



# The Manchurian Incident

*Westwood MUNC VII*



## 滿洲事變

Delegates,

Since WestwoodMUNCVII is being run as an entirely crisis-based conference, it is crucial for newcomers to be familiar with the rules of procedure, as it does diverge from some of the more traditional general assembly procedures. Please see below for a quick rundown of most of the rules we will be following for the duration of the conference:

I. Overview:

Crisis committees are run differently from “normal” Model UN committees. Because they run at a very fast pace, each committee is run in a series of moderated caucus, designed to maintain a rapid flow of debate, helping delegates adjust to crisis updates and such. The rest of the committee follows normal parliamentary procedure with a few notable exceptions.

II. Format:

As previously stated, the format of debate differs slightly from a general assembly in a crisis simulation. There is no speakers list and therefore, the default method of debate is the moderated caucus. Chairs will require the first motion being a round robin so as to ascertain the positions of others in the committee. This will serve as a good jumping off point to see who delegates are most likely to work with and who is most likely to get in the way of achieving their goals. After that, delegates will be able to motion for the “traditional” (un)moderated caucuses, round robins, straw polls, voting procedure, etc. In order to make any of these motions, a delegate must be recognized by the chair after raising their placards. Points and motions may be made between speakers, though note

that right of replies are rarely granted and are only allowed when serious insult to national or personal integrity has occurred.

### III. Public Directives:

Delegates do not work to pass resolutions. Rather, they will pass a series of directives that are binding, take effect immediately and can potentially alter the course of events for the entire crisis simulation. A directive is a specific action that the committee wishes to take. Unlike resolutions, directives do not include preambulatory clauses; instead, delegates will directly state specific orders, similar to operative clauses, following the title and the sponsors and signatories list.

### IV. Personal Directives:

Additionally, individual members of the committee may pass personal directives depending on their particular position, potentially contributing to individual crisis arcs. These directives can range from allocating funds for renewable energy to carrying out assassinations. These actions do not need to be passed by the committee at large and their effectiveness is determined by their feasibility and the crisis staff. It is suggested that delegates refrain from sharing what personal directives they are planning as they should be used to achieve personal objectives that might not always align with the interests of the committee as a whole. These directives are sent to the crisis backroom, who determines whether or not the directive will change the course of the committee.

### V. Communication:

Communication is an essential part of any crisis simulation, and is especially a vital tool when delegates are required to respond to crisis updates. At the beginning of the conference, delegates will be provided with a pen and a pad of paper. They may use the paper to write notes to each other, write up directives, or organize thoughts. Regarding note passing: delegates may pass notes to each other during committee while other members are speaking, but this privilege may be revoked by the chair should it distract from the debate. Specifics about note passing will be addressed at the beginning of the first committee session by the chair. Technology, like computers and cell phones, are not allowed during debate.

#### VI. Conference Prep:

In order to prepare for this conference, it is *strongly* recommended that each delegate consolidate their thoughts and strategy by writing a position paper. Delegates that do not submit a paper by the deadline below will not be eligible for awards. Position papers should:

- Be 1-2 pages in length single spaced, 12 point font
- Describe your role's position and what they contribute to the issue
- Address specific questions from the Background Guide that are relevant to your role
- Outline your role's likely optimal resolution and steps you need to take to achieve it
- MLA or Chicago style citations along with a Works Cited or Bibliography

Please email your position paper to your chairs no later than ***11:59 pm on Sunday, April 21st*** so that they have adequate time to read them. To qualify for any awards you must submit a position paper by emailing it to [24elu@wpsstudents.org](mailto:24elu@wpsstudents.org) or [25jxu@wpsstudents.org](mailto:25jxu@wpsstudents.org). Once again, please feel free to email your chairs or crisis director with any questions you may have regarding conference policies or procedures.

Best,

WestwoodMUNCVII Staff

Dear Delegates,

My name is Ethan Lu, and I am elated to be your chair for the Manchurian Incident committee this year. I'm a senior at WHS, and apart from Model UN, I participate in French Club and founded my school's Quizbowl Club. I love history to death, and MUN is an excellent opportunity to engage in and share my enthusiasm with you all.

The leadup to World War II is often analyzed from the perspectives of North American and European countries, but the situation of pre-war Japan is almost as ignored as it is unique and fascinating. Japan's complex political and military struggles, combined with the contradictions of its foreign and colonial policies in China, herald precious insights about the disposition of Asia before WWII and a society torn between the ideals of liberal democracy and militarist nationalism. As fascinating as the subject is, however, it is also fraught with controversial and traumatic legacies whose impacts still reverberate through the world to this day. I ask delegates to refrain from using offensive or discriminatory language in debate and in other proceedings, to be sensitive to the topic and to others overall, and to work together to make this committee fun and rewarding for everyone involved.

