The Anarchical Society: A Study of Regional Order in the Pre-War Japanese School

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Introduction

+ Background
  + The Era of Asia in the 21st century
  + Expansion in Asian economy and population
  + Universal international order in the 20th century
  + Hedley Bull’s Anarchical Society (1977)
    + Expansion of international order --- the Western expansion
    + The future of international order
    + The possibilities of regional order --- New medieval society?

+ Research Subject & Question
  + Universal v.s. regional order before 1945
    + Universal international order --- modern and Western
    + Regional orders --- East Asian Community etc.
  + How did Japanese IR scholars support a regional order before 1945?

I. Historical Background

+ I-A. The Universal Order (1919-1939)
  + The Versailles System (1919-1939)
  + The Washington System (1921-1931/37)
    + The Nine Power Treaty
      + The U.S. Open-Door Policy toward China
      + Japan’s special interests on China

II. Acceptance of the Western IR in Japan

+ II-A. International Politics in J Academics
  + Jumpei Shinobu (1871-1962)
    + The Series of International Politics (1925-26)
  + Hikomatsu Kamikawa (1889-1988)
    + The League of Nations and the Policy (1927)
  + Masamichi Rōyama (1895-1980)
    + International Politics and International Administrations (1928)

III. Transformation toward the New Regional Order

+ III-A. The Manchuria Incident (1931)
  + Jumpei Shinobu
    + The Study of Japanese Special Interests on Manchuria and Mongol (1932)
  + Masamichi Rōyama
    + The Study of the Relationship between Japan and Manchuria (1933)
  + Universal order v.s. Japan’s special interests
    + Shinobu still supported the contemporary international law regime. On the contrary, Rōyama took one step toward an inquiry into an alternative regional order.
III. Transformation toward the New Regional Order

- III-B. The New Regional Order
  - Practice and theory for the regional order
    - The Monroe Doctrine in the U.S.
    - The Lebensraum (Living Space) in Germany
    - "East Asian Community" in Japan
  - The Japan Association of International Law
    - The Series of the East Greater Asia International Law
  - Hikomatsu Kamikawa
    - "General Study of the League of East Asia" (1940)
    - "Study on the New World Order" (1942)
    - ‘Basic Conditions of Foundations for the Continental Confederation’ (1942)

IV. The Theory of East Asian Community

- IV-A. Masamichi Rōyama
  - The East Asia and the World: the policy toward the New Order (1941)
  - “The Theory of East Asian Community” (1938)
  - “The Foundations of the National Community” (1939)
  - “The Prospective of the New World Order” (1939)

- IV-B. "The Theory of East Asian Community"
  - A. Awakening of East Asia
    - Eastern as Eastern against Western
  - B. Unification of East Asia
    - Beyond nationalism toward unification
    - Regionalism: regional defense and development
  - C. East Asian Community
    - Sense of regional destiny
    - Japanese political movement

- IV-B-2. “The Foundations of the National Community”
  - A. Nation state and national community
  - B. Moral foundation as national polity (Kokutai)
    - Sōn’nō
    - Jyōi
  - C. Economical and political reconstruction
    - Controlled and planned economy
    - Unified and totalitarian political society

IV-B-3. “The Prospective of the New World Order”

- The relationship between East Asia and the world
  - Structural
    - Special and universal
    - Japanese special interests over China
  - Practical
    - Reality and ideal
    - Japanese ideal over East Asian reality

Conclusion

- Assessment on the theory of EAC
  - Reality and ideal
    - The theory of EAC had no effect on the dominant IR theories because of no validity to explain reality.
  - The expansion of international order
    - Hedley Bull: the expansion of international order
    - The shrinking of the regional order before 1945
    - The new possibility of regional order and the idea of regional theory in the 21st century
  - Implication: theory and practice
    - The theory of EAC at least served to justify Japan’s invasion and domination of Asian countries.