, the state shall have the right to start a war on behalf of other nations and races unjustly oppressed by a third power. (As a matter of real concern today, the state shall have the right to start a war to aid the independence of India and preservation of China's territorial integrity.)

As a result of its own development, the state shall also have the right to start a war against those nations that occupy large colonies illegally and ignore the heavenly way of coexistence of all humanity. (As a matter of real concern today, the state shall have the right to start a war against those nations that occupy Australia and Far Eastern Siberia for the purpose of acquiring them.)

CHINA AND GREATER EAST ASIA

Among the policies advocated by young military officers were vindication of Japan's national polity, strengthening of national defense, departure from the traditional pro-Western foreign policy, and the assertion of Japan's place in the sun. Their influence became evident in the "Fundamental Principles of National Policy" (Document 2) adopted by the Hirota Cabinet on August 11, 1936. It was an attempt to put an end to the rivalry between the army and navy by dividing the military budget evenly. To justify this, it supplemented the army's traditional northward expansion policy with the navy's new southward expansion policy. Just what the Cabinet meant by bringing about "close collaboration between Japan, Manchukuo, and China" was made clear in the "Basic Administrative Policy toward North China" adopted the same day. The latter called for setting up an anticommunist, pro-Japanese area, securing necessary materials for Japan's national defense, and improving transportation facilities to guard against possible attack by the Soviet Union.

Japan's invasion of North China began on July 7, 1937. From the beginning, the conflict showed every sign of becoming a protracted war. Forced by popular pressure, the Nationalist regime headed by Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly rejected Japan's "peace" overtures. The Imperial Army occupied cities, railway lines and major coastal areas, but its sway never extended to the villages. Frustrated in its attempt to end the war, the Japanese Army created and sought collaboration from puppet regimes.

The basic treaty between the puppet Wang Jingwei regime and Japan was signed in Nanking on November 30, 1940 (Document 3). It gave Japan a "legal" basis for its "warlike operations" in China, as long as there was "a threat to the peace and well-being of the two nations" by the destructive activities of communism. Under the treaty, Wang was forced to allow stationing of Japanese troops in China indefinitely; to establish "high priority anti-Comintern areas" in North China; to set up "special areas" in the Yangtze delta region, Hainan Island, and Xiamen and its vicinity; to pledge that China would conduct no foreign policy