

日本のファシズム化と体育・スポーツ

阿部生雄 清原泰治* 中島健*

Sport and physical education under fascistization in Japan

Ikuo ABE, Yasuharu KIYOHARA* and Ken NAKAJIMA*

戦前の日本の体育とスポーツを海外に紹介するという事は、これまで体系的になされてこなかった。幾ばくかの日本の体育史やスポーツ史の研究者が、何度となくそうした努力を試みてきたが、いまもって日本の体育・スポーツ史を叙述するのに不可欠な多くの用語に、何等統一した合意を形成した英訳を持っていないままである。本研究は、この点に留意し、当然の事ながら、日本の研究者によって書かれた英文の日本史、教育史、英・米人によって書かれた日本史等を可能な限り踏まえて、日本史叙述に不可欠な歴史用語を用いるよう努めると同時に、日本の体育・スポーツ史を叙述するに当たって不可欠な様々な法令、機関、組織、体育・スポーツの専門用語等に暫定的な英訳を付し、より適切で統一した英訳を導き出すための一歩を踏み出そうと試みた。

そうした技術的問題を踏まえた上で、本研究では、何よりも戦前の日本の体育・スポーツ史を可能な限り体系的に紹介することに重点を置いた。従って、本研究は、オリジナルな資料を駆使することよりも、既にかんりの蓄積を持つ先行研究を踏まえて「Introduction」を構成しようと努めた。本研究の意図はあくまでも海外の研究者に戦前の日本の体育とスポーツの歩みに関する基本的な知識を提供することにある。

こうした体系的・通史的論述を試みるにあたり、本研究では戦前日本のファシズム化と学校体育、スポーツとの関係に焦点を当てた。戦前の日本の体育とスポーツが、市民社会の中であってこそ存在し得るレベルな特性を究極的に完全に喪失したという歴史的事実を重視するためである。日本のファシズムの特色については、既存の支配層による「上からのファシズム」であること、帝国主義的競争に乗り遅れた日本の強引な軍事的対外侵略が国家改造に先行して生じたこと、大政翼賛会や産業報国会の結成にみる全体主義的な国家統合と国民意識の収奪が顕著であったこと、天皇制の醸し出す家族主義的国家観と、ファンダメンタリスティックな「反近代」、「反西洋」という排外主義がファシズムの温床となったこと、等が指摘されている。本研究では、こうした日本ファシズムの形成過程を重視し、その過程と体育・スポーツとの関係に焦点を当てる。従って、ここでは「ファシズム期」の体育・スポーツが議論の中心となるのではなく、日本の「ファシズム化」と体育・スポーツの変質が問われる。

本研究では、日本のファシズム化を既に胚胎していた満州事変以前と、それを加速化させた満州事変以後とに区分した。前者では、1) 学校体操の軍事化、2) アスレティズムの成長、3) スポーツとイデオロギー的統制、という側面から、後者では1) 学校体操の軍事化、2) 勤労青年スポーツの軍事化と統制、3) 人的資源—体力政策、4) ファシズムの成立—体育・スポーツの全体主義的統制、という側面から考察した。

ファシズム化は、体育・スポーツに極めて明瞭に現象したとあって良いであろう。学校体操の軍事化、教練の必修化、武術の国家主義的再編と「武道」の成立、課外活動の興隆とその管理化とイデオロギー的統制の進行、国際的、国民的な競技会の天皇制との癒着と国家的行事化、及びその政治的利用の台頭、青

* 筑波大学大学院体育科学研究科

年学校や青年団の活動の予備兵力化，国民体力への国家関与と一元的管理システムの創出，等が波状的に生じた。本研究ではこうした一連の現象を体育・スポーツに現れたファシズム化の現象と見ていく。しかし，日本の固有な伝統・文化の継承と「ファシズム化」を識別し，戦前日本の新たな体育・スポーツ史を構想することは，依然として我々の課題として残されている。

キー・ワード：日本，ファシズム化，体育，スポーツ

I. PROLOGUE

The scantiness of the introduction on sport and physical education in Japanese history has caused foreign readers to be unfamiliar with the subject. Japanese sports historians have not yet established uniform translations for the technical terms in this field. Although we have a considerable accumulation of historical studies in this field, our first step should be limited to a sketchy introduction rather than a detailed and analytical history. This paper aims to demonstrate, as briefly as possible, the consolidating process of Japanese fascism and its influence on sport and physical education. The formative process of Japanese fascism, however, is subtly but essentially different from Italian Fascism and German Nazism which had mass parties and is generally called "fascism from below". Japanese fascism is typified as "fascism from above".¹ The Emperor System and its power groups have constituted rigid power structures and the charismatic governing apparatus since the Meiji Restoration. For this reason, we adopted the term, "fascistization", and took a relatively long time-span for the explanation of the formative process of Japanese fascism.

Irie Katsumi skillfully described the fascistization of Japanese Physical Education in four developmental stages; germination (1917-31), transition (1931-37), domination (1937-41), and culmination (1941-45).² Instead of using his precise and accurate turning-points, we use two stages—before the Manchurian Incident (1931); germination, and after the Manchurian Incident; consolidation (1931-45). Simplification, sometimes, is needed for a brief introduc-

tion to a topic.

Japanese fascism was one of totalitarian and despotic rule in the developing imperialism ambitious for the expansion of hegemony against other colonized countries in the age of imperialism after World War I. The peculiarity of Japanese fascism, however, existed in "fascism as an Emperor System" which was based on Japanese theocratical fundamentalism. Sometimes it is called "Japanese romanticism" aimed at restoring "Japanism" by rejecting Westernization or Westernized modernization. Japanism adopted the theory of "state-familism" institutionalized by holding the Emperor as the patriarch of the nation. In foreign policy, Japanese fascism had a strongly imperialistic concern for invading the surrounding Asian countries, especially China and Korea, in order to create a political and economical bloc in the Far East to emulate the advanced Western imperialistic countries. Japan's aggressive policy is well demonstrated in such propaganda as "East Asia for the East Asiatics", "A New Order in East Asia" and "East Asiatic Co-prosperity Sphere". The date of the establishment of Japanese fascism has not been uniformly accepted among Japanese historians. Nevertheless, there is a common understanding that it grew rapidly after the Manchurian Incident (1931). Between the Manchurian Incident and the War with China (1937) the militarists grasped political hegemony, and eventually they made the national regime chauvinistic, militarily despotic, and totalitarian by means of terrorism and coercive suppressions against politicians, liberal and progressive ideologues, and the socialists' political

movements, as well as by creating propaganda leading to the Emperor System. The bureaucrats were, rather actively than obediently, involved in creating a fascist country.

II. BEFORE THE MANCHURIAN INCIDENT : GERMINATION OF FASCISTIC PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT

The Meiji Restoration in 1868 brought a drastic change in Japanese history. It brought the demise of the Tokugawa Shogunate and created in its place a new central governing system. It reconstructed the hegemonic, political, economical, and social structures. It gave an incipience of modernization, industrialization, and Westernization. It meant to "restore" the supreme authority of the Emperor (*Tennō*). It broke down the *Baku-han* system and deprived the *Samurai* class (feudal warriors belonging to Clans) of their fundamental bases. It gave people a certain degree of expectation toward "democracy", while it created a new class system and intended to integrate them as "subjects" or a new notion of "a nation".

The ambiguity and complexity of the Restoration have followed Japanese modernization like a shadow until the Japanese catastrophe of World War II. The characteristics of Japanese modernization is symbolized by such phrase as "*wakon yōsai*" which meant the Japanese active acceptance of Western technology by preserving the Japanese fundamental mind-attitudes. The new government encouraged the introduction of Western sciences, technologies, educational system, military system, and the industrial and economic system, capitalism. Whereas the rapid acceptance of occidental civilization changed the base or infrastructure, the superstructure more strongly revived the "Idea of Nation" based on an Emperor by peculiarly integrating Confucianism, Buddhism, *Kokugaku* and Shintoism. Although the feudal Samurai class was reorganized into a modern system of conscription (1872), their codes of behaviour and morals were preserved in the "Imperial

Rescription on Soldier" (*Gunjin Chokuyū*, 1882). The People's Rights Movement demanding both the promulgation of a democratic constitution and the establishment of a Diet was repressed by the 1880's. A series of coercive suppressions such as regulations on assembly (1880, 1882), revision of the newspaper regulation (1883), and a law prohibiting disclosure of petitions to the throne and the government (1884) were adopted as countermeasures against the radical Westernization movements. The Meiji Constitution promulgated in 1889 did not guarantee basic human rights. The newly opened Diet carefully preserved the Emperor's rights to rule. The Emperor was the fountain-head of all authority in the state. Though a Westernized educational system order (*Gakusei*) was proclaimed in 1872, it soon became nationalistic. The essence of education was maintained in conformity and allegiance to the Emperor system in the "Imperial Rescription on Education" (*Kyōiku Chokugo*, 1890).

Along with the conflicts between Western modernization and Japan's traditional and fundamentalistic revivalism, a strong concern for the emulation of Western Imperialism was another germ of Japanese fascism. Victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) gave an impetus to Japan's imperialistic ambition. In the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), China agreed to cede Formosa, Pescadores, and the Liaotung Peninsula which was returned to China after the intervention of Russia, France and Germany. Russia ceded the southern half of the Island of Sakhalin, and transferred to Japan her lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and the railways in southern Manchuria as established by the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905). Furthermore, Japan's aggressive foreign policy forced the Annexation of Korea and created the Government General of Korea in 1910. World War I gave another opportunity for Japanese imperialism to expand. Declaring war on Germany, as the ally of England, Japan acquired colonies in

East Asia—Tingtao and all the German interests in adjoining areas of China. Japan also seized German islands in the north Pacific, the Marianas, Carolines and Marshalls—later given to Japan as a mandate by the peace treaty. Japan's almost endlessly aggressive ambition toward China brought a presentation to China, so-called "Twenty-one Demands", which would have made China a virtual colony of Japan.