MUN allows us to engage in important topics that hold valuable lessons in domestic and international affairs. I hope you will find this topic as illuminating as I find it. I can't wait to see all of your creative, nuanced, and thoughtful proposals, actions, and research. Please feel free to email me at [24elu@wpsstudents.org](mailto:24elu@wpsstudents.org) with any questions or to submit your position paper.

Remember that all papers are due by Sunday, April 21st in order to be considered for awards.

Best,

Ethan

Dear Delegates,

My name is Jasper Xu and I am a junior at Westwood High School. This is my second year doing Model UN, and I'm excited to co-chair this committee. Outside of MUN, I enjoy hiking, playing tennis, and reading. I hope everyone is exuberant for this conference, and I look forward to seeing everyone in person. If you have any questions or are looking to submit your position paper, feel free to contact me at [25jxu@wpsstudents.org](mailto:25jxu@wpsstudents.org).

Best,

Jasper

## Note on Names

All East Asian names in this background guide are written with the family name first (i.e. Wakatsuki Reijirō, not Reijirō Wakatsuki). All Chinese names are rendered in Pinyin, unless the traditional Wade-Giles romanisation is more famous (i.e. Chiang Kai-Shek, not Jiang Jieshi).

## Committee Overview

In 1931, the Empire of Japan is a major world power, with one of the largest navies and holding dominion over colonies across the Asia-Pacific.<sup>1</sup> Among Japan's overseas holdings is the South Manchuria Railway, a rail network through the major cities of the Northeast Chinese region of Manchuria. It is the primary instrument of Japanese control in the area, overseeing most of its economic activities and protected by the Kwantung Army, part of the Imperial Japanese Army.<sup>2</sup> On September 18, 1931, an explosion occurs near the main rail corridor near Mukden (modern-day Shenyang). Kwantung Army elements blame local Chinese forces and begin fighting them and seizing Chinese territory.<sup>3</sup>

This committee involves members of the Japanese Cabinet as well as other prominent politicians, bureaucrats, commanders, and more in late September 1931 to discuss the unfolding invasion of Manchuria. Delegates will grapple with the implications that the independent action of the Kwantung Army will have on Japanese politics and government, as well as managing

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<sup>1</sup> Ian Nish, "An Overview of Relations between China and Japan, 1895-1945," *The China Quarterly*, no. 124 (1965): 615.

<sup>2</sup> Mike Klein, "Manchoukuo: Come for the Prosperity, Stay for the Harmony: Worlds Revealed," The Library of Congress, June 25, 2021, <https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2021/06/manchoukuo-come-for-the-prosperity-stay-for-the-harmony/>.

<sup>3</sup> Robert H Ferrell, "The Mukden Incident: September 18-19, 1931," *The Journal of Modern History* 27, no. 1 (1955): 66-67.



Japan's relations with China and the international community writ-large in the wake of the active campaign to seize what the world considers sovereign Chinese territory.

## **Fukoku Kyōhei**

As it prosecuted the invasion of Manchuria, Japan was a vastly different nation from what it had been even half a century prior. Since then, the Land of the Rising Sun has undergone societal, political, and technological upheaval, beginning with the *Meiji Ishin*, commonly known as the “Meiji Restoration.”

Following the Restoration, the 1889 Meiji Constitution nominally affirmed the power of the Emperor, while executive power really lay with the Ministers of State—the Cabinet—that the Emperor appointed on the advice of the *Genrō*, powerful elder statesmen associated with the Restoration.<sup>4</sup> Legislative power rested with the Imperial Diet—with its lower, democratic House of Representatives and upper, aristocratic House of Peers—and a supervisory role lay with the Privy Council.<sup>5</sup>

## **Ryū to Hi: The Dragon and the Sun**

In the years and decades leading up to 1931, Japanese policy towards China ranged from spells of amicable cooperation to military intervention and outright war.

Before the Russo-Japanese War, the Cabinet strongly desired Chinese neutrality in its conflict with Russia.<sup>6</sup> Afterwards, Japan expected China's gratitude for purging Russian influence from its territory, which Tōkyō believed it had managed to secure through the

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<sup>4</sup> R.P.G. Steven, “Hybrid Constitutionalism in Prewar Japan,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3, no. 1 (1977):

<sup>5</sup> Ch. 3-4, *Constitution of the Empire of Japan*, trans. Ito Miyoji.

<sup>6</sup> Nish, “An Overview of Relations” 603.

