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War, was reprinted thereafter by men who held that Kita's gloomy forebodings about the need for a thorough reformation of Japanese society as a prerequisite to leadership of a revolutionary Asia had been amply borne out by the events which followed his death.

KITA IKKI
Plan for the Reorganization of Japan

An Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan (Nihon keizai hōon tōki) contained Kita's suggestions for changes necessary in Japanese society. Written in 1919 while Kita was still in Shanghai, the book was printed secretly and passed from hand to hand by Kita's associates. In 1920 its distribution was forbidden by the police. In 1923, after major revisions, the book was published, only to be banned again shortly afterward. A third edition came in 1926, but it too was later banned.

The Outline Plan, of which the opening section is given below, consists of cryptic announcements of steps to be taken followed by notes which justify the steps and anticipate probable objections.

[From Nihon keizai hōon, pp. 6-14]

At present the Japanese empire is faced with a national crisis unparalleled in its history; it faces disaster at home and abroad. The vast majority of the people feel insecure in their livelihood and they are on the point of taking a lesson from the collapse of European societies, while those who monopolize political, military, and economic power simply hide themselves and, quaking with fear, try to maintain their unjust position. Abroad, neither England, America, Germany, nor Russia has kept its word, and even our neighbor China, which long benefited from the protection we provided through the Russo-Japanese War, not only has failed to repay us but instead enshrines us. Truly we are a small island, completely isolated in the Eastern Sea. One false step and our nation will again fall into the desperate state of crisis—disasters at home and abroad—that marked the period before and after the Meiji Restoration.

The only thing that brightens the picture is the sixty million fellow countrymen with whom we are blessed. The Japanese people must develop a profound awareness of the great cause of national existence and of the people's equal rights, and they need an unerring, discriminating grasp of the complexities of économic and foreign thought. The Great War in Europe was, like Noah's flood, Heaven's punishment on them for arrogant and rebellious ways. It is of course natural that we cannot look to the Europeans, who are out of their minds because of the great destruction, for a completely detailed set of plans. But in contrast Japan, during those five years of destruction, was blessed with five years of fulfillment. Europe needs to talk about reconstruction, while Japan must move on to reorganization. The entire Japanese people, thinking calmly from this perspective which is the result of Heaven's rewards and punishments, should, in planning how the great Japanese empire should be reorganized, petition for a manifestation of the imperial prerogative embodying "a national opinion in which no dissenting voice is heard, by the organization of a great union of the Japanese people." Thus, by lending to the emperor, a basis for national reorganization can be set up.

Truly, our seven hundred million brothers in China and India have a path to independence other than that offered by our guidance and protection. And for our Japan, whose population has doubled within the past fifty years, great areas adequate to support a population of at least two hundred and forty or fifty millions will be absolutely necessary a hundred years from now. For a nation, one hundred years are like a hundred days for an individual. How can those who are anxious about these inevitable developments, or who grieve over the desperate conditions of neighboring countries, find their solace in the effeminate pacifism of doctrinaire socialism? I do not necessarily rule out social progress by means of the class struggle. But still, just what kind of so-called science is it that can close its eyes to the competition between peoples and nations which has taken place throughout the entire history of mankind? At a time when the authorities in the European and American revolutionary creeds have found it completely impossible to arrive at an understanding of the "gospel of the sword" because of their superficial philosophy, the noble Greece of Asian culture must complete her national reorganization on the basis of her own national policy. At the same time, let her lift the virtuous banner of an Asian league and take the leadership in a world federation which must come. In so doing let her proclaim to the world the Way of Heaven in which all are children of Buddha, and let her set the example which the world must follow. So the ideas of people like those who oppose arming the nation are after all simply childish.
SECTION ONE: THE PEOPLE'S EMPEROR

Suspension of the Constitution. In order for the emperor and the people in the cause of reorganization. The necessity for suspension of the Constitution is that these people seek protection under the law codes enacted under it. The reason martial law must be proclaimed is that it is essential for the freedom of the nation that there be no restraint in suppressing the opposition which will come from the above groups.