Meanwhile, World War I brought a short term prosperity and democratization. New educational movements arose, athleticism reached its zenith. Western democracy and liberalism permeated among intellectuals, and socialist movements grew. The gradual replacement of the early oligarchic rule of the Diet to the party Cabinet emerged, and the universal manhood suffrage bill passed in 1925. Government, however, reacted more swiftly than democracy diffused into the people. Another germination of Japanese fascism was the oppression against liberal and socialist movements and, above all, the government's enforcement of ideological control over the people. As early as 1917, the Ministry of Education set up the Special Council for Education (S.C.E., *Rinji kyōiku Kaigi*), and reconfirmed its educational policy as "to build an obedient subject with patriotic feeling".³ The enactment of the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 which was amended more harshly in 1928 and 1941 began to oppress the growing students movements and the increasing labor disputes, and to purge liberalists, socialists and communists as soon as they formed their political groups. With the Manchurian Incident (1931) as a turning-point, Japan accelerated her fascistization, but the germ of Japanese fascism had already acquired its strong growth by 1931.

1. Militarization of School Gymnastics

School gymnastics (*gakkō taisō*) is the older concept equivalent to today's school physical education (*gakkō taiiku*). School gymnastics was

encouraged by the first Order of Educational System (*Gakusei*) in 1872, and in the next year, "Illustration of Room Gymnastics" (*Shachū Taisōhō-zu*), and "Illustration of Gymnastics" (*Taisō-zu*) were officially presented by the Department of Education. Yet, it was not until 1879 that the National Institute of Gymnastics (*Taisō Denshūjo*) was established and started training qualified gymnastic teachers and studying the system of school gymnastics. G.A. Leland was invited from America to systematize school gymnastics in 1879. His systems was mainly drawn from Dio Lewis's, and was called "light-gymnastics" (*kei-taisō*) and "normal gymnastics" (*futsū-taisō*). The diffusion of school gymnastics is suggested by the rapid growth of national education. (Fig. 1)

In 1885, the Department of Education was moved to the Ministry of Education, and a set of new Education Orders were promulgated by the Ministry. Japanese education was moving toward nationalism. The new Orders for elementary, middle, and normal schools, excluding imperial universities, introduced "military gymnastics" (*heishiki-taisō*) as a compulsory subject. The light-gymnastics was going to fade out because of the introduction of military gymnastics. On the other hand, the Swedish system was actively introduced by *Kawase Motokurō*, *Inokuchi Akuri* and others during the 1890's. It permeated into many schools because of its rational and scientific system.

After decades of confusion, in 1913, the

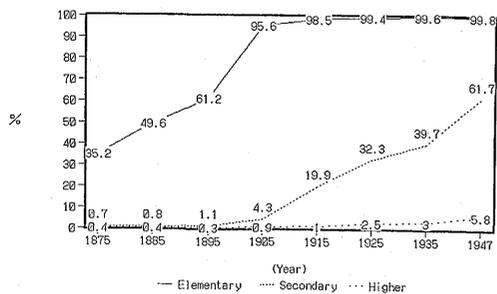


Fig. 1 Historical Trends of School Enrollment, from Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. "Education in Japan".

Ministry of Education proclaimed the Syllbus of School Gymnastics for the first time, in which school gymnastics was prescribed to consist of gymnastics, mainly Swedish, military drill and games. A nationally standardized system was established. However, it was by the propositions of the Special Council for Education (S.C.E.) set up in 1917, that the school gymnastics was directly connected with the aim of military training. The Council reported "Propositions on the Promotion of Military Gymnastics" in 1917, passed in the Diet in the same year, in which the main object of school gymnastics was demonstrated as "students above middle school should be trained to be a soldier with patriotic conformity, martial spirit, obedience, and toughness of mind and body".⁴ The S.C.E. was dissolved in 1919, but its policy and function was taken over by the Special Committee for Education (S.C.E., *Rinji Kyōiku Inukai*). In 1921, its successive council, the Education Council (E.C., *Kyōiku Hyōgikai*) was established. Again, in 1924, E.C. was dissolved, and in its place, the Educational Cultural Policy Council (E.C.P.C., *Bunsei Shingikai*) was created. Despite these reorganizations their aims and policies to link school gymnastics to the national defense were consistent. In 1924, the E.C.P.C. advised the Minister of Education to attach military officers to the institutions above middle schools. This recommendation was immediately brought into realization. The Ministry of Education and the Department of War had joint meetings and soon moved to promulgate the Order on the Attachment of Military Officers to Schools in April, 1925, as well as to issue the Syllabus of Military Drill. Along with this promulgation, the Army Ministry decided to send inspectors for military drill to schools and made it their duty to report the results of their inspections to the Minister of Army.

Meanwhile, in 1931, "*Budō*" (traditional martial arts) became compulsory with the revisions of Middle School Order and the Normal

School Order. Students were required to train themselves in *jūdō* or *kendō*. *Budō* was particularly expected to mold the ideal of "*Bushidō*" (*samurai* spirit) which could serve for the "patriotic spirit" and to help understanding "the origin of nation and the dignity of national constitution".⁵

2. Growth of Athleticism

(1) Embryo of Athleticism

Some foreign sports had been already introduced before the Meiji Restoration. Western systems of gymnastics, shooting, riding and the like had been introduced into *Bakufu* (Shogunate) or *Han* (feudal clans) in relation to their military reforms. Although the foreign trading community at Yokohama had started in 1859, it is fair to say that the rush of introductions of "foreign sports" (*gairai* sports) came about after the Meiji Restoration which brought about a rapid modernization and Westernization. The routes of sports introductions could be classified in the following ways:

- a : introduction through military reform or modernization, ex., gymnastics, fencing, rifle-shooting, riding, skiing, etc.
- b : introduction through the foreign residents in the trading communities of Yokohama or Kobe, ex., football, rowing, athletic sports, tennis, baseball, cricket, golf, etc.
- c : introduction through foreign teachers of universities and higher schools—in many cases, foreign teachers and their students had frequent communications with foreign residents of Yokohama or Kobe, ex., baseball, association football, rowing, athletic sports, rugby, tennis, skating, etc.
- d : introduction through foreign missionaries or institutions like Y.M.C.A., ex., basketball, volleyball, hockey, badminton, etc.
- e : introduction through the teachers, students or other Japanese who experienced

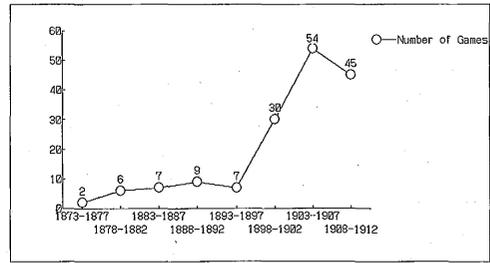
study abroad or life in foreign country, ex., tabletennis, handball, basketball, volleyball, etc.

f : introduction through Olympic Games or other international games, ex., wrestling, weight-lifting, canoeing, etc.

g : introduction through voluntary sports clubs, ex., yacht, mountaineering.

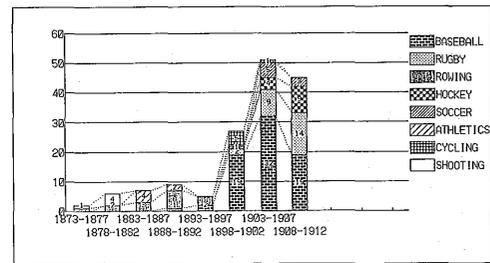
The most active organizers of foreign sports in the early stage of the introductions were the students of universities, higher normal schools, and higher middle schools. As *Watanabe Tōru* precisely surveyed, the early organizers frequently communicated with the foreign residents of Yokohama.⁶ (Fig. 2,3) He also surveyed the early formation of extracurricular activities in middle schools and suggested that the diffusion and organization of foreign sports in middle schools rapidly rose by the 1890's.⁷ (Table. 1) These foreign sports were typically for the elite classes.

In 1911, the first governing body, Japan Amateur Athletic Association (J.A.A.A., *Dainippon Taiiku Kyōkai*) was founded. Its aims were to "encourage our national physical education (athletics)" and to be "representative of Japan for the international Olympic Games".⁸ J.A.A.A. was set up under the initiative of *Kanō Jigorō* for the immediate necessity of sending Japanese athletes to the Olympic Games at Stockholm, 1912. The Japanese debut to Olympic Games gave an impetus to the growth of athleticism. After the foundation of J.A.A.A., many individual sports organisations came into being. In 1925, J.A.A.A. was granted the foun-



From Watanabe, Toru, 'The Influence of Yokohama Foreigners Sport Club in the Meiji Era on the Development of Western Sports in Japan'.

Fig. 2 Number of Games with Foreign Residents of Yokohama, figured from T.Watanabe, 'The Influence of Yokohama Foreigners Sport Club in the Meiji Era on the Development of Western Sports in Japan'.



