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Notes

Introduction

1. This follows from the age-old Japanese convention, counting the first year of war, 1931, as year one of the fifteen years, making it Fifteen Years' War rather than Fourteen Years' War. Examples of scholarship treating the period between 1931 and 1945 as a single protracted war are Kuroha Kiyotaka, *Jūgonen Sensō Josetsu* [A Prologue to the Fifteen Years' War] (Sanseidō, 1979); Otabe Yūji, *Tokugawa Yoshichika no Jūgonen Sensō* [Tokugawa Yoshichika's Fifteen Years' War] (Aoki Shoten, 1988); Fujiwara Akira and Imai Seiichi, eds., *Jūgonen Sensōshi* [History of the Fifteen Years' War] (Aoki Shoten, 1989); Fujiwara Akira, *Shōwa Tennō no Jūgonen Sensō* [The Showa Emperor's Fifteen Years' War] (Aoki Shoten, 1991); and Eguchi Keiichi, *Jūgonen Sensōshi Shōshi* [A Condensed History of the Fifteen Years' War] (Aoki Shoten, 1991).
2. *Ajia Rekishi Jiten* [Dictionary of Asian History], vol. 6 (Heibonsha, 1959), 6–7; emphasis added.
3. For various approaches to ideology, see Giovanni Sartori, "Politics, Ideology, and Belief Systems," *The American Political Science Review* 63, no. 2 (June 1969): 398–411; Roger Eatwell and Anthony Wright, eds., *Contemporary Political Ideologies* (London: Pinter, 1993); and Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987).
4. The philosopher Tsurumi Shunsuke is allegedly the first person to have used the term in 1956. See Tsurumi Shunsuke, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan 1931–1945* (London: KPI, 1986).
5. Sandra Wilson, "The '15-Year War' in Japan," *Japanese Studies* 21, no. 2 (2001): 155–64.
6. Some critics such as Hata Ikuhiko argue against the Fifteen Years' War on the basis that the "war" lasted only thirteen years and eleven months in total. Again, the answer to this is that many Japanese regard 1931 as the "first" year of the war and 1945 as the "fifteenth."

7. E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 127.
8. Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 120.
9. *Ibid.*, 119.
10. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, 127.
11. The pioneering and extremely important works in this category include John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (London: Faber, 1986) and Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
12. Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975).
13. Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
14. Sandra Wilson, *The Manchurian Crisis and Japanese Society, 1931–33* (London: Routledge, 2002).
15. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989); Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
16. Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Barbara J. Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904–1932* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
17. William Miles Fletcher III, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Harry D. Harootunian and Tetsuo Najita, "Chapter 14: Japanese Revolt against the West: Political and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 6, The Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Duus, 711–74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Harry D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Graham Parkes, "The Putative Fascism of the Kyoto School and the Political Correctness of the Modern Academy," *Philosophy East and West* 47, no. 3 (July 1997): 305–36; James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo, eds., *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, & the Question of Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995).

18. For solid overall accounts, see Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai, ed., *Taiheiyō Sensōshi* [History of the Pacific War], vols. 1 and 2 (Aoki Shoten, 1971 and 1972); Eguchi Keiichi, *Jūgonen Sensōshi* [History of the Fifteen Years' War], vol. 30 of *Nippon no Rekishi* [History of Japan] (Aoki Shoten, 1976); Hata Ikuhiko, *Gun Fashizumu Undōshi* [History of Military Fascist Activities] (Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1962).
19. Yamamuro Shin'ichi, *Kimera: Manshūkoku no Shōzō* [Chimera: A Portrait of Manchukuo] (Chuō Kōronsha, 1993).
20. Matsumoto Ken'ichi, *Takeuchi Yoshimi "Nihon no Ajiashugi" Seidoku* [A Comprehensive Reading of Takeuchi Yoshimi's "Japan's Asianism"] (Iwanami Gendai Bunko, 2000).
21. For example, Inoue Toshikazu, *Ajiashugi wo Toinaosu* [Re-Questioning Pan-Asianism] (Chikuma Shinsho, 2006); Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders* (London: Routledge, 2006); Eiji Oguma, *A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-Images*, trans. David Askew (Rosanna, Australia: Pacific Press, 2002); Selçuk Esenbel and Inaba Chiharu, eds., *The Rising Sun and the Turkish Crescent: New Perspectives on the History of Japanese Turkish Relation* (Istanbul: Bogaziçi University Press, 2003); Dick Stegeweems, ed., *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003) all deal with the formation and circulation of Pan-Asianist discourse in Japan from various perspectives.
22. See, for example, the Pulitzer-winning Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000).
23. *Puraido: Unmei no Toki* [Pride: The Fateful Moment] (Tōei Film Studio, 1998).
24. Kobayashi Yoshinori, *Sensōron* [Ideas on War] (Gentōsha, 1998), 30.
25. Later revised and published in English as *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967).
26. The primary example of this contention is James B. Crowley, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy: National Security and Foreign Policy, 1930–1938* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966).
27. Takeuchi Yoshimi, *Ajiashugi no Tenbō* [A Survey of Pan-Asianism], in *Ajiashugi* [Pan-Asianism], ed. and intro. by Takeuchi Yoshimi, vol. 9 of *Gendai Nihon Shisō Taikei* [An Outline of Modern Japanese Thoughts] (Chikuma Shobō, 1963), 13. Also reprinted as "Nihon no Ajiashugi" [Japan's Asianism], in Matsumoto Ken'ichi, *Takeuchi Yoshimi*, 9–10.

Chapter 1

1. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 1.
2. Louis L. Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984), 5.

3. Douglas R. Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).
4. Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," *Journal of World History* 12, no. 1 (2001): 99.
5. *Ibid.*, 100–108. Also, Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers), 2003, 91–96.
6. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 94–96.
7. The prefix "han" here is a phonetic translation of the Greek "pan."
8. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 5. This study's concern is in fact quite different from Said's in that it seeks to understand the corresponding reality of ideas about Asia from within rather than the internal consistency of Western ideas about Asia from without.
9. Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
10. Rudyard Kipling, "The Ballad of East and West," in *Rudyard Kipling's Verse: Inclusive Edition, 1885–1932* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1934), 268.
11. Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *ibid.*, 373–74.
12. Yeats to Noguchi, June 27 [1921?], Oxford, in *Selected English Writings of Yone Noguchi: An East-West Literary Assimilation*, ed. Yoshinobu Hakutani, vol. 2 (London: Associated University Presses, 1992), 14.
13. Kakuzo Okakura, *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1970), 1.
14. Christopher Benfey, "Tea with Okakura," *The New York Review of Books* (May 25, 2000): 43–47.
15. The address was delivered at Airlie Lodge, Ridgeway Gardens, England, most likely in September 1896. Swami Vivekananda, "Vedanta as a Factor in Civilization," in *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, vol. 1 (Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama, 1977), 385–86.
16. For a comprehensive narrative of Dharmapala and his associations with Japan, see Satō Tetsurō, *Daiajia Shisō katsugeki: Bukkyō ga Unda Mōhitotsu no Kindaishi* [Philosophical Action Film of Great Asia: Another Modern History Born of Buddhism] (Onbook, 2006).
17. *Asahi Shimbun*, August 5, 1893, reprinted in Tsubouchi Takahiko, *Okakura Tenshin no Shisō Tanbō: Meisō suru Ajiashugi* [Exploration of Okakura Tenshin's Ideas: Pan-Asianism Going Astray] (Keisō Shobō, 1998), 30–31.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Kakuzo Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan* (London: John Murray, 1905), 207.
20. *Ibid.*, 207–8.
21. *Ibid.*, 209.
22. Kakuzo Okakura, *The Book of Tea* (New York: Dover, 1964), 3.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, 4–5.

