

Emergence of Mass Society

New Themes

- Culture/Identity
- Empire
- Capital(ism)
- Mass society (the masses)

Locating “the people”

Nation-State

Mass

- Mass society
- Mass culture
- Mass politics
- Mass media
- Mass economy



1905 Hibiya Riot



“The Social Problem”
shakai mondai-社会問題

The Social Problem

- *shakai-mondai* = *soziale frage*
- new problems:
 - urban poverty
 - urban protest
 - crime
 - pollution

Political Parties

- *Jiyūtō* and *Kaishintō* agitated for national assembly 1874-84 (*jiyūminken undō*)
- Not part of the imagined constitutional order
- Party government arose from details of budgeting in relations between upper and lower house

The Emergence of the *Zaibatsu* in the 1910s

- Zaibatsu (財閥)
- Industrial Conglomerates, Holding Companies, with a bank at the center
- Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, Sumitomo....

New Ideologies

- Liberalism
- Cosmopolitanism
- Feminism
- Marxism
- Imperialism
- Fascism

Minobe Tatsukichi's “Organ Theory” (1913)

Organ Theory (機関説)

Emperor is an “organ” of the Constitutional
Order

Organ Theory

...from the viewpoint of legal theory, I believe it is a very mistaken idea to say the monarch is the possessor of the governmental power... Still, the highest source of the empire's authority is undoubtedly the emperor.”

Meiji Constitution, 1889

- Article 4. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

Organ Theory

However, a theory very different from this has been widely adopted...According to this theory absolutely no interference by the parliament is allowed in connection with [imperial prerogatives listed in the constitution]; that is, it is not permissible to decide any matter connected with these with these items by a law [passed by the Diet].

Organ Theory

Laws...come into existence with the approval of the emperor, so even if matters of administrative organization were to have been decided by laws, there should not be the least objection to seeing this as the emperor's having made the decision.

Organ Theory

Some persons say that each minister may independently offer advice to the emperor without the necessity of consulting with other ministers or without having to go through the PM. However, this is a terrible mistake... Whether it is diplomatic, military, financial, educational, or, in general, any matter of domestic administration, no important matter can be settled by only the minister within whose competence it falls. It must be settled by discussions of the entire cabinet.

The only exception to this is matters of military secrecy.

Yoshino Sakuzo's *Minponshugi* (1916)

- Minshushugi (民主主義) = Popular
Sovereignty
- Minponshugi (民本主義) = Government
Based on the People
- “Democracy is a theory of politics, not of law.”



“Democracy is a theory of politics, not of law.”

Minponshugi

...there cannot be the slightest doubt that the words “popular sovereignty” are inappropriate to a country like ours, which from the beginning has been unmistakably monarchical...I believe it is very clear that while “popular sovereignty” and “democracy” may seem similar, they differ a great deal in substance, for “democracy” ...constitutes the fundamental spirit common to the constitutions of all modern countries.

Minponshugi

Democracy is not contingent on where legal theory locates sovereignty. It merely implies that in the exercise of this sovereignty, the sovereign should always make it his policy to value the well-being and opinions of the people.... There is no doubt that even in a monarchy this principle can be honored.... The first requirement of democracy, then, is that the ultimate end of the exercise of political power be the good of the people....

Minponshugi

In this connection I must turn to the small, enlightened intellectual class in the upper ranks of society and express the hope that they themselves reach a true understanding of constitutional ideas and become conscious of their duty to guide the common people.