

## Japan

### Rice

From 1919 to 1944, Japan has a POLITY democracy score of 5 and a POLITY autocracy score of 4. Thus, despite having some appearance of a parliamentary democracy, it was a non-democracy by our rules. We code Japan from 191 to 1931 as being “other” regime, specifically an oligarchy. By our rules, we do not code any SOLS changes during the period of oligarchy.<sup>1</sup> For the period from 1932 to 1945, we code a military regime and code no SOLS changes during this period as well.

In 1918, Japan had elected its first Prime Minister, Takashi Hara, of the “Friends of the Constitutional Government” (FC) party. Hara, a commoner, refused offers to become a noble and formed a Cabinet. Though this was a positive step towards parliamentary democracy, it was basically cancelled out when Hara was assassinated in 1921. Control of the government passed to Count Yasuya Uchida, who served for nine days as acting Prime Minister, before being replaced by Korekiyo Takahashi, also of the FC. The transition from Hara (FC) to Takahashi (FC) seems to be a pre-designated succession. According to Connors (1987, 92) the FC made Takahashi President of the Party and the composition of the cabinet remained as it had been under Hara. He was Finance Minister in the Hara Cabinet although he was not a member of the party at that time. Connors (1987, 91) states that “the ex-Finance Minister could count on the support of the Seyoukai (FC), there would be no shift in power as a consequence of the assassination.” This sentence suggests the continuity of Hara’s cabinet and it also suggests that there was none within the party who could control the party after Hara. So, we consider Takahashi as a kind of pre-designated successor.

Takahashi was unable to maintain a secure support base in the Diet, and therefore resigned after seven months, in June 1922. He was replaced by Tomosaburo Kato, a member of the military. Gordon (2009, 163) states that, “it is important to note that the practice of selecting party leaders to form cabinets was still not firmly established. Takahashi proved unable to contain factional struggles within his party, and in 1922 he resigned as prime minister.... Over the following two years, the three surviving oligarchs returned to the practice of selecting non-party prime ministers. In quick succession, they named two navy men and the president of the Privy Council to form supra-partisan, so-called transcendental cabinets with relatively weak ties to the political parties.” As Gordon suggested, there is a clear difference between Takahashi’s government, which was based on a political party (FC), and Kato’s government, which was not based on any political parties. Thus, Kato cannot be considered as a pre-designated successor. However, since Kato was still in the oligarchic period, we do not code a SOLS change with the entry of Kato.

Kato died of cancer fourteen months after taking office, in 1923. Count Uchida once again took office as acting Prime Minister. Then, Count Gonnohyoe Yamamoto, also of the military, was appointed as a new Prime Minister. The reason of this transition is Kato’s sudden death, which implies that Kato did not appoint Yamamoto as his successor before his death.<sup>2</sup> While

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<sup>1</sup> In this oligarchic period in Japan, many non-pre-designated leaders with very similar SOLS composed of the same oligarchy (Genro in Japanese).

<sup>2</sup> Although Kato’s and Yamamoto’s cabinets may indicate that there was some form of military government in place during this time, we were unable to find evidence that the military had actually taken over the government. Also, Yamamoto, when asked to resign in 1924, did so.

the transition from Kato (navy man) to Yamamoto (navy man) does not seem to be a pre-designated succession, we do not code a SOLS change with the entry of Yamamoto because of our oligarchy rules.

After Yamamoto resigned, Viscount Keigo Kiyoura was appointed as Prime Minister from 5 January to 11 June. While he is labeled as “non-party,” he was not an acting Prime Minister. The transition from Yamamoto to Kiyoura does not seem to be a pre-designated succession. Yamamoto’s resignation was because of the assassination attempt made on the life of the Crown Prince. He assumed the responsibility and resigned. By our oligarchy rules, however, we do not code SOLS change with the entry of Kiyoura.<sup>3</sup> Elections were held in June, and Kiyoura lost his general support base, and resigned. He was replaced by Takaaki Kato, a member of the Kenseikai (Con, English translation: Constitutional Association) party which had become the first party in the Lower House in the elections (Connors 1987, 96). This is not a SOLS change based on our oligarchy rules.

