THE GENTLE WAY TO DOCILITY:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLICATIONS AND
HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE 1931 INCLUSION OF
JUDO IN THE JAPANESE MIDDLE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

by

Jonathan Roberts

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of East Asian Studies
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Jon Roberts 2009
The Gentle Way to Docility:
An Analysis of the Implications and Historical Roots
of the 1931 Inclusion of Judo in the Japanese Middle School Curriculum

Jonathan Roberts
Master of Arts 2009
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Toronto

Abstract:

In 1931, judo became a compulsory subject in middle schools throughout Japan, over forty-years after Kanō Jigorō, judo's founder, had initially recommended it to government officials as something which should be included in the schools across the country. While this simple change in middle school curriculum may seem insignificant, it was in fact a watershed marking a new stage of the creation of an able and disciplined populace in Japan. This thesis will explain the significance of the inclusion of judo in schools by investigating the history of judo up to the point of its inclusion in schools, exploring the rhetoric of judo in terms of a larger discourse on “moral education” which was prevalent during the times, and finally an analysis of school judo—in terms of its physical practice as well as the ideology and rhetoric behind it—using the Foucauldian concept of “docile bodies.”
PREFACE

It is common to disavow one's own biases and subjectivity in academic writings, and while this thesis is written in an appropriately academic style, I would like to take this page to let certain facts about myself and my views that are related to this paper be known.

I am a judoka who loves judo—both the practice and the simple yet extraordinarily powerful ideology behind it—and have spent almost two decades of my life devoted to the martial way and sport, two-and-a-half years of which were in Japan: one at International Budo University, and another year and a half at Tokai University.

It seems almost cliché for judo practitioners to say so, but I owe judo so much, and all the judo teachers and practitioners that I've met on my travels around the world have had such a tremendously positive impact on my life that anything written in this simple preface couldn't possibly express my appreciation.

In this thesis I will be exploring the implications of having judo made part of the middle school curriculum in Japan in 1931. In it I am critical of the way judo was used by the early Shōwa state, and I would like to state now that in writing this thesis it was not my intention to drag judo through the mud, as it were, and I certainly hope that it is not misinterpreted in that way.

I believe that Kanō was a great man who was put in impossible circumstances, given the zeitgeist of his time; he was a man who wanted peace for the world while seeing his country become peers with the hegemonic “Western” powers. In the latter part of this thesis I will be examining his writings and critiquing his ideologies, but I would like to make it clear that I have the utmost respect for the man and aspire to achieve a fraction of the greatness that he did in his lifetime.

I would like to take this last space to thank some people specifically here who have aided me,
either directly or indirectly, with writing this paper. First and foremost, I would like to thank Ken Kawashima for overseeing and advising the writing of this thesis: I never thought that judo could be treated as a serious academic topic, but your enthusiasm instilled in me a faith that kept me going when things looked bleak. I would also like to thank Dwight Kwok and Chiami Ishii, for helping me with various translations which aided my understanding of the subject of this thesis.

My various judo instructors in Canada: Ray Litvak, Rick Koglin, Nihad Mehmedovic; all of whom enriched my life through their teachings, and always motivated me in ways that made me want to reach new heights; and David Miller, without his support I would have never made it over to Japan, I owe him more than I will ever be able to repay.

In Japan, I would like to thank all the instructors I've had the pleasure of training under: at International Budo university, I owe a debt to Koshino sensei, Kashiwazaki sensei, Ishii sensei, Bunasawa sensei, and many others; at Tokai, my debt is towards Yamaguchi sensei, Agemizu sensei, Nakanishi sensei, Yamashita sensei, Sato sensei, and once again, countless others. I consider it an honour and a privilege to have been able to train under all of their guidance. I also owe a special thanks to Keiko Mitsumoto and Hashimoto sensei for the countless hours of assistance they gave me in general as well as when I came to them with this thesis in its embryonic stage; both showed me a warmth and kindness that I will not soon forget.