25. *Ibid.*, 2–3.
26. Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, 3–4.
27. Gaimushō Gaikō Shiryōkan and Nihon Gaikōshijiten Hensan Iinkai, eds., *Nihongaikōshi Jiten* [Dictionary of Japanese Diplomacy] (Yamakawa Shuppan, 1992), 628.
28. See Marius B. Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954).
29. Konoe Atsumaro, “Dōjinshu Dōmei fu Shina Mondai Kenkyū no Hitsuyō” [Let Nations of the Same Race Unite Themselves and Discuss Chinese Questions (original translation)], *Taiyō* (January 20, 1898): 1–3. The opinion journal *Taiyō* had a bilingual table of contents, though the articles themselves were featured only in Japanese.
30. *Ibid.*, 1.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Aihara Shigeki, “Konoe Atsumaro to Shina Hozenron” [Konoe Atsumaro and the Argument for the Preservation of China] in *Kindai Nihon no Ajiakan* [Modern Japan’s View of Asia], ed. Okamoto Kōji (Minerva, 1998), 71.
33. *Ibid.*, 52–53.
34. Konoe Atsumaro, *Keisetsu Yobun* [Untold Story of my Hard Student Years], vol. 1 (Yōmeibunko, 1939), 274.
35. Konoe Atsumaro, “Dōjinshu Dōmei,” 3.
36. Takayama Rinjirō, “Jinshukyōsō toshite Mitaru Gokutō Mondai” [The Far East Questions from the Point of View of the Struggle for Existence among Different Races], *Taiyō* (January 20, 1898): 30–39.
37. *Ibid.*, 30.
38. *Ibid.*, 36, 38.
39. Miyazaki Tōten, *Sanjūsannen no Yume* [My Thirty-three Years’ Dream] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1943).
40. For Bose’s activities in Japan, see Eri Hotta, “Rash Behari Bose and his Japanese Supporters: An Insight into Anti-Colonial Nationalism and Pan-Asianism,” *Interventions* 8, no. 2 (2006): 116–32.
41. Gregory Henderson, *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 67–69.
42. Uchida Ryōhei, *Nikkan Gappō* [Japanese-Korean Merger], reprinted in Takeuchi, *Ajiashugi*, 205–38.
43. Kokuryūkai, ed., *Tōa Senkaku Shishi Kiden* [A Record of Pioneering East Asian Fighters], vol. 1 (Misuzu Shobō, 1974), 10.
44. Konoe Atsumaro, “Dōjinshu Dōmei,” 3.
45. Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, 6.
46. Morimoto (Tarui) Tōkichi, *Daitō Gappōron* [Argument for a Great Eastern Confederation], 1893. Takeuchi Yoshimi’s Japanese translation of the text is in Takeuchi, *Ajiashugi* [Asianism], 106–29.
47. Morimoto, 142.

48. Ibid., 117–18.
49. Ibid., 118.
50. The passage and the phrase “shakai no go” are taken from Takeuchi’s translation in Takeuchi, *Ajiashugi*, 110.
51. Morimoto, 120.

Chapter 2

1. Taken from John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Aftermath of World War II* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), 21. Japan’s mastery of the vocabulary of the international system is powerfully demonstrated in Alexis Dudden, *Japan’s Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005).
2. Peter Duus, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 6, The Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 7.
3. Robert A. Scalapino, “Ideology and Modernization—The Japanese Case,” in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. David E. Apter (London: Collier Macmillan, 1964), 97–98.
4. Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Jiji Shinpō*, March 16, 1885.
5. Okamoto Kōji, “Joshō—‘Nihon no Ajia’ ka [Introduction] in *Kindai Nihon no Ajiakan* [Modern Japan’s View of Asia], ed. Okamoto (Minerva, 1998).
6. Also, on varying interpretations of Fukuzawa’s thesis of “Exit Asia,” see Banno Junji, *Meiji—Shisō no Jitsuzō* [Authentic Portrait of Meiji Thought] (Sōbunsha, 1977).
7. Nakae Chōmin, *Sansuijin Keirin Mondō* (Iwanami Bunko, 1965). Also translated into English: Nakae Chōmin, *A Discourse by Three Drunkards on Government*, trans. Nobuko Tsukui (Tokyo: Weatherhill Books, 1984).
8. Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography: With Musings on Recent Events in India* (London: John Lane, 1939), 16.
9. From a translated excerpt given in Matsumoto Ken’ichi, *Takeuchi Yoshimi “Nihon no Ajiashugi” Seidoku* [A Comprehensive Reading of Takeuchi Yoshimi’s “Japan’s Asianism”] (Iwanami Gendai Bunko, 2000), 121.
10. Relevant analyses in Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 101–2, and “Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: Modern China 1900–1945,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 4 (October 1997): 1030–51.
11. H. P. Ghose, “Introduction,” in J. G. Ohsawa, *The Two Great Indians in Japan: Sri Rash Behari Bose and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose* (Calcutta: Kusa Publications, 1954), vi.
12. Ibid., 33.

13. Hyung Gu Lynn, "A Comparative Study of the Tōyō Kyōkai and the Nan'yō Kyōkai," in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and its Postwar Legacy*, ed. Harald Fuess (Munich: Indicium, 1998), 65–95.
14. As given in Ohsawa, 27–38.
15. Milan Hauner, *India in Axis Strategy: Germany, Japan, and Indian Nationalists in the Second World War* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 104.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Okakura, *Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1970), 1.
18. Kita Ikki, *Nihon Kaizō Hōan Taikō* [Outline of Plans for the Reconstruction of Japan], in *Gendaishi Shiryō* [Modern History Documents], vol. 5 (Misuzu Shobō, 1964), 10–11; emphasis added.
19. See Najita and Harootunian, "Japanese Revolt against the West" in Duus, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 6, The Twentieth Century*, 711–74; George Wilson, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1993–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969). Among numerous studies on Kita in Japanese, the benchmark works are Tanaka Sōgorō, *Kita Ikki: Nihonteki Fashisuto no Shōchō* [Kita Ikki: Symbol of Japanese Fascism] (San'ichi Shobō, 1971) and Matsumoto Ken'ichi, *Kita Ikkiron* [Discourse on Kita Ikki] (Gendai Hyōronsha, 1972).
20. Christopher W. A. Szpilman, "Kita Ikki and the Politics of Coercion," *Modern Asian Studies* 36, no. 2 (2002): 468.
21. For a sophisticated analysis of Ōkawa and his Pan-Asianism, see Christopher W. A. Szpilman, "The Dream of One Asia: Ōkawa Shūmei and Japanese Pan-Asianism," in *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and its Postwar Legacy*, ed. Fuess, 49–63; and Yukiko Sumi Barnett, "India in Asia: Ōkawa Shūmei's Pan-Asian Thought and his Idea of India in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *Journal of the Oxford University History Society* 1 (Hilary 2004): 1–23.
22. Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1975), 139.
23. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Touchstone, 1972), 620.
24. Most English-language historical accounts of the conference, however, record the event as a meeting of the "Big Four," only referring to the United States, Britain, France, and Italy.
25. For an in-depth analysis of this debate, see Naoko Shimazu, *The Racial Equality Proposal at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference: Japanese Motivations and Anglo-American Responses* (London: Routledge, 1998).
26. Published in the December issue of the magazine *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* [Japan and the Japanese], as excerpted in Yabe Teiji, *Konoe Fumimaro* (Jijitsūshinsha, 1958), 16–21.
27. *Ibid.*, 18–19.