December 1905 Treaty of Peking. The treaty outlined agreements in which China recognized Japan's gains at Portsmouth and promised not to build railroads in Manchuria that would compete with the newly-Japanese-acquired South Manchuria Railway.<sup>7</sup> Beijing did not see the latter promise as a long-term commitment, however, and disputed Japan's rail monopoly for the next several years.<sup>8</sup> The Andong-Shenyang line, a damaged rail link between Japanese-controlled Korea and Shenyang (Mukden), was especially fraught with diplomatic contention and ultimately led to a Japanese ultimatum that threatened to rebuild the railway with or without Beijing's consent. China relented, and the South Manchuria Railway Company continued to sink its tracks deeper into Chinese soil.<sup>9</sup>

World War I brought Japan onto the side of the Allies, allowing it to swiftly seize the German-leased Chinese port of Qingdao in 1914.<sup>10</sup> The Japanese capture of the port city alienated China, and relations would plunge even further with the presentation of the Twenty-One Demands the following year.<sup>11</sup> The Demands were an ambitious wishlist of Japan's foreign policy goals in China, subject of heated controversy even in their home country.<sup>12</sup> China acquiesced to the Demands in a series of treaties that, among other things, extended Japan's leases on Liaodong—which lasted only until 1923 upon awarding at the Treaty of Portsmouth—and the South Manchuria Railway until 1997. The agreements resulting from the Demands engendered widespread fury in China and provoked demonstrations and anti-Japanese boycotts.<sup>13</sup> By the 1910s, the Japanese sphere of influence in Manchuria and its interests throughout China made Japan one of greatest exporters to China. China, in turn, was one of

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 604.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 607.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 117.

<sup>13</sup> Nish, "Overview of Relations," 608.

Japan's biggest customers, with trade volumes outstripping even the internal trade with Japanese-controlled Taiwan and Korea.<sup>14</sup> By the 1920s, the Japanese economy was utterly dependent on trading with China.<sup>15</sup>

## **Nanjaku Gaikō to Rikugun no Rōnin**

The political fallout of the Twenty-One Demands in Japan caused the 2nd Ōkuma Cabinet to collapse.<sup>16</sup> The Seiyūkai-supported Cabinet helmed by former Army Minister Terauchi Masatake reversed course on China policy, promising to not interfere in Chinese affairs and to respect the country's sovereignty.<sup>17</sup> Relations, however, would find little improvement as the May Fourth Movement in China saw a rise in anti-Japanese sentiment and the proliferation of anti-Japanese boycotts.<sup>18</sup> A few years later and after relations improved, the foreign powers with interests in China, including Japan, came together to sign the Nine-Power Treaty. The Treaty intended to uphold the Open-Door principles of equal competition and access to China hoping to placate Chinese nationalism.<sup>19</sup>

Tōkyō's foreign policy continued to soften with the arrival of Shidehara Kijūrō as Foreign Minister in 1924. Shidehara saw the government of Chiang Kai-Shek, leader of the Kuomintang (KMT), as Japan's best bet for a stable, friendly Chinese partner with which he could negotiate greater economic access for Japanese enterprise.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately for the Foreign Minister, Chiang's government would embark on a new diplomatic strategy at the end of the 1920s. China now demanded the full renegotiation of tariffs, extraterritoriality, and other

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 604.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 612.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 609.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 610.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Daniel Ramsdell, "The Nakamura Incident and the Japanese Foreign Office," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25, no. 1 (1965): 51.

privileges in China granted to foreign powers by previous treaties, accompanied by yet more anti-Japanese boycotts and demonstrations. All of this especially hurt Japan, which as such a major trading partner had the most to lose by conceding to China.<sup>21</sup>

When General Tanaka Giichi assumed the premiership after Minseitō Prime Minister Wakatsuki's 1927 resignation, he desired a decisive break with Shidehara's weak-kneed diplomacy and recast China policy to be bolder and more militaristic.<sup>22</sup> The new Prime Minister sent a 2,000-strong expeditionary force to Shandong in May 1927 and another force of 25,000 soldiers in April the following year to thwart the KMT's advance on Manchuria in its Second Northern Expedition.<sup>23</sup> Tanaka had not, however, ordered said force to engage in battle with Chinese troops and take over the city of Jinan, which they did under an insubordinate commander who wished to take matters into his own hands.<sup>24</sup>

## Recent Context: The Huanggutun Incident

In June 1928, a bomb brought down the bridge that a South Manchuria Railway train was crossing and killed Zhang Zuolin, a Chinese warlord.<sup>25</sup> By Tōkyō's request, he was retreating from Beijing as the KMT advanced north.<sup>26</sup> The bombing would turn out to be a plot by mid-ranking officers in the Kwantung Army who hoped to use Zhang's death as a pretext for the full conquest of Manchuria.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 613.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 614.

<sup>25</sup> Orbach, *Curse on This Country*), 181.