And finally, I would like to thank my family: my brothers Kevin, Eric, and Chris, my sister-in-law Tanya, and my parents Geoff and Lori. All of you put up with and supported me all summer when I was finishing this thesis, I owe you all a great deal of gratitude.

JON ROBERTS

Toronto, Ontario
September, 2009
# The Gentle Way to Docility:
An Analysis of the Implications and Historical Roots
of the 1931 Inclusion of Judo in the Japanese Middle School Curriculum

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 1:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for the Way:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo's Beginnings and the Early Meiji Zeitgeist</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalizing the State</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controlling the Nation</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educating the Masses</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Art to Way</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 2:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Gooders: An Examination of Perceived Social Pathologies and Their Remedies, 1890-1930</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delinquency</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back to the Books</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Books</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 3:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Efficiency, Minimum Effort:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Foucauldian Analysis of Judo in Schools</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Corporeal</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ideological</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judo as Discipline</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the implications of the teaching of judo\(^1\) to middle school children in 1931, to attempt to place its inclusion in a larger historical context by analyzing the pedagogic trends which existed at the time, and to explore the ideology of judo in the larger context of the discourses on moral education which were prominent at the time, situating it in part of a larger epistemological genealogy.

Chapter One will explore the historical roots of judo, looking at the early history of the founder of judo, Kanō Jigorō,\(^2\) as well as the jujutsu\(^3\) training which he did that led to his conception of what is now known as judo. It will also examine the early Meiji socio-political atmosphere, looking at how and why the new “modern” state was created, examining the desires of the early Meiji statesmen and how they attempted to fulfill them. It will also examine the beginnings of the new school system, examining the discourses on “moral education” which became prominent in the late 1870s onward, and would continue to be a factor throughout the first half of the twentieth century and beyond.

From there Chapter Two will explore the continuing discourses on morality and delinquency in the context of an increasingly repressive state. It will briefly examine the various permutations of the Peace Preservation Law and its implications, and look at Japan's increasingly imperialistic aspirations, all of which had profound influential in eventually getting judo instated in the middle school curriculum.

Lastly, Chapter Three will provide an analysis of school judo itself as it was in 1931. It will explore the corporeal dimension of judo, in terms of the techniques and methods of instruction that

---

1 Judo is more accurately *jūdō*, from 柔道, but in this thesis the former will be used.

2 This name is written, as well as all Japanese names to follow in this thesis, in the Japanese style: family name first, given name second.

3 Jujutsu is more accurately *jūjutsu*, from 柔術, but in this thesis the former will be used.
were deployed in order to have a maximum impact on the judo practitioner's physical body. Further the ideological aspect, which had developed in tandem with the raging debate on morality which had been going on since the 1870s, and the implications that a unwavering belief in these ideologies would have for a judo practitioner. Then it will look at judo as a discipline, exploring what made it effective, and why it was deployment in the middle schools at that time must be seen part of a larger war time strategy of the Japanese state.
CHAPTER 1

Searching for the Way:
Judo’s Beginnings and the Early Meiji Zeitgeist
CHAPTER ONE

The martial way called “judo” was officially created in 1882, only fourteen years after the Meiji Restoration, and seven years before the promulgation of the state constitution. The years of judo's inception were tumultuous ones, with tremendous changes occurring throughout the newly conceived state in its rush to technologically “modernize” as quickly as possible. As Gluck points out,

Narrative accounts often characterize the first two Meiji decades (1868-1887) as the pragmatic—and dramatic—years. Epoch-making political developments included centralization, conscription, tax reform, the movement for parliamentary government, and the drafting of a constitution. Social change, too, had been considerable, with the legal leveling of the classes, compulsory elementary education, westernization, leaps in material culture, and increased stature for the rural agricultural elite. Industrialization on a strong agrarian base, an aggressively entrepreneurial private sector, the chastening experience of the government deflation in the early 1880s—Japan's capitalist economy began to take shape during the same period.\(^4\)

A complete examination of the period between 1868-1890 is far beyond the scope of this thesis, however it is of utmost importance to briefly examine the times so that a greater understanding of the environment from which judo arose can be ascertained. This chapter will serve that purpose: it will provide a brief analysis of the period, looking at the predominant issues of the times—industrialization/militarization, education, and creation of the state—as well as looking at the early history of judo from its conception to its infamous victory over jujutsu in a Tokyo Metropolitan Police sponsored tournament to see which method of combat would be used by the modern police force.