As a result of sudden death of Kato in 1926, and Reijiro Wakatsuki, also of the Kenseikai party become PM. Since Wakatsuki was the Vice President of the Kenseikai party at that time, it was a natural course that he succeeded to Kato in emergency. Connors (1987, 101) states that “the path was clear. The Diet was still in session and the Kato Cabinet had not lost popular support.... The decision to recommend Vice-President Wakatsuki was therefore straightforward.” Thus, the transition from Kato (Kenseikai) to Wakatsuki (Kenseikai) seems to be a pre-designated succession. Wakatsuki remained in office until 19 April 1927, when he was forced to resign due to the Showa financial crisis. He was replaced by Giichi Tanaka, of the FC, who was able to restore financial stability to the country. This is not a SOLS change based on the oligarchy rules. Tanaka remained Prime Minister until 1929, when he lost support and was forced to resign. He was replaced by Osachi Hamaguchi, who was the leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Rikken Minseito, CD). This is not a SOLS change based on the oligarchy rules.

Hamaguchi remained in office until a failed assassination attempt to him in November 1930. To avoid a political change resulting from a physical attack on the government, for five months the Minseito engaged in intra-factional maneuvering and government was carried on under the temporal leadership of Foreign Minister Shidehara (non-party, interim). Connors (1987, 104) states that, “On April 11<sup>th</sup>, 1931, under pressure from the Cabinet, Hamaguchi resigned as party president and Wakatsuki became leader of the Minseito. The following day the [Hamaguchi] Cabinet presented its resignation.... Since the cause of the Cabinet’s resignation was not political but medical,... the Genro advised that it was correct that the mandate should go to the new Minseito President, Wakatsuki”. This suggests that Hamaguchi resigned after appointing (or at least deciding) Wakatsuki as his successor. Thus, we consider the transition from Hamaguchi (Minseito) to Wakatsuki (Minseito) as a pre-designated succession.

Wakatsuki’s second term lasted eight months—he was unable to stop the escalation of hostilities against China that began with the Manchurian Incident, and culminated with the Sino-Japanese War. In December 1931, he resigned and was replaced by Tsuyoshi Inukai, the leader

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<sup>3</sup> We acknowledge that the Kiyoura’s SOLS might be different from Yamamoto’s SOLS. Kiyoura was the president of Privy Council and “Kiyoura filled his cabinet almost entirely with members of the House of Peers rather than House of Representatives” (Gordon 2009, 163). This suggests that Kiyoura’s SOLS may differ from previous governments which included the members of Lower House (Perez 1998, 138). However, we follow our oligarchy rules.

of the FC. This is not a SOLS change as Inukai was still in the period of oligarchy. Inukai was also unable to control the Army, especially a group known as the Young Officers. This group's aggression in China (including the invasion and establishment of a new nation called the Republic of Manchuria) led to Japan's censure by the League of Nations. Inukai critiqued the actions of the Officers, and was then assassinated in May 1932. This assassination led to the end of democracy in Japan until after World War II. Inukai was briefly succeeded by Korekiyo Takahashi (no SOLS change), who was then ousted in favor of a series of military Prime Ministers. This marks Japan's transition to a military-type government, which is a SOLS change.

From May 1932 to July 1934, the Prime Minister was Viscount Makoto Saito. After a bribery scandal led to Saito's resignation, he was replaced by Keisuke Okada. Okada remained in office until March 1936, when an attempted coup also led to his resignation. He was then replaced by Koki Hirota, who, though a nonpartisan civilian, was appointed by the military (therefore not signaling an end to the military government and no SOLS change). Hirota remained in office for eleven months before resigning. He was replaced by Senjuro Hayashi, who served for four months before being replaced by the nonpartisan Duke Fumimaro Konoe (but the military's control over the government remained in place). Konoe remained in office until January 1939, when he resigned. He was replaced by Baron Kiichiro Hiranuma, also nonpartisan (no SOLS change). Hiranuma resigned in August 1939, and was followed by General Nobuyuki Abe (no SOLS change). Abe opposed the proposed alliance with Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, which led to a loss of support and his being replaced by Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai in January 1940 (no SOLS change). Yonai was similarly anti-German, and he was also forced to resign. He was replaced by Konoe once again. Konoe had switched parties and was now a member of the right-wing Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA: Taisei Yokusankai) party, however, the government was ever more controlled by the military.