<sup>26</sup> Nish, "An Overview of Relations," 614.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

When word reached Tanaka of the Army's complicity in the bombing, he was enraged. Prince Saionji, the last surviving *Genrō*, pressed him to punish the perpetrators severely in order to definitively restore Army discipline. Tanaka was convinced, believing that doing otherwise would tarnish Japan's international reputation.<sup>28</sup> In an official audience, the Prime Minister received permission from the new Shōwa Emperor (Hirohito) himself to court-martial the responsible officers.<sup>29</sup>

However, Tanaka soon ran into determined opposition and a widespread effort to block a court-martial from the Army and from his own Cabinet. Seiyūkai leaders, who supported Tanaka's premiership, refused to sanction the punishment for fear of damaging Japan's international image and giving the Chinese a legitimate reason to demand the withdrawal of Japanese troops from their country.<sup>30</sup> Cabinet ultimately decided to deny any wrongdoing in Zhang's death, spurning the wishes of its Prime Minister.<sup>31</sup>

The turmoil over the assassination of Zhang Zuolin and Tanaka's attempt to punish the junior officers responsible was symptomatic of wider developments in the Army. Insubordination was theoretically punished severely in the armed forces, yet this was in practice superseded by sympathy for the nationalism that drove junior officers to such wayward schemes.<sup>32</sup> These motives were rooted in disillusionment with Shidehara's non-interventionist foreign policy, the military budget cuts pursued by Minseitō Cabinets throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s, and the government's failed efforts to undo the effects of the Great Depression through fiscal austerity.<sup>33</sup> With the failure of a concerted effort by the Prime Minister to curb Army

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Orbach, *Curse on This Country*, 183-84.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 186.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 194-95.

disobedience, a new plot began to develop; it intended to finish what Zhang's assassins had started and conquer Manchuria.<sup>34</sup>

## **Issue: The Second Train to Mukden**

The first indications to Tōkyō that something was once more brewing in Manchuria came in early September, 1931. On the night of September 18, a fateful explosion occurred along a section of the South Manchuria Railway near Mukden.<sup>35</sup> The next day, Hayashi Kyūjirō, the Japanese Consul-General in Mukden, informed Foreign Minister Shidehara of the situation and assessed that the Army had likely masterminded the explosion.<sup>36</sup> An advisor of Manchurian leader Zhang Xueliang—Zhang Zuolin's son—made multiple attempts to offer nonresistance and peaceful negotiations on his behalf in light of the suspicious explosion, which Hayashi relayed to an unreceptive Kwantung Army.<sup>37</sup> Soon enough, the Kwantung Army blamed Chinese soldiers for the explosion, and it rapidly initiated sweeping offensive operations in Mukden and other settlements along the South Manchuria Railway.<sup>38</sup>

## **Scenario: Tōhō Kaigi**

Prime Minister Baron Wakatsuki Reijirō convenes a summit of prominent political, military, business, and diplomatic leaders to discuss and decide the direction of Japanese policy towards China and Manchuria in light of the Kwantung Army's recent invasion of the latter. Ever the hopeful consensus-builder, Baron Wakatsuki hopes that this broad swath of Japanese leaders

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 191.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 66-67

will create a lasting resolution that salvages Shidehara's diplomacy and puts an end to military insubordination.

## **A Cabinet Dumbstruck**

The outbreak of hostilities in Manchuria catches the Prime Minister, his Cabinet, and the Minseitō by almost complete surprise. The current Cabinet helmed by Baron Wakatsuki Reijirō is dominated by the Rikken Minseitō (Constitutional People's Government Party), a liberal political party that formed in 1927 from its predecessor, the Kenseikai, and advocate for the superiority of the Diet and the will of the people in government.<sup>39</sup> As defenders of representative government and peaceful diplomacy in China, the Minseitō are horrified by and staunchly opposed to the Kwantung Army's aggression and insubordination, though they will be daunted by both the Army's intransigence and independence and the popular outpouring of nationalist support for the invasion that will come.<sup>40</sup>

## **A Chance for the Opposition**

The Rikken Seiyūkai (Constitutional Association of Political Friends) are a nationalist and conservative party deeply skeptical of participatory politics who favor massive government-directed spending on infrastructure and the armed forces.<sup>41</sup> The Seiyūkai have long criticized their liberal opponents, and Foreign Minister Shidehara in particular, for their

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<sup>39</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 145.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 156-57.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 130-31.

unassertive, conciliatory approach to China.<sup>42</sup> Their support was crucial to General Tanaka's Cabinet and his aggressive Chinese interventions. During the political fracas in 1928 surrounding Zhang Zuolin's assassination, Seiyūkai leaders decisively turned against him and moved to conceal the truth of the Army's preeminent role in the rogue conspiracy.<sup>43</sup> With widespread popular support for the invasion of Manchuria likely, and these past actions in mind, the party is, at least, much more naturally suited to supporting the invasion of Manchuria than the Minseitō.

