- Succeeded the Meiji era (1868-1912) characterised by authoritarian rule under oligarchs
- Post-World War One context of Japan
- Taisho Democracy (1912-26): Liberal and democratic trend across political, cultural and socio-economic spheres
 - Under Emperor Taisho until death in December 1926
- 1920s: flourishing of liberalism
 - Heralded by 1918 appointment of Prime Minister Hara Takashi
- Influences of Western-style liberalism and traditional Shinto-nationalism

#1 Success: Budding political democracy through structural reforms (top-down)

Party politics

- 1900 Ito Hirobumi established Seiyukai
 - Brought to prominence by Hara Takashi in 1918
- 1916 Kenseikai founded by merging 3 smaller parties
- 1922 Japanese Communist Party founded

Jansen: Power shifting from Meiji oligarchs to bureaucrats and zaibatsu

- 1918 Hara Takashi appointed to PM
 - First commoner background
 - Seiyukai
- 1924: PM Kato from Kenseikai
 - 3-party coalition government

Political representation granted

 1925 Universal Male Suffrage expanded electorate from 3 million to 14 million

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Expanded political representation promulgated equity, growing power of democratic will to enact legislative change

Scale: Unprecedented diversification of political spectrum, increase in representation

Conservative leaning Seiyukai to anarchist
 Communist Party

Symbolic and historic Prime Ministership of Hara Kei

- Common person able to risk the ranks = social mobility
- Destruction of feudal class restriction

Critical analysis: Japan only in infant stages, far from full-fledged democracy

- 1, Asymmetry of power still remained between bureaucrats and their electorate
 - Only 20% of population could vote
 - Low regard for peasants and workers

2,

- Hara Kei used gerry-mandering and pork barrel politics in 1918 to rig Seiyukai majority
- Perceived corruption zaibatsu, bureaucrats and party politicians all part of elite
 - Seiyukai = Mitsui cabinet (1927-29)
 - Miniseito = Mitsubishi cabinet (1929-30)

#2 Success: Rise in feminist culture, spread liberal ideals accompanying Westernisation

Awakening of feminist movement with influx of Western fashion and media

Pyle: Taisho democracy sowed seeds for increased representation in male-dominated society

Rise of the liberal moga (social + cultural)

- Seito magazine propagated the liberal moga
 - o influential females Akiko and Raicho
- Counter-narrative against conservative magazines
 - Shunfu no Tomo (The Housewife's Friend)
- 1920 New Women's Association
 - Women's rights organisation for education, politics and work
- 60% female workforce

Socio-political involvement

- 1922 revision of Article 5 Police Law
 - Previously forbade women from attending political meetings
- Scale: Led majority of 1918 Rice Riots

Resistance against **deeply ingrained** female oppression - embedded in Meiji slogan "good wife, wise mother"

Gordon - despite liberal moga majority of Japanese viewed them as 'un-Japanese', no acceptance

- → Evaluation: **PYLE** more convincing.
- **1, Nascent** socio-political consciousness Resistance against **deeply ingrained** female oppression

Meiji slogan "good wife, wise mother"

- 2, Breakthrough: endorsement for feminism
 - Lower House supported 1925 Election Law (suffrage bill)
 - Resounding popular support by male feminists like Junichiro and Takeo

3, LT impact - smoother transition into post-war society.

- 1931: Suffrage bill defeated by conservative pressure in Upper House of Diet
- BUT feminist movements sowed seeds for suffrage in 1945.