28. Ōkawa Shūmei, *Fukkō Ajia no Shomondai* [Various Problems Concerning Resurgent Asia] (Chūko Bunko, 1993).
29. *Ibid.*, 23.
30. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1979), 222–66.
31. Arendt cites Joseph Stalin's 1945 convocation of Pan-Slav Congress in Sofia as her example. *Ibid.*, 223.
32. Noguchi Yonejirō, "Indo Bunka no Taikan" [Broad View of Indian Culture], a speech delivered on May 23, 1936, at Meiji Seimeikan, Tokyo, compiled in a society publication *Keimeikai Dai Rokujūrokkai Kōenshū* [The Compilation of the 66th Lecture Series], 10–11.
33. *Ibid.*, 11.
34. *Ibid.*, 30.
35. *Ibid.*, 33–34.
36. *Ibid.*, 32.
37. Madame de Staël observed, in the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat of Prussia, that "In literature, as in politics, the Germans show too much consideration for foreigners, and not enough national prejudices. Self-abnegation and esteem for others are qualities in individuals, but the patriotism of nations must be egotistical." Quoted from *De l'Allemagne* (1813) in Harold James, *A German Identity: 1770 to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix Press, 1989), 13. For Elie Kedourie's similar contention, see for example, *Nationalism* (London: Blackwell, 1998).

Chapter 3

1. Christopher Thorne, *The Limits of Foreign Policy: The West, the League and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1931–1933* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972) and Ian Nish, *Japan's Struggle with Internationalism: Japan, China and the League of Nations, 1931–1933* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993) explore Manchuria as a test case of collective security.
2. The treaties entailed, among other things, that the nine powers of Japan, the United States, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, and China would seek to uphold China's integrity, maintain the principle of equal opportunity, and to provide an environment for its development. See Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London: Longman, 1987), 2.
3. Ian Nish, *Japanese Foreign Policy, 1869–1942: Kasumigaseki to Miyakezaka* (London: Routledge, 1977), 7.
4. The London Conference (1930) dealt with the rules of engagement, particularly submarine warfare, and the number of naval vessels among the United States, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy. Japan's civilian delegates achieved an overall success in increasing Japan's allocation from the previous Washington

- Conference level. But Japan's Naval General Staff and the Privy Council launched an all-out campaign against the cabinet, pointing out that the achieved number was 0.025% short of their original target.
5. Saionji's remark on October 2, 1932, on the question of "Japan as the *meishu* of the East" and "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," recorded in Harada Kumao, *Saionjikō to Seikyoku* [Prince Saionji and Political Situations], vol. 2 (Iwanami Shoten, 1950), 377.
 6. Eguchi Keiichi. *Jūgonen Sensō Shōshi* [A Condensed History of the Fifteen Years' War] (Aoki Shoten, 1991), 19.
 7. For Yoshizawa's criticism of Japan's China policy, see Barbara J. Brooks, *Japan's Imperial Diplomacy: Consuls, Treaty Ports, and War in China, 1895–1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 69–70.
 8. January 23, 1931, the 59th House of Representatives session, recorded in Shakaimondai Shiryō Kenkyūkai, ed., *Teikoku Gikaishi* [The Imperial Diet Session Record], vol. 9 (Tōyōbunkasha, 1976), 253.
 9. See Miwa Kimitada, *Matsuoka Yōsuke, sono Ningen to Gaikō* [Matsuoka Yōsuke: His Person and Diplomacy] (Chūōkōronsha, 1971).
 10. Saionji Kinkazu, *Saionji Kinkazu Kaikoroku "Sugisarishi, Shōwa"* [The Memoirs of Saionji Kinkazu: "Gone is Shōwa"] (Ipec Press, 1991), 190–91.
 11. Matsumoto Shigeharu, *Shanghai Jidai: Jānarisuto no Kaisō* [Shanghai Years: Recollections of a Journalist], vol. 1 (Chūō Shinsho, 1974), 25–29.
 12. Yosuke Matsuoka, *Economic Co-operation of Japan and China in Manchuria and Mongolia: Its Motives and Basic Significance* (Dairen: The Chunichi Bunka Kyokai, ca. 1929), 5.
 13. *Ibid.*, 15.
 14. James B. Crowley, *Japan's Quest for Autonomy: National Security and Foreign Policy, 1930–1938* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 1966.
 15. Sadako N. Ogata, *Defiance in Manchuria: The Making of Japanese Foreign Policy, 1931–1932* (Berkeley: University of California, 1964).
 16. *Ibid.*, 181–82.
 17. The benchmark study is Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975). In Japanese, see Fukuda Kazuya, *Chi Hiraku: Ishiwara Kanji to Shōwa no Yume* [The Land Opens: Ishiwara Kanji and the Dream of Shōwa] (Bungei Shunjū, 2001).
 18. Based on the teachings of the thirteenth-century Tendai Buddhist monk Nichiren, the faith has been historically marked by its aggressive rejection of other sects and its apocalyptic dialectics. In the postwar era, it resurfaced in the organization of Ikeda Daisaku's *Sōka Gakkai* that exerts major influence on Japanese politics via the political party Kōmeitō.
 19. See Ishiwara Kanji, "Ōshūsenshi Kōwa" *Ketsuron* [Conclusion: Lectures on European War History], April 1931, compiled in *Ishiwara Kanji Shiryō: Kokubōronsaku* [Documents on Ishiwara Kanji: Theories and Policies of