Konoe was against war with the United States, and resigned in October 1941. He was replaced by his former War Minister, General Hideki Tojo (no SOLS change). Tojo remained in office for most of the duration of World War II. His cabinet fell in July 1944, and he was replaced by the Governor-General of Korea, Kuniaki Koiso (no SOLS change). Koiso remained in office until April 1945, when he resigned following the Battle of Okinawa. He was replaced by Admiral Kantaro Suzuki, who oversaw peace negotiations with the Allied powers. When these negotiations led to the surrender of Japan in August 1945, Suzuki resigned. Japan is then occupied by the Allied powers from 1945 to 1952.

In 1947, American General Douglas MacArthur, who was overseeing the occupation, created Japan's new constitution (which is known, even in the present day, as the MacArthur Peace Constitution [Perez 1998, 140]). However, occupation continued until April 28, 1952, when sovereignty was returned to Japan. The spreadsheet does not list the years between 1945 and 1952, and though there were Prime Ministers during this time, technically Japan was not an independent state, so the SOLS changes between them are not to be recorded.

In 1952, when the occupation officially ended, the Premier was Shigeru Yoshida, a member of the Liberal Party (LP) who had been in office since 1947 (SOLS change). Yoshida remained in office until 1954, when he was defeated in elections by the Japan Democratic Party (DP). The leader of this coalition was Ichiro Hatoyama (SOLS change). On November 22, 1955, the DP, along with several other parties, combined to form the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Hatoyama remained the Prime Minister, but since this added parties to his SOLS base, I have

coded the creation of the LDP and Hatoyama's ensuing party affiliation change as a minor SOLS change.

The LDP remained in power for the next 48 years, but Japan is not coded as a single-party state (as opposition parties existed, they just could not win enough seats to form a majority). The Prime Minister changed several times during that 48 years, partly due to conflicts between the various factions within the LDP (Perez 1998, 147). In December 1956, Hatoyama was replaced as Premier by Tanzan Ishibashi. Ishibashi was only in power until February 1957, when he was replaced by Nobosuke Kishi. Kishi made himself unpopular by revising the Mutual Security Treaty with the United States (which dealt with American troops stationed in Japan). The new treaty resulted in mass demonstrations and disorder in the Diet (Perez 1998, 147-48). Kishi was in office until July 1960, when he resigned and was replaced by Ikeda Hayato. Hayato was in power until November 1964, when he was replaced by another member of his faction, Eisaku Sato. Sato was in office until July 1972, when another faction, led by Kakuei Tanaka, took power. Tanaka is considered the last of the "Big Men" to be premier—after him, with one exception, "the premierships would be shuffled around to faceless political mediocrities" (Perez 1998, 150), most of whom would not last more than 2 years in office.