From Watanabe, Toru, 'The Influence of Yokohama Foreigners Sport Club in the Meiji Era on the Development of Western Sports in Japan'.

Fig. 3 Varieties of Games with Foreign Residents of Yokohama, figured from T.Watanabe, 'The Influence of Yokohama Foreigners Sport Club in the Meiji Era on the Development of Western Sports in Japan'.

dational juridical body to control all affiliated amateur sports organisations. (Table. 2)

Meanwhile, "*bujutsu*"—Japanese traditional martial arts—commenced to be reconstructed. They were in existensial crisis under the civilizing process and modernization—the decree abolishing the wearing of swords (1876),

Table. 1 Beginnig of Foreign Sports at Middle Schools

Year	Number of Schools				
	baseball	Athletic meeting	Rowing	Tennis	Total
1882~1887	5	2	1	1	9
1888~1892	3	6	3	2	14
1893~1897	9	8	4	6	30
1898~1907	—	1	3	5	9
total	17	17	11	17	62

Tabled from T.Watanabe, "Nation-Wide Trend of Sports in Middle School in The Meiji Era."

Table 2 Formation of Amateur Sports in Japan

(Tabled by I.A.)

The Governing Bodies	1	2	3	Introduction
Japan Amateur Athletic Association		1911		The main function of the Association is to delegate Japanese athletes to Olympic Games. The function was transformed to govern all affiliated individual sports associations and federations since 1925.
Japan Amateur Sports Association		1948		Re-organization of Japan Amateur Athletic Association. The new Association co-ordinates all affiliated associations for individual sports.
Individual Governing Bodies				
Japanese Alpine Club	1880	1905		Walter Weston, an English missionary, introduced modern mountaineering into Japan in c. 1880 and encouraged the foundation of Japanese Alpine Club.
Middle School's National Baseball Federation	1872	1915	1915	H. Wilson, an American teacher of <i>Kaisei</i> School (former institute of Tokyo University) introduced baseball into the School in 1872.
The Japan Amateur Rowing Association	1867	1920	1920	Foreign residents in Yokohama set up a rowing club and had a race in 1867. Some Universities students had taken up rowing in c. 1877, but most influential introduction was made by F.W. Strange, English foreign teacher of the <i>Yobimon</i> of Tokyo University, in 1883.
Japan Table Tennis Association	1902	1921	1923	<i>Tsuboi Kanemichi</i> , professor of Tokyo Higher Normal School, introduced in 1902 after his studying abroad to Europe.
Japan Lawn Tennis Association	1878	1921	1922	In 1870's tennis was played by both Yokohama and Kobe foreign residents. In 1878, an American staff, G.A. Leland introduced tennis into <i>Taiso Denshūjo</i> (National Institute of Gymnastics).
The Football Association of Japan	1873	1921	1921	Introduction into <i>Kaigun Heigakuryō</i> in 1873 by major Douglas, a foreign teacher from England. Another introduction in 1874 into <i>Kougakuryō</i> by Jones, a foreign teacher from England.
Japan Equestrian Federation	1872	1922	1922	A French captain of cavalry introduced Western system into Japanese army in 1872.
Japan Hockey Association	1906	1923	1923	Introduction into <i>Keiō</i> University by a Irish missionary W.D. Grey.
Japan Golf Association	1901	1924	1906	An English tea-merchant, Arthur Groome, opened four-hole golf course at Rokkō, Kōbe in 1901. The earliest golf club, Kōbe Golf Club, was opened there by enlarging the course with nine holes.
Japan Soft Tennis Association	1898	1924	1924	A set of rules was drawn in 1898, when the earliest match between Tokyo Higher Normal School and Tokyo Higher Commercial School was taken place.
Japan Amateur Swimming Federation	1898	1924	1912	First competitive encounter for traditional Japanese strokes with foreign styles in 1898 at Yokohama foreign residents.
Japan Amateur Athletic Federation	1878	1925	1913	By an American teacher's initiative, the earliest athletic meets was held at <i>Sapporo Nagayō Gakko</i> in 1878. The most influential contribution to modern athletics was due to F.W. Strange's organization of athletic meets at the <i>Yobimon</i> of Tokyo University in 1883.
Ski Association of Japan	1911	1925	1923	T.E. von Lerch, an Austrian major staff of officer, introduced skiing for Japanese army officers in 1911.
Tokyo Six Universities' Baseball Federation	1872	1925	1925	H. Wilson, an American teacher of <i>Kaisei</i> School (former institute of Tokyo University), introduced baseball into the school in 1872.
Japan Rugby Football Union	1899	1926	1918	Introduction into <i>Keiō</i> University by an English professor F.B. Clerk.
Japan Amateur Boxing Association	1913	1927	1921	<i>Watanabe Yūjiro</i> founded a boxing club in Tokyo in 1921 after his visit to America.

Japan Volleyball Association	1908	1927	1921	Volleyball was introduced into Tokyo YMCA by <i>Ōmori Hyōzō</i> in 1908, also into Kobe YMCA by F.H. Brown from America in 1913.
The National Skating Union of Japan	1877	1929	1930	An American teacher of <i>Sapporo Nōgyō Gakko</i> , Mr. Brooks displayed skating before students in 1877. <i>Nitobe Imazō</i> , professor of <i>Sapporo Nōgyō Gakko</i> , encouraged his students to skate in 1894.
Japan Amateur Basketball Association	1908	1930	1921	Basketball was introduced into Tokyo YMCA by <i>Ōmori Hyōzō</i> in 1908, also into Kobe YMCA by F.H. Brown from America in 1914.
Japan Gymnastic Association	1867	1930	1930	French system was introduced by C.H.J. Chanoine for Tokugawa Shogunate in 1867. Japanese school gymnastics was systematized by an American teacher, G.A. Leland, in 1879 at <i>Taisō Denshūjo</i> .
Japan Amateur Wrestling Federation	1924	1932	1934	Foreign residents in Kobe founded the Reghatta and Athletic Club in 1878, and in Yokohama, the Yachting Club was set up in 1886.
Japan Amateur Cycling Federation	1868	1934	1934	<i>Naitō Katsutoshi</i> , a student of Pennsylvania State University, wrestled at Olympic Games in Paris 1924, but the real outset was due to the foundation of a club in <i>Waseda University</i> by <i>Hatta Ichirō</i> .
Federation Japonaise d'Esime	1934	1936	1937	<i>Tanaka Hisshige</i> made a bicycle in 1868 for the first time in Japan. <i>Saiō Isaac</i> returned from America with a bicycle.
Japan Handball Association	1922	1937	1937	A French fencing master of <i>Rikugun Toyama Gakko</i> (army school of Toyama), introduced fencing as a school subject. <i>Iwakura Tomokiyo</i> set up a fencing club in 1934.
Japan Weight-lifting Federation	1932	1937	1936	<i>Ōtani Buichi</i> , professor of Tokyo Higher Normal School, introduced it in 1922 after his visit to Europe.
Japan Canoe Association	1937	1938	1938	JOC president, <i>Kanō Jigorō</i> sent a set of equipments to JAAA from Europe to encourage weight-lifting as an Olympic sport in 1932.
Japan Badminton Association	1934	1947	1948	The Organization Committee of the Olympic Games in Tokyo nominated canoeing as an Olympic sport in 1937.
				The first official translation of the set of rules was made in 1934. Yokohama YMCA introduced Badminton in 1935.
Budō				
Dainippon Butokukai		1882	1882	The most influential governing body for traditional Budō including <i>kendō</i> , <i>jūdō</i> , <i>kyūdō</i> , <i>naginata</i> , <i>bōjutsu</i> , <i>sōjutsu</i> and <i>kusarigama</i> .
The Amateur Archery Federation of Japan		1949	1948	Since the <i>Butokukai</i> was dissolved under the occupation policy, a new federation was set up in 1949.
All Japan Jūdō Federation		1949	1948	Since the <i>Butokukai</i> was dissolved under the occupation policy, a new federation was set up after a certain duration of prohibition.
All Japan Kendō Federation		1952	1953	Since the <i>Butokukai</i> was dissolved under the occupation policy, a new federation was set up after a certain duration of prohibition.
All Japan Naginata Federation		1954	1956	Since the <i>Butokukai</i> was dissolved under the occupation policy, a new federation was set up after a certain duration of prohibition.
Federation of All Japan Karatedō Organization		1966	1969	

1 Introduction

2 Foundation of Governing Bodies

3 Inauguration of National Championships

reforms of military forces and the adoption of new conscription (1873). Besides, they had various schools of individual arts. These traditionally differentiated martial arts strived for their survivals during the early part of Meiji era. One of the forerunners of the modernization of "bujutsu" was *jūdō* which, excluding dangerous skills from "jūjutsu", had been reconstructed by *Kanō Jigorō* at *Kōdōkan* since 1882. However, *Jūdō* was an exceptional example. The diverse traditional martial arts were reorganized by *Dainippon Butoku Kai* (D.B.K.), a general governing body for traditional martial arts, which was established in April, 1895, in order to control and preserve the martial arts and to spiritually link them to the Emperor system. D.B.K. was patronized by the Royal Family and started its work with the celebration of new foundation of *Butoku-den*—a consecrated shrine for martial arts at *Heianjingu* in Kyoto. The aim of D.B.K. was to "revive *Bushidō*" and to "promote *bujutsu* to future military men" and to make them "a nation of military prowess".⁹ D.B.K. held an annual *Butoku Festival* whose various contests consisted of *kendō*, *jūdō*, *kyūdō* (archery), *naginata* (halberd), *sōjutsu* (spear), *kusarigama* (sickle and chain), *bōjutsu* (cudgeling), shooting and riding. D.B.K. showed rapid growth and expansion. By 1906, its branches had been established in forty-two prefectures and held about 1,300,000 members. It was the most forceful, influential and chauvinistic sports governing body and was not dissolved until September, 1946.