- National Defense], ed. Tsunoda Jun (Hara Shobō, 1971), 69–70, and Ishiwara Kanji, *Manmō Mondai Shiken* [Personal View on the Manchurian Problem], May 22, 1931, in *ibid.*, 76–79.
20. Hayashi Kyūjirō, *Manshūjihen to Hōten Soryōji* [The Manchurian Incident and the Consul General at Shenyang] (Hara Shobō, 1978), 145–46.
 21. *Ibid.*, 145.
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. Hayashi, 151.
 24. See Prasentjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 51–59, for an illuminating interpretation of this episode, in which claims made by Matsuoka Yōsuke and Chih Meng, associate director of the China Institute in America are discussed.
 25. Hiroshi Saito, “A Japanese View of the Manchurian Situation,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 165 (January 1933): 160–61.
 26. “Address Delivered by Yosuke Matsuoka, Chief Japanese Delegate, at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Special Assembly of the League of Nations,” Matsuoka, *Japan’s Case in the Sino-Japanese Dispute* (Geneva: Japanese Delegation to the League of Nations, 1933), 49–61.
 27. *Teikoku Gikaishi*, vol. 18 (1977), 413.
 28. “Amō Seimei” [Amō Statement], April 17, 1934, <http://www.geocities.co.jp/WallStreet-Bull/6515/zibiki/a.htm>.
 29. Konoe Atsumaro, Konoe Atsumaro Nikki [Konoe Atsumaro Diary], vol. 2 (Kashima Kenkyū Shuppankai, 1968), 195.
 30. President James Monroe in his seventh annual message to Congress, December 2, 1823, <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/>.
 31. The Roosevelt Corollary was proclaimed over the issue of foreign debt payments by the Dominican Republic (1904). This gave rise to the fear in the United States that creditor European powers might try to occupy the Western Hemisphere under the pretext of enforcing debt collections, just at the time of the U.S. construction of the Panama Canal, in effect threatening U.S. strategic positions.
 32. Tachi Sakutarō, “Monrōshugi no Tetteiteki Kentō” [A Comprehensive Study of the Monroe Doctrine], *Gaikō Jihō* (December 1936), vol. 770, A.2.1.0.U2, Gaimushō Gaikō Shiryōkan [Diplomatic Record Office, Japanese Foreign Ministry], Tokyo, Japan (GGS).
 33. *Ibid.*, 6.
 34. *Ibid.*, 6–7. Whitton’s work is dated 1933 and Coolidge’s 1909 in Tachi’s text.
 35. Hirota in December 1933 recorded by Harada in *Saionjikhō to Seikyoku*, vol. 3 (1951): 205.
 36. “Goshōkaigi Kettei no Gaikōhōshin ni kansuru Ken” [Concerning Foreign Policy Guidelines Reached at the Five Minister Conference], in *Nihon Gaikō*

- Nenpyō narabi ni Shuyōmonjo* [Chronology and Major Documents concerning Japan's Foreign Policy], ed. Gaimushō, vol. 2 (Hara Shobō, 1966), 275–77.
37. His speeches are compiled in a single volume, Hiroshi Saito, *Japan's Policies and Purposes* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1935).
 38. Saitō Hiroshi, "Gunshukukaigi to Kongo no Nichibeikankei" [Arms Reduction Conference and the Prospect of U.S.–Japan Relations], *Daiamondo* (August 11, 1934), as excerpted in Nakajima Yumiko, *Nichibei Kankei no Ichikō satsu: Saitō Chūbei Taishi no Taibei Teian wo Chūshin ni* [An Observation in U.S.–Japan Relations—Mainly upon Ambassador Saitō's Proposals for the United States] (Master's Thesis in Politics, Keiō University, 1988), 96–97.
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. Nitobe's talk "Japanese Colonization" is quoted in James L. McClain, *Japan: A Modern History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), 343.
 41. *Ibid.*
 42. Inazo Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation: Its Land, Its People, and Its Life, with Special Consideration to Its Relations with the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 254.
 43. Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, revised and enlarged (Teibi Shuppansha, 1908), 23.
 44. *Ibid.*, 8.
 45. For instance, Stefan Tanaka's study of Shiratori Kurakichi and others in pioneering the discipline of *Tōyōshi* in *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Joshua A. Fogel's study of Naitō Konan and his contribution to the development of China studies in *Politics of Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); and Kevin M. Doak, "What is a Nation and Who Belongs? National Narratives and Ethnic Imagination in Twentieth-century Japan," *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 283–309.
 46. Oguma Eiji, *Tan'itsu Minzoku Shinwa no Kigen: 'Nihonjin' no Jigazō no Keifu* [The Origins of the Myth of the Homogenous Nation: A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images] (Shinyōsha, 1995). Also, Eiji Oguma, *A Genealogy of Japanese Self-images*, trans. David Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002).
 47. Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation*, 256.
 48. See Chapter 10 of John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (London: Faber, 1986).
 49. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 585.
 50. Inazo Nitobe, "On the Dangers of Intolerance," *Pacific Affairs* 6, Conference Supplement, October 1933: 493–96.
 51. *Zentaishugi to Kōdō* [Totalitarianism and the Imperial Way], in Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 121.

52. “Manchoukuo [sic] and the Renaissance of Oriental Political Philosophy,” in Chikao Fujisawa, *Japanese and Oriental Philosophy* (Tokyo: The Research Department of the Daitō Bunka Kyōkai, 1935), 147–52.

Chapter 4

1. Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 13.
2. Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
3. Peter Duus, introduction to *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*, eds. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), xviii.
4. *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, January 24, 1932.
5. “*Nichiman Giteisho*” [The Japanese-Manchukuo Protocol], September 15, 1932, in Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai, ed., *Nihonshi Shiryō, [5] Gendai* [Sources on Japanese History, Volume 5, Modern Period] (Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 16.
6. Matsusaka, “Managing Occupied Manchuria,” in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, eds. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 96–97.
7. Ishiwara Kanji, *Manshūkoku Kenkoku to Shina Jihen* [The Establishment of Manchukuo and the China Incident] (Kyoto: Tōa Renmei Kyōkai, 1940), 30–32. For the impact of Yu on Ishiwara’s Pan-Asianist sensibilities, see Yamamuro Shin’ichi. *Kimera: Manshūkoku no Shōzō* [Chimera: A Portrait of Manchukuo] (Chuō Kōronsha, 1993), 83–99. On how Yu drew Japanese attention to the concept, see Mitter, 94–95, and Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 64–65.
8. See Louise Young, “Imagined Empire: The Cultural Construction of Manchukuo,” in *The Japanese Wartime Empire*, 71.
9. See Matsusaka, “Managing Occupied Manchuria,” 98–99.
10. Yosuke Matsuoka, “Reply to Prof. Shusi-Hsu’s Criticisms and Observations,” transcribed in *An Address on Manchuria: Its Past and Present and Reply to Prof. Shusi-Hsu’s Criticisms and Observation* (Kyoto: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929), 25; emphasis in the original English transcript.
11. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 27–28.
12. *Osaka Asahi Shimbun*, March 2, 1932.
13. For instance, see Yanaihara Tadao’s contemporaneous criticism below.
14. Sōga Kensuke in Koshizawa Akira, *Manshūkoku no Shuto Keikaku* [Manchukuo’s Capital Planning] (Chikuma Gakugei Bunko, 2002), 239.
15. Civilian buildings, such as department stores and theatres, had more success, especially in the structures designed by Endō Arata (1889–1951), a student of Frank Lloyd Wright, who preferred to employ local organic building materials