(Note 1: In extraordinary times, the authorities should, of course, ignore harmful opinions and votes. To regard any sort of constitution or parliament as an absolute authority is to act in direct imitation of the English and American semi-accented "democracy." Those who do so are the absolute conservatives who hide the real meaning of "democracy." They are as ridiculous as those who try to argue national policy on the basis of the Shinto mythological High Plain of Heaven. It cannot be held that in the discussion of plans for naval expansion Admiral Togo's vote was not worth more than the three cast by miserable members of the Diet, or that in voting on social programs a vote by Karl Marx is less just than seven cast by Okura Kizachiro. The effect of government by vote, which has prevailed hitherto is really nothing more than a maintenance of the traditional order; its puts absolute emphasis on numbers and ignores those who would put a premium on quality.

(Note 2: Those who look upon a coup d'etat as an abuse of power in behalf of a conservative autocracy ignore history. Napoleon's coup d'etat in refusing to cooperate with reactionary elements, offered the only oust for the Revolution at a time when the parliament and the press were alive with royalist elements. And even though one sees in the Russian Revolutionary an incident in which Lenin dissolved the parliament and filled it with obstructionists, the popular view is that the coup d'etat is a reactionary act.

(Note 3: A coup d'etat should be looked upon as a direct manifestation of the authority of the nation; that is, of the will of society. The progressive leaders have all arisen from popular groups. They arise because of political leaders like Napoleon and Lenin. In the reorganization of Japan, there must be a manifestation of the power inherent in a coalition of the people and sovereign.

(Note 4: The reason why the Diet must be dissolved is that the nobility and the wealthy upon whom it depends are incapable of standing with the emperor and the people in the cause of reorganization. The necessity for suspension of the Constitution is that these people seek protection under the law codes enacted under it. The reason martial law must be proclaimed is that it is essential for the freedom of the nation that there be no restraint in suppressing the opposition which will come from the above groups.

However, it will also be necessary to suppress those who propagate a useless and half-understood translation of outside revolutionary creeds to the agents of reorganization.)

The True Significance of the Emperor. The fundamental doctrine of the emperor as representative of the people and as pillar of the nation must be made clear.

In order to clarify this, a sweeping reform of the imperial court in the spirit of the Emperor Jinnmu in founding the state and in the spirit of the great Meiji emperor will be carried out. The present Privy Councilors and other officials will be dismissed from their posts, and in their place will come talent, sought throughout the realm, capable of assisting the emperor.

A Consultative Council (Kōmonia) will be established to assist the emperor. Its members, fifty in number, will be appointed by the emperor. A member of the Consultative Council must tender his resignation to the emperor when the cabinet takes action against him or whenever the Diet passes a vote of non-confidence against him. However, the Council members are by no means responsible to either the cabinet or to the Diet.

(Note 1: Japan's national policy has evolved through three stages, and the meaning of "emperor" has also evolved through three stages. The first stage, from the Fujiwara to the Taira, was one of absolute monarchy. During this stage, the emperor possessed all land and people as his private property in theory, and he had the power of life and death over the people. The second stage, from the Minamoto to the Tokugawa, was one of aristocracy. During this period military leaders and nobility in each area brought land and people of their locality under their personal control; they fought wars and made alliances among themselves as rulers of smaller territories. Consequently the emperor's significance was different from what it had been. He now, like the Roman pope, conferred honor upon the Bakufu, the leader of the petty princes, and showed him-
self the traditional center of the national faith. Such a development can be compared with the role of the Roman pope in crowning the Holy Roman Emperor, leader of the various lords in the Middle Ages in Europe. The third stage, one of a democratic state, began with the Meiji Revolution, which emancipated the samurai and commoners, newly awakened, from their status as private property of their shogun and feudal lords. Since then the emperor has a new significance as the true center of government and politics. Ever since, as the commanding figure in the national movement and as complete representative of the modern democratic country, he has become representative of the nation. In other words, since the Meiji Revolution Japan has become a modern democratic state with the emperor as political nucleus. Is there any need whatever for us to import a direct translation of the "democracy" of others as though we lacked something? The struggle between those who stubbornly talk about national policy and those who are interested with Europe and America, both without a grasp of the background of the present, is a very ominous portent which may cause an explosion between the emperor and the people. Both sides must be warned of this folly.