(2) Athleticism

After Japan's first experience in the 1912 Olympic Games, sports became a national concern. By increasing athletic intercourses among schools and universities, elitist educational institutions had been consolidating their athleticism by the 1920's. Baseball, above all, came into vogue. One of the oldest university baseball games, *Waseda* versus *Keiō* which still exists, started in November, 1903. *Waseda* University sent their team to Stanford University in Amer-

ica in 1905. *Waseda*, *Keiō* and *Meiji* Universities formed their biannual baseball league-match in 1914, which became, in 1925, the Baseball League Six Universities in Tokyo consisting of *Waseda*, *Keiō*, *Meiji*, *Rikkyō*, *Hōsei* and Tokyo Imperial Universities. Another existing annual baseball championship, the National Middle Schools' Baseball Championships, began in 1915. Soft tennis was another popular game in Japan. Its first and continuing inter-school match was played between the Tokyo Higher Normal School and the Tokyo Higher Commercial School in 1898. Its national soft-tennis championships for middle schools was organized in 1908. Most sports organized their own national championships between the 1920's and 1930's. Mass communication assisted this trend. *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper sponsored the creation of Japan's Olympic Games in 1913, though it did not last long. *Asahi* Newspaper also sponsored the National Middle School's Baseball Championships. *Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai* (N.H.K., Japan Broadcasting Corporation) started a radio broadcast of the National Middle Schools' Baseball Championships in 1927.

The creation of the Far Eastern Championship Games (F.E.C.G., *Kyokutō Senshūken Kyōgi Taikai*) gave another impetus to the evolution of athleticism. Philippine Athletic Association (P.A.A.) founded in 1912 held the Manila Carnival Games in the same year and invited a Japanese baseball team and tennis players. E.S. Brown, president of P.A.A., proposed the creation of the Far Eastern Olympic Games (F.E.O.G., *Kyokutō Olympic Taikai*) to China and Japan. His plan was realized in the next year and the two-year interval Games was inaugurated at Manila. However, Japanese commitment to F.E.O.G. was relatively negative in its early stage. The second Olympiad of F.E.O.G. at Shanghai in 1915 had serious diplomatic problems with China. Japanese presentation of the Twenty-one Demands on China caused the delay in sending Japanese athletes to the games.

Furthermore, *Kanō Jigorō*, president of J.A.A. A., who devoted himself to the international Olympic Games, wanted to delete "Olympic" from the title of F.E.O.G.. His request was accepted and both Games and Association were renamed "Far Eastern Championship Games" and "Far Eastern Amateur Athletic Association" (F.E.A.A.A., *Kyokutō Taiiku Kyōkai*) from its third Olympiad at Tokyo in 1917 when Japan officially became affiliated. However, *Kanō Jigorō*, still holding his hostility against F.E.C. G., made a decision for the Japanese withdrawal from F.E.A.A.A. in 1919. This time, he received strong criticism from other staff of J. A.A.A. and amateur athletes. Some students and amateur athletes enforced their involvements to the games, in spite of J.A.A.A.'s official decision. His judgement brought his early resignation as the president of J.A.A.A. (1921). It was in 1921 that J.A.A.A. was re-affiliated to F.E.A.A.A., and received governmental grants for sending athletes to F.E.C.G.. Later, F.E.C.G. became political and connected with Japanese aggression to China.

3. Sport and Ideological Control.

(1) Proletarian Sport

By the mid-Meiji period, the socialist movements arose. In October, 1898, *Katayama Sen* and *Kōtoku Shūsui* formed the Study Group for Socialism (*Shakaishugi Kenkyūkai*) and renamed it the Socialist Society (*Shakaishugi Kyōkai*) in 1900. They sent their delegates to the Second International. However, after the promulgation of the Public Order Police Law (1900), all kinds of socialist movements were to be oppressed. In 1910, the famous "white terror" which saw the arrest of socialists and death sentences to twelve people was enforced by the authorities. Under this harsh oppression, a corporatist fraternity for working men was formed in 1912. However, socialists revived after World War I. Socialism permeated swiftly into both students' and workers' movements through the influence of the Russian Revolution and the Rice-riot

(*Kome Sōdō*) in 1918. In December, 1918, the forerunner of students' socialist group, New Man's Society (*Shinjin Kai*), was formed at Tokyo Imperial University. As the Society grew, it was renamed the Federation of Students (*Gakusei Rengōkai*) in 1922, and the Student Federation of Social Science (*Gakusei Shakaikagaku Rengōkai*) in 1924. As soon as students' political movements achieved national solidarity, they became suppressed by the Peace Observance Law of 1925. Hereafter, any students political groups could hardly survive. However, they not only set up the National Federation for Students Anti-military Drill in 1924 but also criticized the tacit connection between rightists and cheering groups (*ōendan*) and proposed the reform of the athletic hierarchy.

Fraternities seemed to have made some contributions to organize worker's recreation. As early as 1913, they set up a section of physical education (*Taiikubu*) in their organization. Although details on its activities have not studied, in 1920, workers of Yahata Iron Manufacture organized an intramural baseball match during the strike, and in 1921, during the strikes carried out at the dockyards in the Kōbe Mitsubishi Shipbuilding Co. Ltd. and the the Kawasaki Shipbuilding Co. Ltd., both Companies' workers respectively held athletic meets on Sunday. Fraternities were reconstructed as the General Labor Union of Japan (G.L.U. J., *Nippon Rōdō Sōdōmei*) whose policy moved to anarcho-syndicalism in 1921. However, G.L. U.J. fell into the serious disorganization brought by the confrontation between anarchists and Bolsheviks, and was split up in 1925 and 1926. Their influential sect shifted their policy toward corporatism. Eventually, all sorts of labor unions were amalgamated into a single patriotic association of workers (*Sangyō Hōkokukai* was established in 1940) dedicated to the war effort.

On the other hand, working youths had evolved their own labor movement under the

Proletarian Youth League (*Musan Seinen Dōmei*). In November, 1925, they agitated for the necessity of the creation of a "proletarian sports organization" in their organ, "*Seinen Taishā*" (Mass of Youth). They formed the National Proletarian Youth Union (N.P.Y.U., *Zen-nippon Musan Seinen Dōmei*) in order to integrate their activities nationally in 1926. However, N.P.Y.U. was obliged to be dissolved by the nation-wide arrest of communists which was enforced by the authorities on 15th of March, 1928. Meanwhile, Japan Communist Party (J.C.P. *Nihon Kyōsantō*) was formed illegally in 1922, and organized their own youth group called Japan Communists Youth Union (J.C.Y.U., *Nihon Kyōsan Seinen Dōmei*) in the next year. Despite the serious damage from the arrests of March, 1928, they rebuilt their activities swiftly and commenced to construct proletarian sports in Japan. One of the reports presented to the fifth meeting of *Kommunistische Jugend Internationale* (K.J.I.) was translated as "Youth Comintern and Sports Movement" by *Sasaki Takamaru* in 1928. Sasaki also asserted the necessity of diffusing the activities promoted by *Roten Sport-international* (R.S.I.) into Asian countries as well as Japan. Along with these introductions of the international workers' sports movements, J.C.Y.U. developed their theory of proletarian sports. J.C.Y.U. issued a special number of their organ, "Proletarian Youth" (*Musan Seinen*), for the "Red Sport". During 1930 and 1931, quite a few publications on proletarian sports appeared. One of the most famous books was "A Manual for Proletarian Sport" (*Proletaria Sport Hikkei*) written by *Sawada Toshio* in 1931. However, these attempts were coercively oppressed by the latter half of the 1930's.¹⁰

(2) Reorganization of Youth and Sport as an Ideological Control

The ideological control over working youth and students had a strong connection with sports policy of the authorities. In June, 1920, the Ministry of Education decided to promote

"public physical education", and in September, 1924, ordered all educational institutions to hold "National Physical Education Day" as an annual school event which should be used to indoctrinate" collective behaviour, moral training, aspiration of national spirit"¹¹ in the students. The Ministry also proclaimed the Order concerning the Promotion of Physical Education and Athletics (*Taiiku-Undō no Sinkō ni kansuru Ken*) in 1926, in which the "rational" management of physical activities were directed. The term, "rational" had to do with ideological control. The arrest of communists in March, 1928, revealed the fact that high proportion of the arrested communists were students. This fact stimulated the Ministry to set up an advisory council, the Physical Education Council (P.E.C., *Taiiku-Undō Singikai*), in 1929. P.E.C. made two reports to the Minister in November, 1929; "A rational Policy for the Promotion of Physical Education" (1930) and "Healthy Management of Physical Education" (1931). The Ministry of Education immediately proclaimed the Order Concerning the Control and Management of Baseball (1932) which regulated the detailed directions for the management of baseball games whose popularity permeated into all educational institutions from elementary schools to universities. The Order required the institutions concerned not only to report the plans which they made, but also to get permission from the Ministry, if they organized baseball games. It also referred to the conformity to amateurism and the disciplined management of cheering groups.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Education set its hand to the organization of working youth. The Youth Training Center Order was promulgated in April, 1926, in which schooling was regulated in a four year course including 400 hours for military drill, 200 hours for academic subjects, and 100 hours for moral and vocational training.¹² The Youth Training Center (Y.T.C., *Seinen Kunrenjo*) was not a compulsory course but it was a kind of preparatory

provision for conscription. It was reorganized further by 1940.