- to concrete, in order to accommodate and pay homage to the harsh Manchurian climate.
16. Yamamuro, *Kimera*.
 17. Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
 18. Naitō in mid-1933, quoted in Yamamuro, 136.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. See Susan C. Townsend, “Chapter 9: The Yanaihara Incident,” in *Yanaihara Tadao and Japanese Colonial Policy: Redeeming Empire* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000), 228–56.
 21. Yanaihara Tadao, “*Manshū Kenbundan*” [Discussion on Manchurian Observations], *Kaizō* (November 1932): 107.
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. For the analysis of the highly charged romanticism among Youth League activists, see Matsumoto Ken’ichi, “Ozawa Kaisaku no Yume” [Ozawa Kaisaku’s Dream] in *Shōwa ni Shisu: Morisaki Minato to Ozawa Kaisaku* [Dying alongside Shōwa: Morisaki Minato and Ozawa Kaisaku] (Shinchōsha, 1988), 117–87.
 24. Mutō Nobuyoshi, “Rikyō Aisatsu” [Remark upon Departing the Capital], August 1932, 2A039-06, Aja Rekishi Shiryō Sentā [Japan Center for Asian Historical Records], Tokyo, Japan (JACAR).
 25. *Manshūkoku no Konponrinen to Kyōwakai no Honshitsu* [Manchukuo’s Fundamental Ideals and the True Character of the Concordia Society], September 18, 1936, *Gendaishi Shiryō*, vol. 11, 909.
 26. Mariko Asano Tamanoi, “Knowledge, Power, and Racial Classifications: The ‘Japanese’ in ‘Manchuria,’” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 2 (May 2000): 248–76.
 27. Extrapolated from Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 253.
 28. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 589.
 29. See Takafusa Nakamura, “Depression, Recovery, and War, 1920–1945,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 6, The Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Duus, trans. Jacqueline Kaminsky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 475, and Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 196–97.
 30. Manchukuo Government Official Announcement, “*Manshūkoku Keizai Kensetsu Yōkō*” [Outlines of Manchukuo Economic Construction], March 1, 1932, A-02860229, Tokyo, Japan (JACAR), 374–75. See note 24.
 31. For Miyazaki’s life, see Kobayashi Hideo, “*Nihon Kabushiki Gaisha*” *wo Tsukutta Otoko – Miyazaki Masayoshi no Shōgai* [The Man Who Made “Japan Corporation”—Life of Miyazaki Masayoshi] (Shōgakukan, 1995).
 32. Taiheiō Sensō Kenkyūkai, ed., *Manshū Teikoku* (Kawade Shobō, 1996), 109.
 33. *Ibid.*, 110.

34. Tachibana Shiraki, "*Watashi no Hōkōtenkan*" [My Change in Direction], *Manshū Hyōron*, August 11, 1934, 32–33.
35. *Ibid.*, 31.
36. Given in Yamamuro, 114.
37. *Ibid.*, 113.
38. *Ibid.*, 114.
39. Aishinkakura Fuketsu, *Fuketsu Jiden* [Autobiography of Pu Chieh] (Kawade Shobō, 1995), 89.
40. Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 120.
41. Hōchi Takayuki, *Harubin Gakuin to Manshūkoku* [The Harbin Academy and Manchukuo] (Shinchō Sensho, 1999), 128, and Yasuhiko Yoshikazu, "Manshū Kenkoku Daigaku no Seishun" [The Youths of Manshū Kenkoku Daigaku], *Marco Polo* (February 2, 1994): 57.
42. Yamamuro, 281.
43. Extrapolated from *ibid.* More specific data available in Manshū Rōkōkai, ed., *Manshū Rōdō Nenkan* [Manchurian Labor Yearbook] (Ganshōdō, 1940 edition, published in 1941), 62–65.
44. Yamamuro, 302.
45. *Ibid.*, 302–3.
46. Matsumoto, *Shōwa ni Shisu*, 7–115; and Asano Tamanoi, "Knowledge, Power, and Racial Classifications."
47. Matsumoto, *Shōwa ni Shisu*, 82.
48. For instance, see Duara's analysis of women as representing tradition within the discourse of the East Asian modern. "Embodying Civilization: Women and the Figure of Tradition within Modernity," in Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 131–69.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Yamaguchi Yoshiko and Fujiwara Sakuya, *Ri Kōran, Watashi no Hansei* [Li Xianglan, My Life So Far] (Shinchōsha, 1987), 109–11.
51. *Ibid.*, 117–18.
52. *Ibid.*, 138.
53. From "Zenman Jidō Bunshū" [Writing by All Manchukuo Children] (February 1940), compiled in *Nihon Shokuminchishi (2) Manshū* [The History of Japanese Colonialism, Volume 2, Manchuria] (Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1971), 255.
54. Hiroshi Saito, "My Impressions in the Far East and Japanese-American Relations," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 177 (January 1935), 247.
55. *Ibid.*, 248.
56. Aishinkakura Hiro, *Ruten no ōhi no Shōwashi* [Shōwa History of a Wandering Princess] (Shinchōsha, 1984), and Aishinkakura Fuketsu, *Fuketsu Jiden*.
57. Ri (Lee) Masako too wrote an autobiography, entitled *Dōran no Naka no Ōhi* [Princess amidst Great Turmoil] (Kōdansha, 1968).

58. *Ibid.*, 72–73.
59. Aishinkakura Hiro, *Ruten*, 69–70.
60. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 13. For example, Young cites French Algeria and British India as other examples of total empires. True, the French colonial concept of *mission civilisatrice* is an indication of the reforming impetus characteristic of total imperialism and empire, but British colonial style of “divide and rule” is more indicative of informal, rather than total, imperialism.
61. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, 589.
62. *Ibid.*, 590.
63. Young, “Imagined Empire,” 71.
64. *Ibid.*

Chapter 5

1. Rōyama Masamichi, “Tōa Kyōdōtai no Riron” [The Theory Behind East Asian Cooperative Body], *Kaizō* (November 1938): 7.
2. Shiraki Tachibana, “Watashi no Hōkōtenkan” [My Change in Direction], *Manshū Hyōron* (August 11, 1934): 33.
3. William Miles Fletcher III, *The Search for a New Order: Intellectuals and Fascism in Prewar Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).
4. See Miyake Masaki, ed., *Shōwashi no Gunbu to Seiji* [The Military and Politics in the History of Showa] (Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1983), and Hata Ikuhiko, *Gun Fashizumu Undōshi* [History of Military Fascist Movement] (Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1962).
5. Tanaka Sōgorō, *Nihon Fasizumushi* (Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1972), 131–34.
6. Monbushō, ed., *Kokutai no Hongi* [Cardinal Principles of the National Polity], 1937.
7. The Takigawa Affair (1933) in which Professor Takigawa Yukitoki and his colleagues were forced out of the law faculty of Kyoto Imperial University and Tokyo Imperial University’s red purge of its economic professors (1939) were also part of this larger “sacralization” trend.
8. Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika, “Kyōdō Hikoku Dōshi ni Tsuguru Sho” [An Announcement to the Convicted Fellow Colleagues], in *Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai*, ed., *Nihonshi Shiryō* [Sources on Japanese History], vol. 5 (Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 63–64. Originally appeared in *Tokkō Geppō* (July 1933): 91–95.
9. *Ibid.*, 63.
10. *Ibid.*, 64.
11. *Ibid.*
12. For a classic analysis of the phenomenon of *Tenkō*, and its semantics, see Shunsuke Tsurumi, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan 1931–1945* (London: KPI, 1986), 5–14.
13. Ozaki Hotsumi, “Ozaki Hotsumi no Shuki (1)” [*Ozaki Hotsumi’s Shuki* (1)], June 1943, *Gendaishi Shiryō*, vol. 2, 9.