## **An Army Emboldened**

The Army in 1931 is infested with ultranationalist cliques disillusioned with the civilian political establishment and has a long history of rogue action and jingoistic meddling in China, most recently resulting in the assassination of Zhang Zuolin. Though senior army leaders in Tōkyō are not directly responsible for nor have approved the actions of the Kwantung Army's junior officers, sympathetic nationalist officers who were aware of the Mukden plot appear to have successfully interrupted these efforts.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, at all levels, Army officers tend to close ranks to hide their comrades' wrongdoing if it risks embarrassment to the Army as a whole.<sup>45</sup> The Army will thus likely band together against outside scrutiny as they have before and support, politically and physically, an invasion that aligns with their nationalist and militarist ideals.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 142.

<sup>43</sup> Orbach, *Curse on This Country*, 186.

<sup>44</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 156.

<sup>45</sup> Orbach, *Curse on This Country*, 184.

<sup>46</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 156-57.



## **A Navy Split**

The invasion of Manchuria is a product of the Army, and yet the core issues and sentiments that animate the nationalist officers spearheading the offensive find similarly fertile ground among their maritime counterparts; equally present, though, are the old guard still tied to and respectful of high-level government institutions. Nationalist admirals bent on expanding the Navy despise the 1927 London Naval Treaty dedicated to restricting fleet sizes, while the Treaty Faction admirals who helped negotiate the agreement and shepherded it to ratification fought their pro-expansion counterparts to make it law.<sup>47</sup> Sympathies among naval officers will likely align with or against the Kwantung Army along these lines.

## **A Diplomatic Upheaval**

With the Kwantung Army's invasion, the Foreign Ministry is seeing its leader's prevailing diplomatic priorities in China unravel before its eyes. The Foreign Ministry will look for its representatives to work closely with the sitting cabinet to oppose the escalation of the invasion and rescue as many of their existing foreign policy objectives as possible.<sup>48</sup>

## **A Bottom Line Benefited**

The South Manchuria Railway Company is the heart of Japan's presence in Manchuria. By 1930, the rail network is the engine that powers nearly every aspect of the Manchurian economy, running everything from the coal mines where 100,000 Chinese forced laborers have

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 157.

died to the train engines that run on the products of their work. The company sees itself as the agent of Japanese-led modernization and prosperity in Manchuria, and it is happy to seize the opportunity that the Kwantung Army has given it to further extend its freedom to do business in the area.<sup>49</sup>

## Questions to Consider

1. How should the government deal with an increasingly aloof and independent military?
2. How involved should the military be in Japanese politics and foreign policy?
3. What foreign policy outcomes should Japan pursue with regards to China in the wake of the invasion?
  - a. What kind of presence does Japan want to have in Manchuria? In China as a whole?
4. How has the fundamental structure of the Japanese government affected its ability to control foreign and defense policy?
5. How will the national budget be used to influence foreign policy?

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<sup>49</sup> Mike Klein, "Manchoukuo: Come for the Prosperity, Stay for the Harmony: Worlds Revealed," The Library of Congress, June 25, 2021, <https://blogs.loc.gov/maps/2021/06/manchoukuo-come-for-the-prosperity-stay-for-the-harmony/>.

## Positions

### Cabinet/Rikken Minseitō-aligned

- Baron Shidehara Kijūrō, Minister of Foreign Affairs:
  - A longtime Foreign Minister under several Minseitō cabinets, Baron Shidehara is the architect of Japan’s current “co-existence and co-prosperity” policy towards China, firmly emphasizing peaceful, non-interventionist diplomacy with a focus on promoting economic ties.<sup>50</sup> The Foreign Minister abhors the militarism and insubordination of the Kwantung Army, having seen similar actions frustrate peaceful, amicable relations with China for years.<sup>51</sup> He will thus give his best efforts to prevent the worsening of the current situation in Manchuria.<sup>52</sup>
- Baron Wakatsuki Reijirō, the Prime Minister:
  - A former Finance Ministry bureaucrat and current member of the House of Peers, the Prime Minister has a strong sense of public service and is dedicated to building consensus across party boundaries and between government institutions like the Diet and the military, though this often puts him at odds with his party’s goals for the sake of government unity.<sup>53</sup> The PM will generally uphold liberal Minseitō stances and foreign policy and is for now united with his Cabinet in opposition to the Kwantung Army’s actions, but he hopes to preserve the government’s stability above all else.
- Adachi Kenzō, Minister of Home Affairs:

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<sup>50</sup> Nish, “Overview of Relations” 611-612.

<sup>51</sup> Ryuji Hattori, “The London Naval Conference and the Manchurian Incident.” In *Japan at War and Peace: Shidehara Kijūrō and the Making of Modern Diplomacy* (ANU Press, 2021), 174.

<sup>52</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 157.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 142.