CAPITALIZING THE STATE

Japan was a “late-comer” to the world of capitalism, and because of that it had to be very weary of the steps it took towards “modernizing,” as “classical economic theory dictated that Japan, with its cheap and abundant labor, would specialize in low-tech, labor-intensive industries such as textiles.” This was not what the leading statesmen of Japan wanted at the time: they wanted to be a strong, autonomous nation, on par with or exceeding the “Western” powers. They believed that if the government took direct control over the economy and began building it from the top down, with heavy government investment in equipment that was prohibitively expensive for the private entrepreneur, they would be able to jump start heavy industries and not be doomed to sewing shirts for Europeans for the next hundred years. And this is precisely what happened: “the normal transition from light to heavy industry was reversed in Japan. Before the first introduction of cotton spinning machines in Japan in 1866, even before the importation of foreign fabrics, engineering works and arsenals had been established.”

According to G.C. Allen, the reason Japan embarked upon a non-traditional route to capitalist development was out fear: "Japan's first problem was to take over as quickly as possible the technological apparatus of the West.... she feared for her security and her leaders could not neglect the strategic aspect of economic development." The unnecessary feminization of the country aside, security was likely a great impetus towards military industrialization: a brief look at the history of European colonialism is ample evidence for why. If Japan created a strong military, given their logistic distance from Europe and technological capabilities, the riches that would have been gained through

6 E.H. Norman, in Samuels, 83
7 G.C. Allen, in Samuels, 38
colonization of Japan would have been heavily outweighed by the causalities and munitions cost that would have resulted from a war with a “modern” military.

The early Meiji policy makers were governed by a drive towards making the country economically rich so that it may have a strong military to defend itself. This was a difficult balance to achieve, as Fukuzawa Yukichi pointed out:

The fact that England has one thousand warships does not mean that she has one thousand warships only. If there are one thousand warships, there have to be at least ten thousand merchant ships, which in turn require at least one hundred thousand navigators; and to create navigators there must be naval science. Only when there are many professors and many merchants, when laws are in order and trade prospers, when social conditions are ripe,—when, that is, you have all the prerequisites for a thousand warships—only then can there be a thousand warships.... In countries where there is an imbalance in military strength there is apt to be no sense of proportion—indiscriminate military expenditures drain the national treasury and undermine the country.8

Because of this need for proper economic development before a strong army could be sustained, the ideology which governed the minds of early Meiji policy makers is most eloquently summed up in the slogan “rich nation, strong army,”9 which also captures the essence of the Meiji state's “military technonationalism.”10 A political advisor to one of the architects of Meiji economy put it bluntly: "If people are rich, the country is also rich; if people are poor, the country is also poor. If army and navy are the body, national wealth is the food we consume. Without food, it is impossible to maintain the body. In this situation, however independent a country may be, the lack of wealth will extinguish it."11

This single-minded drive towards stimulating the economy through militarization was so intense that “by 1877 military spending accounted for nearly two-thirds of central government

---

8 Fukuzawa Yukichi, in Samuels, 43
9 Fukoku kyōhei, or in kanji, 富国強兵
10 Samuels, 84
11 Yano Fumio, in Samuels, 37
investment, and in the 1880s it averaged more than half.”¹² Because of this tremendous government investment in the military and heavy industries, many of the social aspects associated with “modernity” took a back seat, or worse, were totally neglected. Indeed, because of the heavy emphasis on the aggrandizement of the Japanese economy, there was a grave social cost—as there never fails to be when capitalism is adopted in a country—and Meiji statesmen often found themselves indecisive when it came to how to deal with the “human” aspect of modernity.