14. *Ibid.*, 9–10.
15. Haruhiko Fukui, “Chapter 4: Postwar Politics, 1945–1973,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol. 6, The Twentieth Century*, ed. Peter Duus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 146, and Kisaka Junichirō, *Taiheiyō Sensō* [The Pacific War] (Shōgakusan, 1994), 93.
16. Taken from: “My political intentions were rather complex. That is because I was not a simple Communist.” Ozaki, *Gendaishi Shiryō*, vol. 2, 32.
17. *Ibid.*, 34.
18. “Kokusaku no Kijun” [The Standards of National Policy], The Five Ministers’ Conference, August 7, 1936, *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 344–45.
19. Though the “Nanking Incident” has been a perennial issue, the polemics and emotional stakes with it have been markedly heightened by the publication of Iris Chang’s *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997). David Askew’s “New Research on the Nanjing Incident” in *The Japan Focus* best summarizes the origins and the present state of this debate, <http://www.japanfocus.org/products/details/1729>.
20. Matsumoto Shigeharu, *Shanghai Jidai: Jānarisuto no Kaisō* [Shanghai Years: A Recollection of a Journalist], vol. 2 (Chūkō Shinsho, 1974), 209.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Sugiyama Heisuke, “Jūgun Oboegaki” [A Memo from the Front], *Kaizō* (December 1938): 347–60.
23. *Ibid.*, 357.
24. *Ibid.*, 358.
25. *Ibid.*, 358–60.
26. *Ibid.*, 360.
27. For example, the ambivalent position of some Japanese Christian women during and after the war is explored in Karen Garner, “Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947,” *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2004): 191–227.
28. From Noguchi to Tagore, July 23, 1938, *Poet to Poet: Full Text of Correspondence between Yone Noguchi and Rabindranath Tagore on the Sino-Japanese Conflict*, reprinted from *Visva Bharati Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (Nanking and Santiniketan: The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, ca. 1940), 3.
29. From Tagore to Noguchi, September 1, 1938, *ibid.*, 6–7.
30. *Ibid.*, 8.
31. *Ibid.*
32. The benchmark study on Nomonhan is Alvin D. Coox, *Nomonhan: Japan against Russia, 1939*, 2 volumes, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).
33. His first premiership ran from June 1937 to June 1939; second, from July 1940 to July 1941; and finally, from July 1941 to October 1941.
34. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 618.

35. *Ibid.*, 613, 618.
36. In an interview with Yamaura, given in Yamaura Kan'ichi, "Konoe Shūhen no Henkan" [Changes in Konoe's Surroundings], *Kaizō* (November 1938): 120.
37. Konoe Fumimaro, *Sengo Ōbei Kenbunroku* [Travels in Postwar Europe and the United States] (Chūkō Bunko, 1981), 138.
38. *Ibid.*, 140.
39. *Ibid.*, 141.
40. *Ibid.*
41. His thesis was initially propounded in the co-authored book, Ishihara Shintarō and Morita Akio "No" to Ieru Nihon [Japan that can say "No"] (Kōbunsha, 1989).
42. Kenneth Colegrove, "The New Order in East Asia," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (November 1941): 6.
43. For an excellent account of this debate, see Gregory J. Kasza, "Fascism from Below? A Comparative Perspective on the Japanese Right, 1931–1936," *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, no. 4 (October 1984): 607–29. Also on the theme of fascism, see E. Bruce Reynolds, ed., *Japan in the Fascist Era* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). In Japanese, the benchmark study is Tanaka, *Nihon Fashizumushi*.
44. In some interpretations, "Four directions and for corners of the world" rather than "eight corners."
45. "Kokuminseifu wo Aite to sezu" [No longer to deal with the Kuomintang government], January 16, 1938, *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 386.
46. Saionji, 141–50.
47. *Ibid.*, 160.
48. Yamaura, "Konoe Shūhen no Henkan," 120.
49. In addition to Fletcher, also see James B. Crowley, "Intellectuals as Visionaries of the New Asian Order," in *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, ed. James William Morley (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 319–73.
50. Yamaura, "Konoe Shūhen no Henkan," 120.
51. Itō Nozomi, "Shōwa Kenkyūkai ni okeru Tōa Kyōdōtairon no Keisei" The Formation of the Theory of East Asia Cooperative Body in the Shōwa Research Association], in Okamoto, ed., *Kindai Nihon no Ajiakan*, 228.
52. Given in Shōwa Kenkyūkai, ed. Gotō Ryūnosuke (Keizaiōraisha, 1968), 63.
53. "Tōa Shinchitsujo Seifu Seimei" [Governmental Declaration on the New East Asian Order], November 3, 1938, *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 401.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Here I have translated the term "tōitsuteki rinen" as "unifying principles" rather than "global ideas" or "universal ideas" as others might have. Miki Kiyoshi, "Tōa Shisō no Konkyo" [The Basis of East Asian Philosophy], *Kaizō* (December 1938): 9–10.
56. *Ibid.*, 9.
57. *Ibid.*, 12.

58. *Ibid.*, 18.
59. See Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of Its Enemies* (New York: Penguin Press, 2004).
60. See Fletcher for a focused account on these three characters.
61. Kanokogi (1884–1948) famously coined the term “*Sumera Ajia*” [Imperial Asia], in which he propounded the vision of totalitarian Asia under Japan’s imperial rule. See Kanokogi Kazunobu, *Sumera Ajia* [Imperial Asia] (Dōbun Shoin, 1937).
62. The Berlin Anti-Imperialist Group is Katō Tetsurō’s long-term research project. For the discussion of the group, see for example, “Shinhakken no Kawakami Hajime Shokan wo Megutte” [In Reference to the Newly Discovered Correspondence of Kawakami Hajime], <http://homepage3.nifty.com/katote/2001kawakami.html>.
63. Rōyama, “Tōa Kyōdōtai no Riron,” 18.
64. *Ibid.*, 18–19.
65. *Ibid.*, 20.
66. For Tokyo’s effort to create a Chinese regime independent of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kwangtung Army, see Tobe Ryōichi, *Pīsu Fīrā—Shina Jihen Wahei Kōsaku no Gunzō* [Peace Feeler—Sculpted Portraits of the China Incident Peace Makers] (Ronsōsha, 1991).
67. “Kokuminseifu wo Aite to sezu,” 386.
68. See Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
69. Rōyama, “Tōa Kyōdōtai no Riron,” 6. Such material considerations might be there, he concedes, but they are of “a secondary consideration.”
70. The statement was taken from: “The only thing that can defeat the United States when it comes to the global war on terror is America itself, if we lose the courage of our convictions, if we simply give up.” Attributed to the Republican Senator from Texas, John Coryon. Given in “Senators Begin Debate on Iraq, Visions in Sharp Contrast,” *The New York Times*, June 22, 2006.

Chapter 6

1. For instance, an August 1941 report from an information-gathering mission indicated that the United States had a far greater industrial capacity than Japan (12 times its GNP and 527.9 times its petroleum production). See Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 113.
2. Although commonly regarded as an effective Japanese decision to enter war, the September 6, 1941 “Teikoku Kokusaku Suikō Yōryō” [Guidelines for the Execution of the Empire’s National Policy], *Shuyōmonjo*, 544–45, nonetheless intensified divisions within the government. Hirohito himself was profoundly