- The Home Minister heads his own faction in the Minseitō that is bitter towards Barons Shidehara and Wakatsuki over how they denied him the opportunity to lead the party and become Prime Minister.<sup>54</sup> Adachi nominally supports but in reality dislikes the economic and foreign policy that the Cabinet has thus far pursued, and he is open to defying his party and Prime Minister should the opportunity present itself; he is kept in line by his party loyalty and perceived isolation.<sup>55</sup> As a nationalist who was himself involved in plots to engineer imperial expansion abroad, he is naturally supportive of the Kwantung Army's current plans.<sup>56</sup>
- Inoue Junnosuke, Minister of Finance:
  - The current Minister of Finance is a Minseitō stalwart who has been Finance Minister since Hamaguchi Osachi came to power in July 1929.<sup>57</sup> He thus oversaw the tough implementation of the Hamaguchi and Wakatsuki Cabinets' staunch fiscal conservatism that, among other things, tightened the military budget. His position helming this key, controversial plank of the Minseitō platform, plus his approval of Wakatsuki's takeover of the premiership, demonstrates his loyalty to his party and the policies which it carries out, including that of his colleague, Foreign Minister Shidehara.<sup>58</sup>
- Hara Shūjirō, Minister of Colonial Affairs:

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 152-53.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 158-59.

<sup>56</sup> E. Herbert Norman, "The Genyosha: A Study in the Origins of Japanese Imperialism." *Pacific Affairs* 17, no. 3 (1944): 276.

<sup>57</sup> Hattori, "London Naval Conference," 173.

<sup>58</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 149-52.

- The current Minister of Colonial Affairs is a veteran Minseitō member of the House of Representatives, having been constantly re-elected since 1912. He has also served as a director of general affairs for the Minseitō and the Kenseikai before assuming his current Cabinet post.<sup>59</sup> He is thus a leading party figure loyal to its ideals and platform, espousing the peaceful foreign policy of Foreign Minister Shidehara and naturally opposing the Manchurian invasion.
- Koizumi Matajirō, Minister of Communications:
  - The current Minister of Communications is a veteran of the House of Representatives, has held multiple senior party positions in the Minseitō and its predecessors. He previously participated in the Movement of Universal Suffrage and the second Movement to Protect the Constitution.<sup>60</sup> Koizumi's enduring prominence in liberal politics makes him a supporter of its foreign policy objectives and an opponent of the Manchurian invasion.
- Saitō Takao:
  - A respected Minseitō member of the House of Representatives, Saitō Takao is a gifted orator, an ardent defender of the Meiji Constitution, and an outspoken critic of military overreach at home and abroad.<sup>61</sup> He is a uniquely incorruptible politician who abstains from buying votes and prefers to stand by his ideals.<sup>62</sup> He steadfastly supports the Minseitō, Shidehara's diplomacy, and Wakatsuki's democratic policies, and will stridently assert his beliefs in the arena of debate.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> "Hara Shūjirō," Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/500/>.

<sup>60</sup> "Koizumi Matajirō," Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/483/>.

<sup>61</sup> Earl H. Kinmonth, "The Mouse That Roared: Saito Takao, Conservative Critic of Japan's 'Holy War' in China," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 25, no. 2 (1999): 332-33.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 333.

<sup>63</sup> Lawrence Fouraker, "Saitō Takao and Parliamentary Politics in 1930s Japan," *Sino-Japanese Studies* 12, no. 2: 4.

- Machida Chūji, Minister of Agriculture
  - The current Minister of Agriculture is a veteran member of the House of Representatives, having represented the Minseitō and its liberal predecessors since 1912. As a senior party figure with a background in banking and journalism, Machida is firmly committed to the constitutional order and the Minseitō's liberal stances.<sup>64</sup>

### **Rikken Seiyūkai (the Opposition)**

- Inukai Tsuyoshi, Seiyūkai President:
  - The current president of the Seiyūkai, Inukai is an outspoken critic of impulsive militarism. He possesses Confucian and idealistic views which define his crusade against “party evils,” although his government is governed by considerations of economic gain and power.<sup>65</sup> He supports Japanese intervention in Manchuria despite his harsh critiques of militarism, demonstrating his nationalist views.
- Takahashi Korekiyō:
  - A former Prime Minister, Takahashi also served as Minister of Finance where he implemented his “Takahashi Finance” policy that sought to abandon the gold standard and expand monetary and fiscal policy. Despite this, he wishes to reign in military expenditures, putting him at odds with the Army and making him unlikely to do them favors in the current crisis, beyond being responsive to the popular nationalist reaction.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> “Machida Chūji,” Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/394/>.

<sup>65</sup> Najita, Inukai Tsuyoshi: Some Dilemmas in Party Development in Pre-World War II Japan, 494-498; Pearson, Between Patriotism and Terrorism: The Policing of Nationalist Movements in 1930s Japan, 292-300.