¹² Samuels, 85
CONTROLLING THE NATION

Because of the perceived need to get capitalism up and going as quickly as possible, the state needed to mobilize bodies in a precise way as to facilitate rapid economic growth. Despite the fact that there was a legal leveling of the classes, and a breakdown of the old feudal hierarchy which had already been eroding, there was an important ideological stratification between two distinct groups of people: politicians and non-politicians, the private\footnote{Kan, or in kanji, 官} and the public\footnote{Min, or in kanji, 民}.

The politicians at the time needed the common people to do as they wished without asking questions or challenging their authority, which was a daunting task considering the great social violence that the many economic reforms inflicted. The state did this on two fronts: through the promotion of certain ideologies and through the creation of laws which prohibited actions/behaviors counter-productive to the aggrandizement of the domestic economy. In early Meiji there was a definite weakness in the ability to ideologically persuade the population to act a certain way given these grave social costs—something which the state constantly sought to strengthen and to a degree succeeded in doing in the early twentieth century\footnote{This subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.}—and accordingly, the instatement of a strong juridical order was crucial at the time. These legal structures were created precisely to stop the anti-state behaviour which was occurring: laws aren't created for behaviours that aren't exhibited. As Gluck points out:

The government's suppression of popular rights movement and the political opposition it represented had resulted in a series of legal and institutional measures designed to remove "matters relating to politics" (seiji ni kansuru jikō) from the popular province. A series of suppressive laws in the 1880s expanded a pattern begun in the 1870s. The government attempted to control both the formation of political associations and the free discussion of politics in meetings, publications, and the press. In short, its legislative targets were the groups who constituted the "public opinion of the people" (minkan no yoron). Certain sectors were specifically restricted: the Regulations for Public Meetings of 1880 forbade military men, active of reserve, police officers, teachers and students of public and private schools, and agricultural
and technical apprentices to join any political association or to "attend any meeting where politics forms the subject of address or discussion."\textsuperscript{16}

As this passage explains, the newly formed state went to great ends to separate the politicians from everyone else: there was to be no discussion of politics in public discourse; politics was to be left to the politicians. In the words of Gluck, “good soldiers, good bureaucrats, good local officials, and good pupils were to remain unsullied by any connection with politics.”\textsuperscript{17} The laws prohibiting this political behaviour which was seen as subversive by the Meiji statesmen led to several journals being shut down, including the \textit{Meiroku zasshi}, which was considered the “premier journal of enlightenment,” in 1875.\textsuperscript{18}

While the legal order was being formed, other statesmen were busy attempting to inculcate similar values in the population that didn't yet have a juridical backing. There were two segments of the population which received special attention at the time, due to their great potential to undermine the government given the sensitive nature of their professions: soldiers and schoolteachers.

It was of utmost importance to keep soldiers out of politics because ideological disagreements in the world of politics could easily spill out of the ideological realm and into the real world with deadly consequences. As opposed to attempting to keep the military officials on the same political footing as the state, the state felt it safest to keep them out of politics altogether, and simply have them follow orders: not just to “shoot first and ask questions later” but rather to “shoot and not ask questions.” Expressing this concern, journalist Fukuchi Gen'ichirō wrote "the thing most to be feared politically is the military in politics;"\textsuperscript{19} this matter was of so great an interest that he had an active part

\textsuperscript{16} Gluck, 50
\textsuperscript{17} Gluck, 53
\textsuperscript{18} Gluck, 51
\textsuperscript{19} Fukuchi Gen'ichirō, in Gluck 54
in creating the document which would attempt to stymie the mixture of military and politics. This document was the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors\textsuperscript{20} of 1882, in which “the emperor enjoined his military to "neither be led astray by current opinions nor meddle in politics (seiron ni madowazu seiji ni kakawarazu) but with single heart fulfill your essential duties of loyalty (chūsetsu).”\textsuperscript{21}