- doubtful of the feasibility of such a plan, drawing analogies to the disastrous China War.
3. See Jack Snyder, 112–52, for more.
 4. Hard-liners, such as General Sugiyama Hajime, Chief of the General Staff and Admiral Nagano Osami, Navy Chief of Staff, repeatedly pleaded their cases in terms of opportunity cost. Sugiyama impetuously responded to his opponents, who suggested that more thorough research of strategic alternatives was needed, with a remark, “It is impossible to research the surrounding situation in just four or five days. So let’s do it!” Nagano, too, announced that “Every hour, as we speak, we are consuming 400 tons of oil. The matter is rather urgent. We must promptly decide ‘either-or.’” The Liaison Conference of October 23, in *Nihon Kokusai Seijigakkai*, ed., *Taiheiyō Sensō e no Michi* [Road to the Pacific War], *Bekkan Shiryōhen* [Separate Volume on Sources] (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1988), 537.
 5. Given in Yui Masaomi, “Taiheiyō Sensō” [The Pacific War], in *Jūgonen Sensōshi* [History of the Fifteen Years’ War], eds. Fujiwara Akira and Imai Seiichi (Aoki Shoten, 1989), 21.
 6. Recorded in “Dai Nanakai Gozenkaigi Shitsugi ōtō no Gaikyō” [The Seventh Imperial Conference—Proceedings of Q & A], November 15, 1941, *Sugiyama Memo* [Sugiyama Memoranda], vol. 1 (Hara Shobō, 1967), 406–16.
 7. *Ibid.*, 414.
 8. *Ibid.*, 415.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Ibid.*, 416.
 11. It outlined (1) that Japan has decided to enter war; (2) that the war shall start at the beginning of December; and (3) that diplomatic means will be employed until 12:00am of December 1, and if diplomacy were to succeed, the war option shall be suspended. “Teikoku Kokusaku Suikō Yōryō” [Guidelines for the Execution of the Empire’s National Policy], *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 554–55.
 12. “Gaimudaijin Setsumei Jikō” [Items for Explanation by the Foreign Minister], at the Seventh Imperial Conference, November 5, 1941, *Sugiyama Memo*, vol. 1, 420.
 13. *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 573–74.
 14. “Konji Sensō no Koshō narabi ni Senji no Bunkai Jiki ni Tsuiite” [Concerning the Official Name of this War and the Delineation of the War Zones], December 10, Liaison Conference, *Sugiyama Memo*, vol. 1, 568.
 15. *Asahi Shimbun*, December 13, 1941.
 16. *The Syonan Times*, March 17, 1942.
 17. “Daitōa Kyōeiken Kakuritsu—Dōchō Yūhō to Teikei” [Establishing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—Friendship and Alliance], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, Evening Edition, August 2, 1941.
 18. Rabindranath Tagore to Yonejirō Noguchi, September 1, 1938, in *Poet to Poet: Full Text of Correspondence between Yone Noguchi and Rabindranath Tagore on the*

- Sino-Japanese Conflict* (Nanking & Santiniketan: The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, ca. 1940), 8.
19. Yasuda Takeshi, "Sekaiishi no Tetsugaku" [Philosophy of World History], in *Kindai Nihon Shisōshi no Kiso Chishiki: Ishin Zenya kara Haisen made* [Basic Knowledge of the History of Ideas in Modern Japan: From the Restoration to the Defeat], eds. Hashikawa Bunsō, Kano Masanao, and Hiraoka Toshio (Yūhikaku, 1971), 443.
 20. The Kyoto School has attracted much scholarly attention, with ramifications for some interesting revisionist debates. For example, Graham Parkes, "The Putative Fascism of the Kyoto School and the Political Correctness of the Modern Academy"; Christopher S. Goto-Jones, *Political Philosophy in Japan: Nishida, the Kyoto School and Co-Prosperity* (London: Routledge, 2005).
 21. Entitled "Kaisen" [The War Begins] and published in the New Year issue of the magazine *Bungei* in 1942.
 22. Katō Yoshiko, *Saitō Mokichi no Jūgonen Sensō* [Saitō Mokichi's Fifteen Years' War] (Misuzu Shobō, 1990), 124.
 23. "Dōbasanbō Yawa: Kaiin Shokun ni Tsugu" [A Night Chat at Dōba Mountain Hut—An Announcement to the Members], *Araragi* 35, no. 1 (January 1942): 22.
 24. *Asahi Shimbun*, February 16, 1942.
 25. For more on this thesis, see Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
 26. Yasuda, "Sekaiishi no Tetsugaku," 441.
 27. Yoshimoto Takaaki with Tajika Nobukazu, *Watashi no "Sensōron"* [My "Ideas on War"] (Bunkasha, 1999), 32–34.
 28. "Dai Tōa Sensō to Warera no Ketsui (Sengen)" [The Greater East Asia War and our Determination - Commitment Statement], *Chūgoku Bungaku* 80 (January 1942): 481–84.
 29. "Overcoming modernity" was the main theme of a roundtable discussion attended by Takeuchi, along with some of the Kyoto School scholars mentioned above. The proceedings were featured in the journal *Bungakukai* (September/October 1942).
 30. Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 46.
 31. Yasuda Takeshi, "Jūnigatsu Yōka no Shisō" [The Ideology of 8 December], in Hashikawa, Kano, and Hiraoka, eds., *Kindai Nihon Shisōhi*, 441.
 32. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 22–49.
 33. Yoshimoto with Tajika, 32–34.
 34. Although sometimes regarded as a Kyoto School scholar because of his education at the university, Tanaka self-consciously detached himself from the clique and devoted himself to the studies of classical Greek philosophy.
 35. Yasuda, "Sekaiishi no Tetsugaku," 444.

36. Ibid.
37. Watsuji as recorded in the transcript of the proceedings of Takagi's meetings, "Rinsen Shisō Taisaku Kondankai" [Discussion on Ideology for War Entry] Bōeichō Bōei Kenkyūjo Senshibu [War History Department, National Defense Institute, Japanese Defense Agency], Tokyo, Japan (BBKS), 79; emphasis retained from the original.
38. Ibid.
39. Yoshimoto with Tajika, 34.
40. Dazai Osamu, *Jūnigatsu Yōka* [December 8] in *Dazai Osamu Zenshū* 5 [Collected Works of Dazai Osamu, Volume 5] (Chikuma Bunko, 1989), 19–31.
41. Ibid., 19.

Chapter 7

1. Jon Halliday, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism* (New York: Random House, 1975), 141.
2. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 648.
3. *The Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 27, no. 1 (March 1996) deals with various aspects of different parts of Southeast Asia under the Japanese occupation.
4. Grant Goodman, ed., *Japanese Cultural Policies in Southeast Asia during World War 2* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 3.
5. "Nanpō Senryōchi Gyōsei Jisshi Yōryō" [The Outlines of the Administration of Southern Occupation], *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 562–63.
6. Ibid.
7. "Senryōchi Gunsei Jisshi ni Kansuru Rikukaigun Chūō Kyōtei" [The Central Army/Navy Agreement on the Execution of the Military Administration of the Occupied Territories], November 26, 1941 (BBKS).
8. For instance, the Imperial Navy's "Senryōchi Gunsei Shori Yōkō" [The Outlines for the Military Administration Management of the Occupied Territories] on March 14, 1942 (BBKS).
9. January 21, 1942, at the Seventy-ninth Imperial Conference, in Ibid.
10. Joyce C. Lebra in Lebra, ed. and intro., *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1975), xiv.
11. Ibid., x.
12. Yoji Akashi, "Japanese Cultural Policy in Malaya and Singapore," in Goodman, ed., 118.
13. Motoe Terami-Wada, "Japanese Propaganda Corps in the Philippines," in Goodman, ed., 175.
14. "Genjūmin Shidō Hōshin" [Guidelines for Instructing the Native Population], in *Senji Geppō*, March 1942.
15. *Senji Geppō*, October 1942, 8.
16. *The Syonan Times*, February 28, 1942.