<sup>66</sup> “Takahashi Korekiyō,” Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/122/>.

- Nakahashi Tokugorō:
  - Nakahashi is a Seiyūkai member of the House of Representatives and has served in Cabinet before. He previously campaigned to reform the education system, as well as having taken steps to improve the economy. He helped bring down the Takahashi Cabinet and founded the Seiyu Hontō, but returned to the Seiyūkai a year later.<sup>67</sup> He maintains a fairly neutral stance, but supports domestic policy under the Seiyūkai.
  
- Tokonami Takejirō:
  - A former Minister of Home Affairs, he is an influential leader in the Seiyūkai.<sup>68</sup> He formed the Seiyu Hontō which merged with the Kenseikai to form the Minseitō, though he later left the new party and rejoined the Seiyūkai.<sup>69</sup> His position as a senior figure of the opposition who became dissatisfied enough with the Minseitō to leave it makes him a critic of the Wakatsuki Cabinet and thus its peaceful foreign policy. He will likely accede to the popularity of the Manchurian invasion and support it.
  
- Suzuki Kisaburō, former Home Minister:
  - A former Minister of Home Affairs and Justice, he was active in the National Foundation Society and tried to eliminate foreign ideas. He abused his position as Home Minister to interfere with the General Election of 1928 and suppress the Minseitō. He was forced to resign after this scandal, but is still heavily involved in Seiyūkai politics.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> “Nakahashi Tokugorō,” Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/570/>.

<sup>68</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 134.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 145-47.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*.

- Nakajima Chikuhei:
  - Nakajima is the founder of the Nakajima Aircraft Company and a member of the House of Representatives for the Seiyūkai. Nakajima's firm is a major aircraft producer and military contractor, giving its owner a prominent place in the military industry.<sup>71</sup> This makes Nakajima a natural ally of militarists and expansionists who need his products, thus making Nakajima a good backer for the Kwantung Army.

## The Navy

- Baron Abo Kiyokazu, Minister of the Navy:
  - The current Navy Minister is a close ally of Admiral Katō, who staunchly opposes the naval limitations of the Washington and London Naval Treaties.<sup>72</sup> He thus shares his colleague's aggressive, militarist stances and supports the Manchurian invasion.
- Admiral Count Yamamoto Gonnohyōe:
  - A former Prime Minister and Navy Minister, Count Yamamoto has emerged after the end of his last premiership to weigh in on militarism and military affairs in the wake of the Manchurian invasion. His 1913 government demanded railway rights in Manchuria, but he is firmly identified with the establishment and wishes to curb military expansionism and insubordination.<sup>73</sup>
- Baron Suzuki Kantarō, Grand Chamberlain:

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<sup>71</sup> “中島知久平をめぐる逸話(1),” The Classic Airplane Museum, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ne.jp/asahi/airplane/museum/nakajima/chikuhei/chikuhei1.html>.

<sup>72</sup> Sadao Asada, “The Revolt against the Washington Treaty: The Imperial Japanese Navy and Naval Limitation, 1921-1927,” *Naval War College Review* 46, no. 3 (1993): 91.

<sup>73</sup> Britannica, T, Editors of Encyclopaedia, “Count Yamamoto Gonnohyōe,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, December 4, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Count-Yamamoto-Gonnohyoe>.



- The current Grand Chamberlain and Privy Councillor had an illustrious, decades-long career as an admiral, attaining several of the Navy's highest posts.<sup>74</sup> Despite his now-civilian position, Baron Suzuki wields considerable influence in his former service, which he used to suppress Navy militarism and secure Japan's ratification of the London Naval Treaty.<sup>75</sup> He does not align with the Minseitō or Seiyūkai, prioritizing the interests of his soldiers. However, the Seiyūkai have accused him of hindering diplomatic relations during the London Naval Conference.
- Admiral Takarabe Takeshi:
  - Admiral Takarabe held several senior positions and was Navy Minister for several Minseitō Cabinets.<sup>76</sup> As the chief Japanese naval delegate at the London Naval Conference, he supported the eventual London Naval Treaty's limitations on naval expansion.<sup>77</sup> His opposition to expansion and respect for the outcomes of international negotiation pits him against the Manchurian invasion.
- Admiral Katō Kanji:
  - Admiral Katō was a Fleet Faction admiral who greatly disdained the naval limitations treaties and unsuccessfully tried to stop the ratification of the Treaty of London.<sup>78</sup> He is thus a strong militarist and will back the Manchurian invasion.

## The Army

- Lieutenant General Minami Jirō, Minister of the Army:

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<sup>74</sup> "Suzuki Kantarō," Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/113/>.

<sup>75</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 151.

<sup>76</sup> "Takarabe Takeshi," Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/593/>.