(Note 2: There is no scientific basis whatever for the belief of the democracies that a state which is governed by representatives voted in by the electorate is superior to a state which has a system of government by a particular person. Every nation has its own national spirit and history. It cannot be maintained, as advocates of this theory would have it, that China during the first eight years of the republic was more rational than Belgium, which continued rule by a single person. The "democracy" of the Americans derives from the very unsophisticated theory of the time which held that society came into being through a voluntary contract based upon the free will of individuals; these people, emigrating from each European country as individuals, established communities and built a country. But their theory of the divine right of voters is a half-witted philosophy which arose in opposition to the theory of the divine right of kings at that time. Now Japan certainly was not founded in this way, and there has never been a period in which Japan was dominated by a half-witted philosophy. Suffice it to say that the system whereby the head of state has to struggle for election by a long-winded self-advertisement and by exposing himself to ridicule like a low-class actor seems a very strange custom to the Japanese people, who have been brought up in the belief that silence is golden and that modesty is a virtue.)

(Note 3: The imperial court today has restored corrupt customs of the Middle Ages and has moreover added others which survived in European courts; truly it has drifted far from the spirit of the founder of the nation—a supreme commander above an equal people. The revolution under the great Meiji emperor restored and modernized this spirit. Accordingly at that time a purification of the imperial court was carried out. The necessity for doing this a second time is that when the whole national structure is being reorganized fundamentally we cannot simply leave the structure of the Court in its present state of disrepair.)

(Note 4: The provision for censure of members of the Consultative Council by cabinet and Diet is required in view of the present situation in which many men do as they please and the excuse that they are duty-bound to help the Emperor. The obstinacy and arrogance of the members of the Privy Council is not very different from that of the court officials in Russia before the revolution. The men who ('cause trouble for the emperor are men of this kind.)

The Abolition of the Peerage System. The peerage system will be abolished, and the spirit of the Meiji Restoration will be clarified by removal of this barrier which has come between the emperor and the people.

The House of Peers will be abolished and replaced by a Council of Deliberation (Shingiin), which shall consider action taken by the House of Representatives.

The Council of Deliberation will be empowered to reject decisions taken by the House of Representatives at a single time. The members of the Council of Deliberation will consist of distinguished men in many fields of activity, elected by each other and appointed by the emperor.

(Note 1: The Restoration Revolution, which destroyed government by the aristocracy, was carried out determinedly; for it also confiscated the estates of the aristocracy. It went much farther than did European countries, for with the single exception of France they were unable to dispose of the medieval estates of earlier days. But with the death of men like the great Saigen, who embodied the revolutionary spirit, men like Hirobumi, with no understanding of our advancement, and men who simply acted as attendants in the Revolution, imitated and transplanted)
backward aristocratic and medieval privileges which had survived in Western countries. To abolish the peerage system is to abandon a system translated directly from Europe and to return to the earlier Meiji Revolution. Do not jump to the conclusion that this is a shortcoming we are seeking to correct. We have already advanced further than some other countries as a democratic country.)

(Note 2: The reason a bicameral system is subject to fewer errors than a unicameral system is that in very many cases public opinion is emotional, uncritical and changeable. For this reason the upper house will be made up of distinguished persons in many fields of activity instead of medieval relics.)

Universal Suffrage. All men twenty-five years of age, by their rights as people of Great Japan, will have the right, freely and equally, to stand for election to and to vote for the House of Representatives. The same will hold for local self-government assemblies.

Women will not have the right to participate in politics.