The Ministry of Home Affairs also intervened in the organization of working youth. In 1913, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued the "Circular for the Local Youth Groups" aiming for the apoliticalization and spiritual mobilization of youth. In 1916, Ministries of Education and Home Affairs collaboratively issued two circulars; "Circular on the Instruction and Promotion for Youth Groups" and "Circular for Youth Groups". With these circulars, both Ministries manoeuvred for the unitary control over the youth groups. Eventually, they were reorganized into a quasi-voluntary body, the Greater Japan Federation of Youth Group (G.J.F.Y.G., *Dainippon Rengō Seinendan*), in 1925. A survey published by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1927 indicates their sporting activities including *kendō*, *jūdō*, *sumō*, athletic meets, baseball, soft tennis, gymnastics and military drill.¹³ Sports were estimated by the authority as an effective means of ideological control.

Another device for control was also initiated by Ministry of Home Affairs in 1924. It was the creation of a ritualistic games, *Meiji Jingu* Championship Games (M.J.C.G., *Meiji Jingu Kyōgi Taikai*). The aim of this creation was to "cherish the memory of Meiji Emperor, the Great".¹⁴ It was scheduled annually to hold the Games on his birthday, November 3rd, at *Meiji Jingu*. M.J.C.G. was a nationalistic, and ritualistic games leading working youth and students to the Emperor System. Sports were effectively used as a ritualistic means of spiritual mobilization of youth. M.J.C.G. included fourteen events such as athletics, swimming, rugby, soccer, basketball, volleyball, tennis, hockey, baseball, *jūdō*, *kendō*, archery and *sumō*.¹⁵

III. AFTER MANCHURIAN INCIDENT : CONSOLIDATION OF FASCISTIC SPORT AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

With the Manchurian Incident (1931) as a

momentum, Japan accelerated her fascistization. In 1933, the League of Nation adopted the Lytton Report on Manchuria which judged that Manchukuo was a puppet nation created by Japan's aggressive policy. Japan rejected the judgement and withdrew from the League of Nation. Hereafter, Japan headed into international isolation and fell into fascistization. Japan enforced both revocations of the Washington Treaty (1934) and the London Naval Treaty (1936) for disarmament, and concluded the agreement for the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany and Italy (1937). Furthermore, Japan rushed into the War with China in 1937. Along with this isolated imperialism, the military domestically grasped their growing political hegemony through the May 15th Incidents (1932), and created the militaristic regime which was called "the Cabinet of National Unity". Yet, the imperialistic ambition of the militarists was still to keep and seize Japanese interests in Manchuria. The militarists government was trying to mobilize people and began manoeuvring man-power policy, as the War with China was unexpectedly continuing. Thus, in 1938, the National Mobilization Law was promulgated, and the imperialistic propaganda such as "all the world under one roof", "East Asia for East Asiatics", "A New Order in East Asia" and "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" were created. The totalitarian and unitary control was enforced further by the "new political structure movement" initiated by Prince *Konoe Fumimaro* in June, 1940, as well as the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in October, 1940. With the attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, Japan rushed into the Pacific War. Two atomic bombings, unconditional surrender, the acceptance of the Potsdam Proclamation and the catastrophe of Imperial Japan were the results.

1. Militarization of School Gymnastics

After the Manchurian Incident, school gymnastics evolved its superficial "rationalism". In

June, 1936, the Ministry of Education promulgated the revision of the Syllabus of School Gymnastics which newly introduced Danish gymnastics, expanded the constituents of athletics and play, and directed the rationalization of teaching methods. (Table. 3) However, the aim of the revision was the provision for a war-time regime, which attempted to enforce the national standardization of school gymnastics. The syllabus denoted schools' obligation to conform to its standard, and emphasized the training of character as well as the healthy development of body. It rejected the use of borrowed terminologies of sports and translated them into Japanese. Furthermore, it gave detailed directions for "Budō".

The Educational Renovation Council created in 1935, had for its major aims the discussion of countermeasures against students political movements and the reconsideration of the curricula of all subjects. The Council reported to the Ministry of Education that the liberalism of sports should be excluded, and in its stead, "Bushidō" ought to be stressed "in accordance with our traditional Bushidō, piety, fortitude, and fairness should be observed, and the harmful effects championship should be removed."¹⁶ The doctrine of school gymnastics clearly became chauvinistic so that all sorts of liberalism and individualism were denied but *esprit de corps* was in favour.

Eventually, this doctrine was realized in the National School Order (1941) which clearly stressed its aim that every national school should train up a "nation of Emperor" (*Kōkokumin*). The school gymnastics (*Taisō-ka*) was renamed as "physical discipline" (*Tairen-ka*). In September, 1942, the Syllabus of Physical Discipline for National School was issued, in which physical activities dedicated to national defense were stressed. The Physical Discipline for national schools was divided into two categories; "Budō" including *jūdō*, *kendō*, and "gymnastics" including gymnastics, games, athletic exercises, drill, and hygiene. The practical

Table. 3 Exercises of School Gymnastics
—Syllabus of School Gymnastics, 1913, 1926, 1936—

A: Gymnastics			
Groups	Number of Movement		
	1913	1926	1936
1) leg exercise	10	12	21(3)
2) neck exercise	4	3	3
3) arm exercise	5	10	15(1)
4) span bending exercise	—	6	9
5) heaving exercise	29	25	28(14)
6) balance exercise	10	12	9(1)
7) lateral exercise	3	9	21(3)
8) abdominal exercise	3	4	4
9) breathing exercise	7	7	6
10) dosal exercise	5	11	14(1)
11) jumping exercise	29	26	27(4)(5)
12) handstand and rotary exercise	—	9	7(7)
13) walking and running exercise	—	—	6
total	107	134	170
() girls, only, () boys only			
B: Play and Athletics			
	Kinds of activities		
1) athletics	9	—	—
2) dance	4	5	21
3) march	3	10	24
4) competitive play	—	13	27
5) running, jumping and throwing	—	15	42
6) ball games	—	12	17
total	16	55	131
C: Drill			
1) ranks formation	○	○	○
2) squad drill	○	○	○
3) drill with rifle, individual and squad	○	—	—
D: Extracurricular activities			
1) gymnastics	○	○	○
2) baseball	○	○	○
3) tennis	○	○	○
4) sumō	○	○	—
5) mauntaineering	○	—	—
6) kendō	○	—	—
7) jūdō	○	—	—
8) swimming	—	○	—
9) rowing	—	○	○
10) ping-pong	—	○	—
11) skiing	—	○	—
12) skating	—	○	—
13) rugby football	—	—	○
14) association football	—	—	○

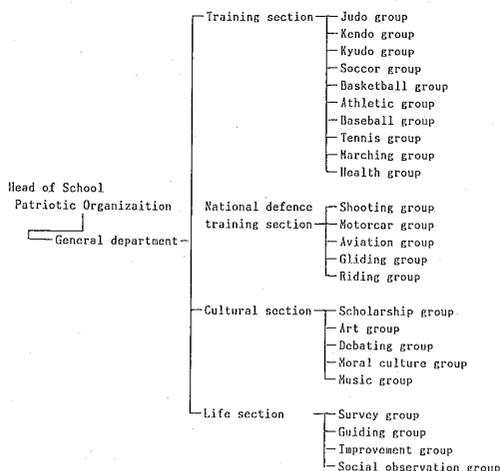


Fig. 4 School Patriotic Organization of *Kōnan* High School, from "*Kōnan gakuen 50nen-shi*" (50years of *Kōnan* University) (1971).

usages of these materials became much more militant than before.

Meanwhile, the chauvinistic and militaristic doctrine invaded the reorganization of extra-curricular activities. In September, 1940, *Hashida Kuniyuko*, Minister of Education, issued an order concerning the patriotic organization of extra-curricular activities. The organization was called "School Patriotic Organization" (*Gakkō Hōkokudan*) and its aim was the "establishment of school color dedication for unselfish behaviour and patriotic spirit".¹⁷ In order to attain this aim, all extra-curricular activities reorganized to a uniform formation under the control and administration of the Ministry of Education. (Fig. 4) Thus, the liberalism and freedom of extra-curricular activities were extinguished.

2. Militarization, Unitary Control of Working Youth Sports

From the latter half of 1930's, militarization of working youth activities accelerated. In April, 1935, the Youth School Order was promulgated. According to this order, Youth Training Center was reorganized as Youth

School (C.Y.S., *Seinen Gakkō*), by integrating Y. T.C. and the Vocational Supplementary School. Youth School provided for the expanded five-year course which formerly was four-year's, and regulated the obligation of youth's attendance at military drill which was instructed by noncommissioned officers of local militia.

In May, 1937, the Syllabus of Gymnastic Instruction and Training for Youth School was proclaimed by the Ministry of Education. However, along with this syllabus, athletic exercises for national defense came into vogue among the working youth activities. They were devised in 1937 in order to "increase the militant capacity for national defense", which included throwing a hand grenade, bayonet drill, race with armors, and race carrying a sandbag, etc.¹⁸ However, it was the Youth School Order proclaimed in April, 1939, that made the course compulsory to all working youths from twelve to nineteen years of age. According to this order, youth schools were completely combined with the national conscription scheme.