<sup>77</sup> Sims, *Japanese Political History*, 151.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

- The current Minister of the Army was appointed by the Wakatsuki Cabinet, and under the Emperor's orders, and pressure from Shidehara, he dispatched an officer to restrain the burgeoning militarism in Manchuria.<sup>79</sup> He sides with the Minseitō but must balance them with his loyalty and duties to the Army.<sup>80</sup>
- General Kanaya Hanzō, Chief of the Army General Staff:
  - The current Chief of the Army General Staff, he served in the Russo-Japanese War and as an instructor at a military academy. In addition, he served in the German and Austrian embassies, attempting to garner support for Japanese imperialism. Currently, he does not have any political affiliations and does his duty for the Army.<sup>81</sup>
- General Baron Mutō Nobuyoshi, Inspector General of Military Education:
  - Currently serving as the powerful Inspector General of Military Education, Baron Mutō also previously served as a military attaché in the Russo-Japanese War and as commanding officer of the Kwantung Army.<sup>82</sup> His previous attachments to the Kwantung Army make him a supporter of their efforts in Manchuria.
- General Araki Sadao:
  - General Araki is an ultranationalist Army officer. He has vocally advocated for an extreme interpretation of the right of supreme prerogative that would free Army officers' strategic decisions from all civilian oversight.<sup>83</sup> He energetically resisted the attempt to investigate and punish Zhang Zuolin's assassins, partaking in the

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 156.

<sup>80</sup> Hattori, "London Naval Conference," 204.

<sup>81</sup> “金谷範三,” Wikipedia, February 17, 2024, <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%87%91%E8%B0%B7%E7%AF%84%E4%B8%89>.

<sup>82</sup> Steen Ammenthorp, "Biography of Field Marshal Nobuyoshi Mutō," *The Generals of World War II*, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://generals.dk/general/Mut%C5%8D/Nobuyoshi/Japan.html>.

<sup>83</sup> Orbach, *Curse on This Country*, 189.

expansionist spirit of the Kwantung Army that he will enthusiastically support the current invasion of Manchuria.<sup>84</sup>

### The Genrō

- Prince Saionji Kinmochi:
  - The *Genrō* remains an influential institution unto himself. Prince Saionji Kinmochi's powerful role in advising the Emperor and nominating His Majesty's Prime Ministerial appointments is without parallel. He abhorred the Army indiscipline shown during Zhang Zuolin's assassination and was the primary influence on Tanaka's crackdown towards the Army culprits.<sup>85</sup> Prince Saionji's ability to influence the Emperor to act can be crucial, but he must act carefully so as not to dangerously politicize the monarchy and tarnish imperial prestige.<sup>86</sup>

### The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Shigemitsu Mamoru, Acting Minister to China:
  - The current Japanese Minister to China is a career diplomat who, as the invasion of Manchuria unfolded, was leading the implementation of Shidehara's China policy in the field.<sup>87</sup> He was deep in negotiations with the Nationalist Chinese government and pushed even further than Baron Shidehara for cooperation and partnership between China and Japan.<sup>88</sup> He naturally opposes the Manchurian invasion.
- Hayashi Kyūjirō, Consul-General in Mukden:

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 184.

<sup>85</sup> Orbach, *Curse on This Country*, 183.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 187.

<sup>87</sup> Hattori, "London Naval Conference," 177.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 203-204.

- Consul-General Hayashi is a professional diplomat specializing in China, where he has spent the vast majority of career.<sup>89</sup> He supports the view that control of Japanese foreign policy should be with the Foreign Ministry, viewing with dismay the fracturing of Japanese policy to China caused by the competing interests of the Army and the South Manchuria Railway.<sup>90</sup> Hayashi ardently disapproves of the current invasion and the military's spillover into foreign policy, hoping that Foreign Minister Shidehara and the Cabinet will decisively end the Kwantung Army's insubordination.<sup>91</sup>

### **Business**

- Count Uchida Kōsai, President of the South Manchuria Railway Co.:
  - The President of the South Manchuria Railway Company has been a longtime professional diplomat in the Foreign Ministry, serving as Foreign Minister for several Cabinets.<sup>92</sup> He maintained relations between Western nations, but prioritized the security of Japanese imperial interests in Manchuria. He views militarism as a mandatory way to protect the empire, which he finances and facilitates through his company.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ken'ichi Goto, "Japan's Southern Policy in the Interwar Period and Hayashi Kyujiro," Waseda University Repository, December 2006, 3.

<sup>90</sup> Goto, "Japan's Southern Policy," 4.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 7-8.

<sup>92</sup> "Uchida Kosai," Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures, accessed March 3, 2024, <https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/503/>.

<sup>93</sup> Rustin B. Gates, "Pan-Asianism in Prewar Japanese Foreign Affairs: The Curious Case of Uchida Yasuya," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 37, no. 1 (2011): 2-9.

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