#3 Success: Politicisation of the masses, breaking the mould of *Kokutai* national polity (bottom-up)

Urban activism (students and labour) challenged institutional power

<u>Labour</u>

- Labour disputes increased tenfold to 497 (1919)
- 1921 Japanese Federation of Labour Unions
- 1920 Hachiman Ironworks strike 224,000 workers
- 1921 Kobe mass demonstration 35,000 workers for union rights

<u>Student</u>

- New Man Society (Tokyo University Law Faculty) - propagated minponshugi (popular will)
- Professor Minobe Director of Law Fac
- 1924 National Federation of Societies
 - Network to spread socialism, marxism, anarchism etc

Flourishing labour demonstrations despite no legal protection, hostile environment dominated by zaibatsu elites

 Bold challenge of institutional power entrenched in social hierarchy

Legislative change: 1925 revision of Police Regulation Law - removed restrictions on labour activities

Jansen - large-scale student activities were short-lived, ended in 1928 police sweeps disagree

- **1, Scale** of impact ignited movements across Tokyo and Kyoto universities
- **2, LT impact penetrated** deeply into society through emergence of mobo and moga.

United various clubs and societies Creation of a new class of politically-active, educated youth Rural social-activism shows awakening political Wide scale - nationwide uprising shows pervasive consciousness rural-liberalism • Tenant-landlord disputes rose from 256 to • Largest popular demonstration in history 2700 (1918-1926) originated in tenants in rural fishing villages 75% success rate Tenant unions mushroomed from 173 to Structural reforms 4582 (1917-1927) 1924 Tenancy Conciliation Law - legally • Encompassed 10% of all farmers addressed tenant disputes • 1926 legislation - provided farmers → Rural uprisings product of liberalism low-interest loans 1918 Rice Riots → **Pivotal shift!!** Most traditional sector of Japanese o 1 million Japanese population opposing elitist hierarchy, forcing 42 out of 47 prefectures politicians to pander to rural-liberalism **Longevity** - liberal *kokumin* ideology continued to be propagated (unification of masses) Liberalism sinking its roots and transforming traditional social structure • Shifting away from polarisation of rural and urban + class divisions #4: MIXED: Japan's inclusion in geopolitical decision-making, symbolic parity with West Treaty of Versailles - Shandong territory transferred 1, Solidified Japan's status in the region from Germany to Japan → Only Asian power to be founding member of the LoN + seat at table League of Nations - permanent member 2, Intention: Suggested by downsizing of military to Washington Conference 1922 prioritise international engagement • 4 Power Pact with USA, France, Britain 3. Economic benefits - friendly trade relations ⇒ Era of Shidehara Kijuro's diplomacy: active • USA was Japan's largest supplier of capital favouring of peaceful conferences over aggression • USA purchased 40% of Japan's exports Military spending cut from 42% of budget to 28% (1922-27)

Foreign policy frustrations due to Western

resistance :(

Liberal Shidehara diplomacy appeared to have failed

in granting Japan parity with West

- 5 Power Treaty: Curtailed Japan's foreign policy ambitions
 - Anglo-American rejection of 10:10:7
 naval ratio
- 9 Power Treaty guaranteed Chinese sovereignty
- Rejection of racial equality clause on League Covenant
- 1924 Asian Exclusion Act US immigration banned Japanese immigrants
- 1930 Hawley-Smoot Tariff on Japanese imports

 Resented disarmament, saw West as having already procured their colonies but obstructing Japan's interests in China

Magnitude: extended to resentment of all Western-style elements.

 Fuelled nationalists like Kita Ikki and Konoe to reject party politics

Sowed the seeds for the rise of militarists Capitalised upon rising anti-West sentiment to champion expansion

- 1928 assassination of Zhang Zuolin
- 1931 railway explosion

→ Veered Japan off course of liberalism, enabled by disenchantment with peaceful diplomacy. Instead transitioned into decade of forceful assertion of Japanese power

#5 Failure: Pervasive ultranationalism

Ultranationalistic politics

Shinto constitution

- Military Chief of Staff direct access to Emperor
- Army responsible to Emperor
- Ministers of War and Navy could influence cabinet formation

1925 Peace Preservation Law

 Banned changed to political structure (entrenched power)

PM Tanaka Giichi's Prime Ministership in 1927

- Heavy censorship
- Arrested 2300 in 1928-29
- 1928 banned all political parties infiltrated by Communists.
- Tokko established to monitor left-wing activity

Blocked many structural reforms from facilitating full democracy = political liberalism **short-lived**

 Ministers Ugaki and Araki endorsed ultranationalists

Tanaka = **peak** of ultra-nationalist politics

Militarisation of politics through use of state violence

Critical analysis:

Shintoism enshrined ultranationalism through Emperor deification

- Role as figurehead allowed ultranationalist elements to corrupt liberalism from within.
- Paved the way for Japan's descent into militarism.