Tanaka was implicated in the Lockheed Scandal, and ultimately stepped down from office in December 1974. He was replaced by Takeo Miki, seen as a reformer, in a loose sense (Perez 1998, 151). Miki was Premier until December 1976, when another faction, led by Takeo Fukuda, took power. Fukuda then yielded power to another faction in December 1978, this one led by Masayoshi Ohira. Ohira died in the middle of the 1980 electoral campaigns, leading to Masayoshi Ito taking over as interim premier for one month, until July 1980. Then, Zenko Suzuki was elected Premier on 17 July, and remained in office until November 1982. Suzuki was faced with intense criticism from the minority Socialist and Community parties, as well as from the governments of China and Korea (Perez 1998, 154) and did not run for reelection. The winner of the 1982 election was the nationalistic and conservative Yasuhiro Nakasone. Nakasone believed in supply-side economics and was successful enough to win reelection in 1984 (Perez 1998, 154). From 1983 to 1986, Nakasone and the LDP entered into a coalition with the New Liberal Club (NLC) (minor SOLS changes in 1983, when the coalition began, and 1986, when it ended). Nakasone was then replaced by his handpicked successor, Noboru Takeshita in 1987, who continued Nakasone's policies. Takeshita's government fell in 1989, after the Cosmos Recruit financial scandal (Perez 1998, 157). After Takeshita's resignation, the LDP selected Sosuke Uno to be Premier. However, a scandal involving Uno's personal life led to him being replaced by the very neutral Toshiki Kaifu in August of 1989. Kaifu was then replaced by Kiichi Miyazawa in November of 1991. More scandals, involving the corruption within the LDP, began to splinter the party from within, leading to some politicians splitting from the LDP and forming their own parties.

One of these was Morihiro Hosokawa, who, as a member of the Japan New Party (JNP) formed a coalition with six other parties and became the first non-LDP Premier in 48 years (SOLS change) in 1993. However, Hosokawa's coalition did not last long, and collapsed when it was revealed that he had also been involved in shady financial dealings (Perez 1998, 160). Another coalition, led by Tsutomu Hata of the KAIS (Japanese Renewal Party), took over (SOLS change), but fell apart in two months. On 29 June 1994, another coalition, this one led by Tomiichi Murayama, of the Socialist Party (SDP) took power (SOLS change). This coalition also contained the LDP and the Sakigaye parties. Murayama resigned in January 1996, and was

replaced by LDP member Ryutaro Hashimoto. Though the governing coalition (SDP/LDP/SAKI) remained the same, because the party of the Premier changed, this is coded as a SOLS change. The elections in November 1996 were won by the LDP and Hashimoto. Some sources refer to the second Hashimoto government as a minority LDP government (Shinoda 1998; parl.gov.com). However, the *European Journal of Political Research* (Shiratori 1997) lists SDJP and SAKI as participating in the coalition. This is explained in a footnote (p. 430) that says that while these parties helped “form the second Hashimoto coalition cabinet, they decided not to send any ministers into the cabinet”. This means we code no minor SOLS change here. Hashimoto remained in office until 1998, when his faction fared poorly in the elections, and he resigned (Perez 1998, 163). He was replaced by Keizo Obuchi, who at first was in charge of the LDP with no coalition partners. However, in January 1999, Obuchi and the LDP entered into a coalition with the Liberal Party (LP) (minor SOLS change). Obuchi added to this coalition by including the Komeito Party in October of that same year (minor SOLS change).

In the middle of his term, in April 2000, Obuchi suffered a stroke and fell into a coma. For two days, the Prime Minister was Mikio Aoki, a high-ranking LDP member, took over (not a SOLS change). Then, on 5 April 2000, one of Obuchi’s rivals, Yoshiro Mori, became Prime Minister. Mori formed a new coalition that included the LDP, the New Conservative Party (NCP), and the Komeito Party (minor SOLS change). Mori resigned in April 2001 due to low popularity (Perez 1998, 163), and was replaced by Junichiro Koizumi. Koizumi’s coalition was the same as his predecessor’s (no SOLS change), and he continued with it until September 2004, when the NCP merged into the LDP and the Komeito Party (now called the Komei-Clean Government Party) (no minor SOLS change). The NCP did not leave the coalition but rather merged with LDP. Thus Koizumi really keeps the same support base.

In 2006, public support for Koizumi’s government was eroding, so he resigned (Perez 1998, 164). He was replaced by Shinzo Abe, who led the same coalition (no SOLS change). Abe lasted in office for one year, until September 2007, when he was replaced by Yasuo Fukuda, who again led the same LDP/Komei coalition (no SOLS change). Fukuda was also in power for one year, then resigned and passed power on to Taro Aso, with the same coalition (no SOLS change). Aso was in office until 2009.

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