17. Yoji Akashi, "Japanese Cultural Policy," 153.
18. Ibuse Masuji, "Chōyōchū no Kenbun" [Experiences during Military Service], in *Ibuse Masuji Jisen Zenshū* [Self-Selected Collection of Ibuse Masuji's Works] (Shinchōsha, 1986), 176–77.
19. As given in Akashi, "Japanese Cultural Policy," 153.
20. *The Syonan Times*, June 1, 1942; emphasis added.
21. An attachment file to *Senji Geppō*, June 1942.
22. Mamoru Shinozaki, *Syonan—My Story* (Singapore: Asia Pacific Press, 1975), 76–77.
23. Yoji Akashi, "Japanese Policy towards the Malayan Chinese, 1941–45," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 2 (September 1970): 76.
24. "Tenchōsetsu Hōshuku Gyōji Yōkō" [Guidelines for the Imperial Birthday Celebration], compiled in *Senji Geppō*, April 1942.
25. Ibid.
26. Otabe Yūji, *Tokugawa Yoshichika no Jūgonen Sensō* [Tokugawa Yoshichika's Fifteen Years' War] (Aoki Shoten, 1988), 163–64.
27. Taken from lectures by Ibuse Masuji as quoted in Akashi, "Japanese Cultural Policy," 131.
28. As given in *ibid.*, 146.
29. Ibid.
30. "Gunseibu no Kunrenjo Kaikō Mokuteki" [The Military Administration's Objectives for the Establishment of the Training Schools] as quoted in Otabe, 158.
31. *Senji Geppō*, August 1942.
32. Akashi, "Japanese Cultural Policy," 141.
33. *Ibid.*, 145–46.
34. Fujiwara Satoshi, Shinohara Keiichi, and Nishide Takeshi, *Ajia Senji Ryūgakusei* [Asian Students in Wartime Japan] (Kyōdō Tsūshin, 1996), 116–18.
35. Akashi, "Japanese Cultural Policy," 141.
36. "Nanpō Bunka Kōsaku Tokubetsu Shidōsha no Kyōiku Ikusei Jigyō" [Education Scheme of the Special Leaders for the Cultural Engineering of the South] in *ibid.*, 118.
37. Fujiwara, Shinohara, and Nishide, 200.
38. As quoted in Kadono Hiroko, *Tōnanajia no Otōtotachi* [Younger Brothers of Southeast Asia] (Sankōsha, 1985), 259–60.
39. Given in Akashi, "Japanese Cultural Policy," 150.
40. Diasis in Fujiwara, Shinohara, and Nishide, 274–75.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, 276–77.
43. Tran My-Van, "Japan and Vietnam's Caoadaists: A Wartime Relationship (1939–45)," in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 27, no. 1 (March 1996): 183.
44. "Daitōa Seiryaku Shidō Taikō" [The Outlines for the Political Guidance of Greater East Asia], issued on May 13, 1943, *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 583–84.

45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. An important work on Bose is Milan Hauner, *India in Axis Strategy: Germany, Japan, and Indian Nationalists in the Second World War* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981).
49. "A Secret Memorandum from Councilor Asada to FM Shigemitsu," September 25, 1943, (GGS).
50. The "F" represented Fujiwara, Friendship, and Freedom.
51. Eunice Thio, "Singapore under Japanese Rule," in Ernest C. T. Chew and Edwin Lee, eds., *A History of Singapore* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), 101.
52. In Burma, Colonel Suzuki Keiji founded the "Minami Kikan" [Southern Agency] to support the formation of the Burmese Independence Army. John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (London: Faber, 1986), 285.
53. Thio, 101.
54. Ibid.
55. Kisaka, 244–45.
56. "Daitōa Kaigi Kanren Shiryō" [Documents concerning the Greater East Asia Conference] (GGS) and "Dai Tōa Kyōdōsengen" [Greater East Asian Joint Declaration], 2–3.
57. The Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941, <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/atlantic.htm>.
58. Ibid.
59. Yoshimoto in the TV program *Miyoshi Jūrō : ETV 2001 Honoo no Hito Miyoshi Jūrō* [Miyoshi Jūrō, a Person of Fire], April 23, 2001, NHK/ETV.
60. Takeuchi, "Nihon no Ajiashugi," 10–11.
61. The Times (London), February 13, 1942.
62. Lee Kuan Yew, *Towards Socialism*, vol. 5 (Singapore: Government Printing Office, 1962), 10–11.
63. See Otabe, 134–60 for more anecdotes.
64. E. J. H. Corner, *Omoide no Shōnan Hakubutsukan* [Shōnan Museum in my Memory], trans. Ishii Mikiko (Chūkō Shinsho, 1981), 4–5.
65. Tokugawa Yoshichika, *Saigo no Tonosama* [The Last Lord] (Kōdansha, 1973), 74–75.
66. Frederick Whyte, "Japan's Purpose in Asia: An Appreciation of Japan's War Potential, Strategic Position, and Foreign Policy," (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1941), 30.
67. Ibid.
68. *The Syonan Shinbun*, August 21, 1945.

Conclusion

1. Japan's official translation of the *Imperial Rescript of August 14, 1945*, in Robert J. C. Butow, *Japan's Decision to Surrender* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1954), 248. For the original, see *Nihon Gaikō Nenpyū narabi ni Shuyōmonjo* [Chronology and Major Documents of Japan's Foreign Policy], ed. Gaimushō (Hara Shobō, 1965–1966), vol. 2, 573–74.
2. Low Ngiong Ing, *When Singapore was Syonan-to* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1973), 132.
3. Fouad Ajami, "The End of Pan-Arabism," *Foreign Affairs* 57, no. 2 (Winter 1978/79): 357.
4. See Geoffrey Best, "Peace Conferences and the Century of Total War: The 1899 Hague Conference and What Came After," *International Affairs* 75, no. 3 (July 1999): 619–34.
5. "Tōa Shinchitsujo Seifu Seimei," *Shuyōmonjo*, vol. 2, 401.
6. Arika Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 121.
7. Ozaki at the 76th Debating Session, as given in Eizawa Kōji, "*Daitōa Kyōeiken no Shisō* [The Ideas Behind the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere"] (Kōdansha, 1995), 211.
8. Yomota Inuhiko, "*Ajia wa Ima Sendake Aru*" [Now, There Are a Thousand Asias], *Asahi Shimbun*, February 4, 2003; emphasis added.
9. Butow, 248.
10. This tautological phrase "*kokka egoizumu*" is often used as an alternative term for "national interest" in leftist accounts of the Fifteen Years' War.
11. John Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest* (New York: Bryan, Taylor, 1894), 3.
12. Nakao Michio, *Nihon Senji Shisō no Kenkyū—Nihon Seishin to Tōa Kyōdōtai* [A Study of Japan's Wartime Philosophies: Japanese Spirit and Greater Asia Cooperative Body] (Kōseisha Kōseikaku, 2001), ii.
13. Tokutomi Iichirō, *Shōrisha no Hissui* [The Inevitable Fall of the Victor] (Kōdansha, 1952), 52.
14. Frederick Whyte, "Japan's Purpose in Asia: An Appreciation of Japan's War Potential, Strategic Position, and Foreign Policy," (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1941), 46.

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