Pervasive in civilian population

Long-term undercurrent of ultranationalism that seeped into the mindsets of population.

Ultranationalist groups

- Late 1800s: Genyosha, Black Dragon Society
- 1920s: Kokuhonsha and Blood Brotherhood League
- Kita Ikki championed military governance under deified Emperor

Political assassinations

- Hara Kei 1921
- Failed attempt by radicals of Emperor Hirohito in 1923
- Hamaguchi 1930
- Inukai 1932
- ⇒ Reflects ultranationalism **embedded** in psyche

Militaristic intensification

- PM Kato (1924-6) sent 4 disbanded army units to schools
 - Military education introduced in middle and high schools
- Perpetuated through semi-governmental organisations: youth groups, military associations, women's auxiliaries

 1890 Imperial Rescript - infiltrated education curriculum since Meiji era

Evaluative: Ultranationalism reared its head in a series of assassinations.

- Extremely significant tell of political instability, suggests unpopularity of liberal democracy.
- Fact that blatant assassinations did not incite public backlash shows how endemic ultranationalism was
- → Society tolerant towards subversion of democracy and radicalism

#6 Failure: Great Depression that catalysed collapse of liberalism

- Post-war inflation and debt
- 1923 Kanto earthquake
- 1927 Bank crisis 25% of banks failed
- 1929 Great Depression
 - Rural incomes fell from index of 100 to 33
 - Over 50% of active factories shut down
 - Silk prices fell by ¾
 - Exports lost 43% of value

Jansen: Depression and economic crises accompanied the decade of budding political liberalisation. Economics hugely contributed to continental expansion.

Fuelled anti-establishment and support for militarism

- Post-Kanto: Military, police and 3000 vigilante groups massacred 2600-6600 Korean and Chinese (scapegoat)
- Osugi Sakae (anarchist) strangled by police captain
- 9 alleged communists shot
- → Rooted in *kokutai* in bid for national polity, any divergence was deemed anti-Japanese

Rural: Suffered most from fall in silk. (Hanneman)

- Ignited support amongst 2 million rural households for military propaganda due to low incomes.
- Trigger: Supported expansion into Manchuria for resources and space

Synthesis with political weaknesses of parties - inability to deal with effects of GD undermined Taisho Democracy

#7 Failure: Underlying conservatism in party politics under guise of democracy

Elitist acts by party politicians

- 1. Pork barrel politics and gerrymandering
- Hara Kei made promises to better infrastructure in provinces that supported him
- Used redistricting to rig Seiyukai majority
- 2. Perceived corruption zaibatsu, bureaucrats and party politicians all part of elite
- Seiyukai 1927-29 deemed Mitsui Cabinet
- Minseito deemed Mitsubishi cabinet 1929
- 3. Tokenistic reforms
- 1925 male suffrage passed as a valve for growing public unrest demonstrated in growing activism
 - Passed in conjunction with 1925
 Peace Preservation Law banning political discussion
- Failed to enfranchise women
 - 1925 Election Law Upper House overruled Lower House
- Neglected peasants and workers

1.

Suggests that historic rise to power of commoner not entirely founded on popular support, but rather political manoeuvres within the confines of a conservative system.

2.

- Power still constrained in elite political circles
- Perceived corruption weakened public faith in democracy
- Penetration: Superficial championing of democracy, sustained roots of conservatism
 - Weak hold on society made it easy to topple
 - Longevity: collapsed with death of Inukai in 1932