On the other hand, voluntary youth groups had been reorganized in 1925 into a quasi-voluntary organization, the Greater Japan Federation of Youth Groups (G.J.F.Y.G. *Dainippon Rengō Seinenendan*) and had already received certain controls from the authorities. In March, 1938, G.J.F.Y.G. published "Manual of Physical Fitness for Youth Groups" and set forward the voluntary movement for physical fitness. The manual adopted such heavy exercises as 2000, and 4000 meter runs, broad jumping, shot put, and carrying weights. According to the results, boys were awarded fitness badges graded from A to C. During the 1930's, youth groups took up various militaristic exercises : youth gymnastics, radio gymnastics, squad walking and running race, marching, athletic exercises for national defense, *sumō*, *jūdō*, *kendō*, rifle-shooting, and combat training.¹⁹

In January, 1941, most of youth organizations were more forcefully reorganized into a single body called the Greater Japan Youth and

Child Groups (G.J.Y.C.G. *Dainippon Seishonendan*) by integrating the Greater Japan Youth Group (G.J.Y.G. *Dainippon Seinendan*, renamed from G.J.F.Y.G. in 1939), the Greater Japan Federation of Girls' Youth Groups (*Dainippon Joshi Rengō Seinendan* founded in 1927), the Greater Japan Federation of Boys' Groups (*Dainippon Shōnendan Renmei* founded in 1922) and the Imperial Association of Boys' Groups (*Teikoku Shōnendan Renmei* founded in 1931). The aim of these organizations was to "unify all youth and children under an unitary control and to train them as an useful nation of Emperor and His State",²⁰ and according to this aim G. J.Y.C.G. yield the president's seat to the Minister of Education.

Under these circumstances, after 1941, such organizations of foreign origins as Young Men Christian Association in Japan (founded in 1903) and Young Women Christian Association in Japan (founded in 1905) virtually stopped their activities. The Boy Scouts movement in Japan (introduced in 1911) was also obliged to be transformed, and eventually formed a heterogeneous body, the Greater Japan Federation of Boys' Group.

With the foundation of G.J.Y.C.G. in 1941 as a turning-point, all sorts of voluntary youth orga-

nizations were unitarily controlled and administered by the government in order to serve the Emperor State. Their activities were strongly combined with the war time regime. There was no room to maintain their voluntary basis.

3 . Manpower Policy : A Policy for Fitness

After the Manchurian Incident, the government held a strong concern for increasing people's physical fitness. It was one of the manpower policies which aimed to extend Japan's invasion into Asian countries under the unrevocable aggression policy. The examination for military service in 1935 revealed the physical degeneration of recruits. (Fig. 5) The Army Ministry proposed a plan of a new establishment of the "Ministry of Hygiene" for the purpose of improving national fitness at the Cabinet conference of June, 1936. In June 1937, the Army Ministry manoeuvred again to set up a new ministry called "Ministry of Health and Social Security" as one of the conditions to support Prince *Konoe Fumimaro's* new Cabinet. Under these militarists' initiatives, the Ministry of Health and Welfare was established in January, 1938. This new Ministry provided a Board of Physical Fitness whose functions covered the planning of the scheme for the promotion of

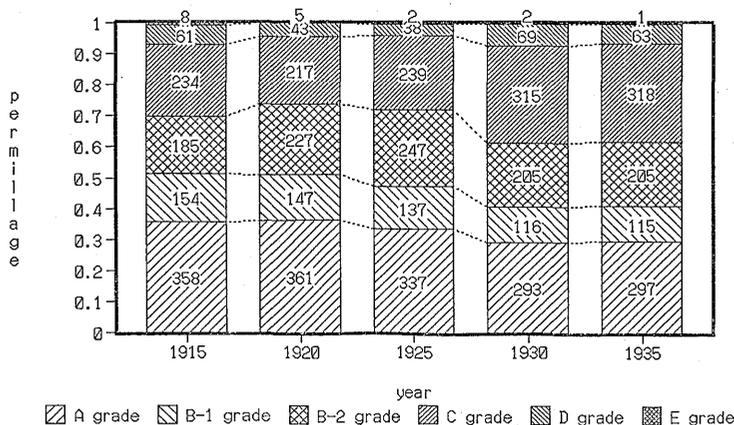


Fig. 5 Examination for Conscription 1915-1935, figured from "Improvement of Physical Fitness and Physical Education" (1941)

national fitness, the administration and investigation of public health, the provision of facilities, and the control of sports organizations. The Board of Physical Fitness seized overall power over sports and physical activities except school gymnastics.

While the Ministry of Health and Welfare evolved campaigns for national fitness movements including "Let's walk movement" and the creation of "Greater Japan's Gymnastics" and the like, they enacted the Physical Fitness Badge Test in August, 1939, and promulgated the National Physical Fitness Law in April, 1940. Physical Fitness Badge Test whose prototype had been devised by G.J.F.Y.G. in 1938 was for males from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. It was adaptable to females from fifteen to twenty-one in 1943. The test consisted of a 100 meter run, 2000 meter run, broad jump, throw-

ing a hand grenade, 50 meter carrying a sandbag, and chinning exercises. It also awarded badges to the performers.²¹

On the other hand, the National Physical Fitness Law (*Kokumin Taiyokuhō*) regulated the obligation that all males under twenty-six years of age and females under twenty years of age had to be inspected by medical officers to check their diseases, motor abilities and fitness.

Japanese imperialism and aggressive policy brought the militarists' intervention to national fitness, i.e. the creation of "Ministry of Health and Welfare" and a series of fitness movements serving the war time regime.

4. Consolidation of Fascism : Totalitarian and Unitary Control of Sport and Physical Education

(1) Transformation of Games

Table. 4 Japan and Olympic Games

Time	Year	Place	Athletes	Sports	Winner	Subsidy(yen)
5	1912	Stockholm	2	1	—	—
7	1920	Antwerp	16	3	2	—
8	1924	Paris	20	4	5	60,000
9	1928	Amsterdam	43	6	11	60,000
10	1932	Los Angeles	131	8	35	100,000
11	1936	Berlin	180	11	44	300,000

From Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai. ed. "*Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai-shi*" & Dai nippon taiiku kai. ed. "*Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai-shi hoi*".

Table. 5 Japan and Far Eastern Championships Games

Time	Year	Place	Athletes	Sports	Subsidy(yen)
1	1913	Manila	13	2	—
2	1915	Shanghai	11	3	—
3	1917	Tokyo	154	8	—
4	1919	Manila	19	3	—
5	1921	Shanghai	102	6	1,000
6	1923	Osaka	183	7	—
7	1925	Manila	140	7	60,000
8	1927	Shanghai	174	8	60,000
9	1930	Tokyo	191	8	15,000
10	1932	Manila	132	8	60,000

From Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai. ed. "*Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai-shi*".

Even after the Manchurian Incident, the Olympic Games attracted the Japanese nation. It was useful for the state to enhance her national glory. The government supported Japanese Olympic Teams with increasing subsidies. (Table. 4, 5) The Emperor also supported the Games, he donated 10,000 yen to Japanese Olympic Teams for Los Angeles (1932), and Berlin (1936).²²

However, the Manchurian Incident affected the Far Eastern Championship Games (F.E.C.G.) profoundly. The Manchukuo Amateur Athletic Association expressed their intention to be affiliated with F.E.C.G. in 1933. This stimulated

China who had strongly opposed Manchukuo's affiliation with the Far Eastern Amateur Athletic Association (F.E.A.A.A.), and she decided to withdraw her delegation from F.E.C.G. at Manila in 1934. As a consequence of Chinese withdrawal, F.E.A.A.A. was dissolved, and in its place, Japan created the Eastern Amateur Athletic Association (E.A.A.A. *Tōyō Taiiku Kyōkai*) in the same year. The New Association, however, fell into dysfunction by the outbreak of War with China in 1937 and could not hold any Games before their extinction in 1939.

War with China brought further international isolation and drastic transformation of Japanese attitudes toward international games. The cancellation of the Olympic Games to be held in Tokyo in 1940 was decided by the initiative of the Ministry of Health and Welfare in July, 1938. The Eastern Championship Games, (E.C.G. *Tōyō Senshukun Kyōgi Taikai*), whose first Games were expected to be held in 1938 was also cancelled because of the War with China. Japan, who fell into the international isolation, was going to initiate a peculiar and ritualistic international games. The enforcement of some kind of international games was the problem of national pride.

In September 1939, at Manchukuo, Japan and Manchukuo initiated the Championship Games of Amity with Japan, Manchukuo and China (C. G.A.J.M.C. *Nichi-Man-Ka Kōkan Kyōgikai*) by inviting athletes from Japan's puppet, Wung Zao Mei's government. C.G.A.J.M.C. was amalgamated in 1940 with the East Asian Games (E. A.G. *Tōa Taikai*) which was newly established as the anniversary of the 2600th year after the accession of the Emperor *Jimmu*. Both initiations of C.G.A.J.M.C. and E.A.G. were a political and ritualistic measure which would serve to consolidate the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

(2) Military Fitness and Fundamentalism.

With the outbreak of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the Japanese government launched the "National Spiritual Mobilization Movement".