(Note 1: Although a tax qualification has determined suffrage in other countries and this system was first initiated in England, where the Parliament was originally set up to supervise the use of tax money collected by the Crown, in Japan we must establish it as a fundamental principle that suffrage is the innate right of the people. This universal suffrage must not be interpreted as a lowering of the tax qualification on grounds that all men pay at least indirect taxes. Rather, suffrage is a "duty of the people" in the same sense that military service is a "duty of the people.")

(Note 2: The duty of the people to defend the country cannot be separated from their duty to participate in its government. As the fundamental human right of the Japanese people, there is no reason why the Japanese should be like the slaves in the Roman Empire or like the serfs driven from the imperial gate during the monarchical age—simply ruled, having to live and die under orders from a ruling class. Nothing can infringe upon the right and duty of suffrage under any circumstances. Therefore officers and soldiers on active service, even if they are overseas, should elect and be elected without any restrictions.)

(Note 3: The reason for the dear statement that "Women will not have the right to participate in politics" is not that Japanese women today have not yet awakened. Whereas the code of chivalry for knights in medieval Europe called for honoring women and gaining their favor, in medieval Japan the samurai esteemed and valued the person of woman on approximately the same level as they did themselves, while it became the accepted code for women to honor the men and gain their favor. This complete contrast in developments has penetrated into all society and livelihood, and continues into modern history—there has been agitation by women for suffrage abroad while here women have continued devoted to the task of being good wives and wise mothers. Politics is a small part of human activity. The question of the place of women in Japan will be satisfactorily solved if we make an institutional reorganization which will guarantee the protection of woman's rights to be "mother of the nation and wife of the nation." To make women accustomed to verbal warfare is to do violence to their natural aptitude; it is more terrible than using them in the line of battle. Anyone who has observed the stupid talkativeness of Western women or the piercing quarrels among Chinese women will be thankful that Japanese women have continued on the right path. Those who have developed good trends should let others who have developed bad trends learn from them. For this reason, one speaks today of a time of fusion of Eastern and Western civilization. But the ugliness of direct and uncritical borrowing can be seen very well in the matter of woman suffrage.)

The Restoration of the People's Freedom. The various laws which have restricted the freedom of the people and impaired the spirit of the constitution in the past—the Civil Service Appointment Ordinance, the Peace Preservation police law, the Press Act, the Publication Law, and similar measures—will be abolished.

(Note: This is obviously right. These laws work only to maintain all sorts of cliques.)

The National Reorganization Cabinet. A Reorganization Cabinet will be organized while martial law is in effect; in addition to the present ministries, it will have ministries for industries and several Ministers of State without Portfolio. Members of the Reorganization Cabinet will not be chosen from the present military, bureaucratic, financial, and party cliques, but this task will be given to outstanding individuals selected throughout the whole country.

All the present prefectural governors will be dismissed from their offices, and National Reorganization Governors will be appointed by the same method of selection as given above.)
THE CONSERVATIVE REAL AffIRMATION

During the years in which the conservative movement was in ascendancy, Russia and Germany were also engaged in the reorganization of their government and economy. The conservative leadership in both countries believed that the only way to achieve stability and progress was to strengthen the central authority and suppress radical elements. This was achieved through a series of reforms that included the establishment of a strong executive, the suppression of political parties, and the concentration of power in the hands of the rulers.

The conservative movement was a reaction to the radical movements of the previous decades, which had resulted in revolutions and revolutions. The conservatives believed that the only way to save the country from revolution was to return to the traditional values of order and hierarchy. They believed that the only way to achieve this was to strengthen the central authority and suppress the radical elements.

The conservative movement was also supported by the business community, which saw in the conservatives a way to protect their interests. The conservatives were able to attract the support of the business community by promising to stabilize the economy and to protect the interests of the business owners.

The conservative movement was not without its critics, who accused it of being too conservative and too insensitive to the needs of the people. However, the conservatives were able to maintain their grip on power by suppressing the radical movements and by appealing to the business community.

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