In December, 1937, the Ministry of Education issued a Circular concerning Sports Activities under the National Spiritual Mobilization and defined the aim of sports activities that they should solely serve for the improvement for national fitness and not for their own sake. It also referred to the ritualization of games. It regulated the singing of a national anthem, required making an obeisance toward the Emperor's palace, and the hoisting of a national flag at any occasions of championship and games.²³

As the total war became inevitable, sports became to be seen as one of the liberal activities. The Ministry of Health and Welfare, for example, declared in January 1938, that athleticism was a germ of Western self-pride, and required all sports organizations to associate with the nationally urgent necessity for the improvement of fitness.²⁴ In 1939, the government set its hand to reorganize *Meiji Jingū* Championship Games (M.J.C.G.). The organizer of the Games was shifted to the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the athletic exercises for national defense were newly added as events. M.J.C.G. was renamed the *Meiji Jingū* National Training Games (M.J.N.T.G. *Meiji Jingū Kokumin Rensei Taikai*) in 1939, and its events were completely militaristic: mass-gymnastics, anti-air raid drill, *budō*, army combat drill were the major constituents. All sorts of "sports" were eliminated from the Games.²⁵

Most of Japanese militarists, physical education teachers and sportsmen began to seek for Japanized physical education and sports to which they gave such diverse terminologies as "*Taiiku-Dō*" (the way of physical education), "*Sports-Dō*" (the way of sport), "*Ishiteki-Taiiku*" (physical education controlled by will) and the like. They commonly rejected Western liberalism and attempted to reconstruct the theories of sports and physical education according to the traditional and fundamentalistic philosophy or code of behaviour. Most theories appearing after the late 1930's were strongly connected

with the traditional warrior's feudalistic moral, "*Bushidō*". Furthermore, all of foreign terminologies of sports were forcefully translated into Japanese.

(3) Establishment of Unitary Control of Sports and Physical Education

In December, 1941, the Ministry of Education set up the Greater Japan's Promotion Society for Students' Physical Training (G.J.P.S.S.P.T. *Dai Nippon Gakuto Taiiku Shinkōkai*) as an extra-departmental body which aimed to reorganize all students' sports organizations into a unitary administration under the Ministry. This society held the militaristic events such as the National Students' Marching Festival.

In March 1942, *Dainippon Butoku Kai* (D.B.K.) was also reorganized. This time, D.B.K. constructed strong connections with the Ministries such as Education, Health and Welfare, Army, Navy, and Home Affairs, and transferred the president's position to Prime Minister. Their activities became more militaristic and fundamentalistic. In order to respond the total war, the reorganized D.B.K. provided five sections—*Kendō*, *Jūdō*, *Kyūdō* (archery), bayonet, and shooting.

Japan Amateur Athletic Association was also reorganized in April 1942. It became Greater Japan Physical Education Association (G.J.P.E.A. *Dai Nippon Taiikukai*). This Association was placed also as an extra-departmental body of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and transferred the president's position to Prime Minister. G.J.P.S.S.P.T. was affiliated with G.J.P.E.A. in the same year. Thus, all sporting activities were absorbed into the Imperial Rule Assistance regime for the Pacific War.

Japan rushed into the unprecedented war. The government ordered the mobilization of students' labor, in January 1942, and the departure of students for the front in December, 1943. Japan experienced the first air raid on Tokyo in April, 1942, and fell into serious physical dis-titution. Japan clearly fell into catastrophe

from 1942. By 1943, almost all sports and their championships and games were prohibited by a series of governmental orders. The most popular sport among people, the Baseball League of Six Universities in Tokyo, stopped their activities in 1943. The public performance of professional baseball, whose league had been played since 1936, also ceased in September, 1944. Japan was no more a sporting land but a monstrous totalitarian, militaristic and fascistic country striving in a hopeless war.

IV. EPILOGUE

Before the Manchurian Incident, there were at least three germs of fascistization : firstly, it was a creation of theocratical and social organic "Idea of Nation", or so-called "state-familism", which was brought by the peculiar connection between "Emperor System" and the state. Secondly, it was an aggressive imperialism accompanied by militarism. Thirdly, it was the gradual completion of the control-apparatus for socio-political ideology. Japanese physical education and sports responded to these processes. School gymnastics moved to militarization according to the current policy of "*Fukoku Kyōhei*" (wealthy nation and strong soldier). Though sports achieved their athleticism, they could not extend themselves beyond the elitist educational institutions and the upper middle classes. The liberalism of sport was no more diffusive into the lower classes than the Western theory of play. On the other hand, *Dai Nippon Butoku Kai* not only reconstructed diverse kinds of Japanese martial arts but they also engrafted the traditional "*Bushidō*" into the modernized military spirit. Working youth organizations became reorganized as agencies of the preparatory apparatus for national conscription schemes.

The escalation of Japanese aggressive imperialism after the Manchurian Incident brought her international isolation, exclusionism and ethnocentrism as well as her military despotic regime. With the War with China as a mon-

mentum, Japan's isolated imperialism developed the theory of state efficiency. The most urgent necessity was the establishment of a manpower policy. Thus, the Ministry of Health and Welfare was created by the initiative of the Army Ministry in order to secure human resources for the war affair. Besides the governmental administration of national fitness, the integration of national consciousness converged at the Emperor System was carried out by means of totalitarian policies and reorganizations such as the enactments of the National Mobilization Law, National School Order, and Youth School Orders, as well as the formations of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, the Greater Japan Youth and Child Groups and the like. A fascist regime, the forced integration of national consciousness, was almost completed before the outbreak of the Pacific War. School gymnastics became synonymous with military training. All amateur sports organizations were reorganized into the Greater Japan Physical Education Association as an extra-departmental body for the Ministries of Education, and of Health and Welfare. All youth organizations became subservient to the fascist regime. Contests and games were ritualized to indoctrinate militarism, patriotism, and above all, the ideology of the Emperor System. All kinds of physical activities were colored by "*Bushidō*" and "*Yamato-damashii*" (the Japanese spirit), while play elements and the liberalism of sports were decolorized.

The Pacific War brought catastrophe of Japan. All fascist laws and orders were abolished under American occupation policies. However, the Emperor System, which was one of the germs of Japanese fascistization, has been maintained. The defeat and occupation of Japan also swept away the fascist system of physical education. Military drill and "*Budō*" were prohibited in schools. Japanese physical educators actively assimilated American "New Physical Education". However, a certain reaction arose after the signing of the peace treaty

and security pact at San Francisco (1951) on the cold war structure. Post-war physical education and sport should be another story. Yet, "*Budō*" whose nomenclature reminds us fascist physical education has been revived as a school subject in recent year.

(We do owe a considerable debt to Dr. Arnold Flath, Professor of Physical Education at the University of Tsukuba, who gave us invaluable suggestions as well as innumerable corrections for this paper. Without his devotional help, we could not communicate our topic with foreign scholars.)

References

1. Nakamura, T., Maruyama, M., Tsuji, K. eds. "Seijigaku Jiten" (Encyclopedia of Politics), Heibonsha, 1954, pp. 1162-1167.
2. Irie, Katsumi. "Nippon fashizumu ka no taiiku shisō" (Ideas of Physical Education under the Japanese Fascism), Humaidō shuppan, 1986, pp. 35-37
3. Kaga, Hideo. 'Nippon no gakkō taiiku no gunjika to ōgon ki no supōtsu' (Militarization of School Gymnastics and Athleticism), Umene, Satoru. ed. "Sekai kyōiku-shi taikei 31 Taiiku-shi", Kōdansha, 1975, p. 266.
4. *ibid.*, p. 266.
5. *ibid.*, p. 336.
6. Watanabe, Tōru. 'The Influence of Yokohama Foreigners Sport Club in the Meiji Era on the Development of Western Sports in Japan', "Proceedings of Department of Physical Education, College of General Education, University of Tokyo", Vol. 10, 1976, pp. 21-27.
7. Watanabe, Tōru. 'The National-Wide Trend of Sports in Middle School in the Meiji Era', "Proceeding of Department of Physical Education, College of General Education, University of Tokyo", Vol. 12, 1978, pp. 12-16.
8. Kinoshita, Hideaki. et al. "Taiiku-shi gaisetsu" (History of Physical Education), Kyōrin shoin, 1961, p. 279.
9. Sakaue, Yasuhiro. 'The Organizing Process and Structure of Dai Nippon Butokukai, 1895-1904' "The Journal of Administrative and

- Social Sciences”, Vol. 1, No. 3,4, Fukushima University, 1989, p. 66.
10. Morikawa, Sadao. ‘Rōdōsha taiiku supōtsu no ayumi’ (History of Workingmen’s Physical Education and Sport), Umene, Satoru. ed. “Sekai kyōiku-shi taikei 31 Taiiku-shi”, Kōdansha, 1975, pp. 386-390.
 11. Kinoshita, Hideaki. “Supōtsu no kindai nippon-shi” (Modern History of Sport in Japan), Kyōrin shoin, 1972, pp. 200-201.
 12. Kishino, Yūzō. & Takenoshita, Kyūzō. “Kindai nippon gakkō taiiku-shi” (History of School Physical Education in Modern Japan), Tōyōkan shuppan, 1959, p. 138.
 13. “Dai nippon seishōnendan-shi” (A History of Greater Japan Youth and Child Group), Nippon seinenkan, 1970, pp. 48-49.
 14. Nippon taiiku gakkai taiiku-shi senmon bunkakai. ed. “Nippon supōtsu 100 nen no ayumi” (100 Years of Sports in Japan), Baseball Magazine Co. 1967, p. 280.
 15. Irie, Katsumi. “Nippon fashizumu ka no taiiku shisō” (Ideas of Physical Education under the Japanese Fascism), Humaidō shuppan, 1986, pp. 93-94.
 16. Kaga, Hideo. ‘Nippon no sōdōin taisei ka no gakkō taiiku to supōtsu’ (Sport and Physical Education under the Mobilization), Umene, Satoru. ed. “Sekai kyōiku-shi taikei 31 Taiiku-shi”, Kōdansha, 1975, p. 343.
 17. Kaga, Hideo, ‘Nippon ni okeru supōtsu to nashonarizumu’ (Sports and Nationalism in Japan), Nakamura, Toshio. ed. “Supōtsu nashonarizumu”, Taishūkan shoten, 1978, p. 170.
 18. Kishino, Yūzō. & Takenoshita, Kyūzō. “Kindai nippon gakkō Taiiku-shi” (School Physical Education in Modern Japan), Tōyōkan shuppan, 1959, pp. 199-201.
 19. Kumagai, Tatsujirō. ed. “Dai nippon seinendan-shi” (A History of the Greater Japan Youth Group), Nippon seinenkan, 1942, pp. 335-338.
 20. “Dai nippon seishōnendan-shi” (A History of Greater Japan Youth and Child Group), Nippon seinenkan, 1970, p. 185.
 21. Kishino, Yūzō. & Takenoshita, Kyūzō. “Kindai nippon gakkō taiiku-shi” (School Physical Education in Modern Japan), Tōyōkan shuppan, 1959, p. 207.
 22. Dai nippon taiiku kai. ed. “Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai-shi hoi” (History of Amateur Athletic Association—Supplement), Dai nippon taiiku kai, 1946, p. 116.
 23. Hamada, Yoshiaki. “Gakkō taiiku undō ni kansuru hōrei narabini tsūchō” (Orders and Circulars concerning School Physical Education and Sports), Meguro shoten, 1939, pp. 274-276.
 24. Ishikawa, Junkichi. “Kokka sōdōin-shi Shiryōhen dai 4” (History of National Mobilization; Historical Documents Vol. 4), Kokka sōdōin-shi kankōkai, 1976, p. 675.
 25. Imamura, Yoshio. “Nippon Taiiku-shi” (Japanese History of Physical Education), Humaidō shuppan, 1970, pp. 1467-68.

Bibliography

1. “Dai nippon seishōnendan-shi” (A History of Greater Japan Youth and Child Group), Nippon seinenkan, 1970.
2. Dai nippon taiiku kai. ed. “Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai-shi hoi” (History of Amateur Athletic Association—Supplement), Dai nippon taiiku kai, 1946.
3. Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai. ed. “Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai-shi” (History of Amateur Athletic Association), Dai nippon taiiku kyōkai, 1937.
4. Hall, J.W. “Japan, From Prehistory to Modern Times”, Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971.
5. Hamada, Yoshiaki. “Gakkō taiiku undō ni kansuru hōrei narabini tsūchō” (Orders and Circulars concerning School Physical Education and Sports), Meguro shoten, 1939.
6. Ienaga, Saburō. translation by Frank Baldwin. “Japan’s Last War, World War II and the Japanese, 1931-1945”, Randam House Inc., 1978.
7. Imamura, Yoshio. “Nippon Taiiku-shi” (Japanese History of Physical Education), Humaidō shuppan, 1970.
8. Imamura, Yoshio. & Miyahata, Torahiko. ed. “Shinshū Taiiku dai Jiten” (Encyclopedia of Physical Education; New Edition), Humaidō shuppan, 1976.
9. Inoue, Kazuo. “Gakkō taiiku seido-shi” (History of School Physical Education System), Taishūkan shoten, 1959.
10. Irie, Katsumi. “Nippon fashizumu ka no taiiku shisō” (Ideas of Physical Education under the Japanese Fascism), Humaidō shuppan, 1986.

11. Ishikawa, Junkichi. "Kokka sōdōin-shi Shiryōhen dai 4" (History of National Mobilization; Historical Documents Vol. 4), Kokka sōdōin-shi kankōkai, 1976.
12. Kaga, Hideo. 'Nippon no gakkō taiiku no gunjika to ōgon ki no supōtsu' (Militarization of School Gymnastics and Athleticism), Umene, Satoru. ed. "Sekai kyōiku-shi taikai 31 Taiiku-shi", Kōdansha, 1975, pp. 261-285.
13. Kaga, Hideo. 'Nippon no sōdōin taisei ka no gakkō taiiku to supōtsu' (Sport and Physical Education under the Mobilization), Umene, Satoru. ed. "Sekai kyōiku-shi taikai 31 Taiiku-shi", Kōdansha, 1975, pp. 335-358.
14. Kaga, Hideo. 'Nippon ni okeru supōtsu to nashonarizumu' (Sports and Nationalism in Japan), Nakamura, Toshio. ed. "Supōtsu nashonarizumu", Taishūkan shoten, 1978, pp. 145-178.
15. Kaga, Hideo. 'On the 1932 Student Baseball Control in Japan' "Bulletin. The Faculty of Education, Hokkaidō University", Vol. 51, 1988.
16. Kinoshita, Hideaki. et al. "Taiiku-shi gaisetsu" (History of Physical Education), Kyōrin shoin, 1961.
17. Kinoshita, Hideaki. "Supōtsu no kindai nippon-shi" (Modern History of Sport in Japan), Kyōrin shoin, 1972.
18. Kinoshita, Hideaki. "Heishiki taisō kara mita gun to kyōiku" (Army and Education from the View Point of Military Gymnastics), Kyōrin shoin, 1982.
19. Kishino, Yūzō. & Takenoshita, Kyūzō. "Kindai nippon gakkō taiiku-shi" (School Physical Education in Modern Japan), Tōyōkan shuppan, 1959.
20. Kishino, Yūzō. ed. "Supōtsu dai jiten" (Encyclopedia of Sports), Taishūkan shoten, 1987.
21. Kodama, Matsuo. ed. "CIE (15 February 1946) Education in Japan", Meiji University Press, 1983.
22. Kōsei-shō 20 nen-shi henshū iinkai, "Kōsei-shō 20 nen-shi" (20 Years of the Ministry of Health and Welfare), Kōsei mondai kenkyūkai, 1960.
23. Kōzu, Masaru. 'Seisaku to shiteno supōtsu' (Sports as Policy), Nakamura, Toshio. ed. "Supōtsu seisaku", Taishūkan shoten, 1978, pp. 35-93.
24. Kumagai, Tatsujirō. ed. "Dai nippon seinendan-shi" (A History of the Greater Japan Youth Group), Nippon seinenkan, 1942.
25. Kurimoto, Yoshihiko. "Tairyoku kōjō to taiiku undō" (Improvement of Physical Education), Hoken eisei kyōkai, 1941.
26. Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. "Education in Japan"
27. Morikawa, Sadao. 'Rōdōsha taiiku supōtsu no ayumi' (History of Workingmen's Physical Education and Sport), Umene, Satoru. ed. "Sekai kyōiku-shi taikai 31 Taiiku-shi", Kōdansha, 1975, pp. 371-390.
28. Nakamura, T. Maruyama, M. Tsuji, K. eds. "Seijigaku Jiten" (Encyclopedia of Politics), Heibonsha, 1954
29. Nippon taiiku gakkai taiiku-shi senmon bunkakai. ed. "Nippon supōtsu 100 nen no ayumi" (100 Years of Sports in Japan), Baseball Magazine Co. 1967.
30. Nippon taiiku kyōkai. ed. "Supōtsu 80 nen-shi" (80 Years of Sports), Nippon taiiku kyōkai, 1959.
31. "Nippon taiiku kyōkai 50 nen-shi" (50 Years of Japan Amateur Sports Association), Nippon taiiku kyōkai, 1963.
32. "Nippon taiiku kyōkai 75 nen-shi" (75 Years of Japan Amateur Sports Association), Nippon taiiku kyōkai, 1986
33. Ogura, Manabu. "Gakkō hoken" (School Health Education), Kōseikan, 1983.
34. Reischauer, E.O. "Japan, Past and Present", Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1964.
35. Reischauer, E.O. "Japan, The Story of A Nation", Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1981.
36. Research and Statistics Division, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Government of Japan. "Japan's Modern Educational System, A History of the First Hundred Years", Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1980.
37. Sakaue, Yasuhiro. 'The Organizing Process and Structure of Dai Nippon Butokukai, 1895-1904' "The Journal of Administrative and Social Sciences", Vol. 1, No. 3,4, Fukushima University, 1989, pp. 59-112
38. Takenoshita, Kyūzō. "Taiiku 50 nen" (50 Years of Physical Education), Jiji tsūshinsha, 1960.
39. Watanabe, Tōru. 'The Influence of Yokohama Foreigners Sport Club in the Meiji Era on the

Development of Western Sports in Japan', "Proceedings of Department of Physical Education, College of General Education, University of Tokyo", Vol. 10, 1976, pp. 1-33.

40. Watanabe, Tōru. 'The National-Wide Trend of Sports in Middle School in the Meiji Era', "Proceeding of Department of Physical Education, College of General Education, University

of Tokyo", Vol. 12, 1978, pp. 1-22.

41. Watanabe, Tōru. & Miyashita, Mitsumasa. et al. ed. "Gendai taiiku supōtsu taikei dai 2 kan Taiiku supōtsu no rekishi" (Contemporary Library of Physical Education and Sports, Vol. 2, History of Physical Education and Sports), Kōdansha, 1984.