Yamagata Aritomo—then the Army Minister\textsuperscript{22}—had conceived of the Rescript and knew exactly what he was doing by creating the document: he later described it as a "'kind of muzzle order for soldiers,' in order to provide a guide to military ethics in 'a time of national emergency,' which was how the popular rights agitation of 1880-1881 appeared to [him].”\textsuperscript{23}

Teachers were the other main source of anxiety for Meiji statesmen, as they had a tremendous influence over the minds of the future generations, and were in a way the mouthpieces of the state. Ideally, the state wished teachers to remove their personal subjectivities from their lessons and simply parrot the official doctrines, but that was a utopian dream not possible of being realized. Because of this fact, the state treated teachers in very much the same way as soldiers: The Ministry of Education issued order after order “forbidding teachers to 'support or encourage political contests' (seijijō no kyousō) or 'to have anything directly or indirectly to do with any parties' in the general elections,” a transgression of which would cost the teacher their job.\textsuperscript{24}

With members of the military muzzled, the Meiji statesmen could go about their business—without the fear of a possible military coup—of promoting domestic industry towards the goal of having a strong army, supported by a rich nation created on the backs of current and future generations of workers molded through a school system ostensibly separated from the political sphere.

\textsuperscript{20} Gunjin chokuyu, or in kanji, 軍人勅諭

\textsuperscript{21} Gluck, 53

\textsuperscript{22} Yamagata would become the Prime Minister of Japan in 1889.

\textsuperscript{23} Gluck, 53

\textsuperscript{24} Gluck, 52
With the drive towards “modernization,” a new type of national subject needed to be created: given all of the new opportunities “modernity” promised to provide, it was no longer in the State's interest for children to learn the profession of their parents and continue along that path, whether it was that of a peasant, artisan, or merchant. The State didn't need specialists: what was needed was generalists, people educated in a way that made them able to be deployed in any number of professions throughout the “modern” industrialized country, depending on a combination of their aptitudes and the new job market. The newly created Ministry of Education put this dramatic change in the way people would henceforth live their lives—due to the necessity for general labourers which the early stages of capitalism demanded—it in a more positive light: “for enlightenment to flourish and civilization to advance, for people to be secure in their livelihood and preserve their families, each person's talents and skills (sainō gigei) must be developed. For this purpose schools are to be established in order that the people will learn.” Towards this end of having enlightenment flourish and civilization advance, compulsory education was introduced 1872.

But the concept of compulsory education for the benign benefit of the future generation wasn't as warmly received by the public as the Meiji policy makers had hoped: when it was initially introduced, “families perceived schools to be detrimental to their interests because schooling robbed them of the use of older children's labor during prime daylight hours for a period of four to six years.” The loss of productivity that would be suffered in the predominantly rural country caused a great deal of resistance towards the call for compulsory education, and during the years of the policy's infancy,

---

25 The Monbushō, or in kanji, 文部省.

26 Gluck, 104

27 Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 32
some protesters even burned down and destroyed some of the newly build schools.  

Before compulsory education was even introduced, Meiji policy makers were having difficulty deciding what should be taught in schools. In February 1869, the Meiji government issued a provincial directive stating that “in addition to the traditional subjects of writing, reading, and reckoning, stories were to be used 'to explain the times and the kokutai', teach the way of loyalty and filiality, and enrich moral custom.” But in a move that foreshadowing the indecisiveness of the masterminds behind Meiji school curriculum that would define the first twenty years of the period, “within a year kokutai disappeared from educational edicts, not to reemerge until the Rescript on Education of 1890,” which will be discussed in more depth shortly.

The first decade of education in Japan was characterized by highly pragmatic teachings in reading, writing, and arithmetic which would allow those going through the school system to become good general labourers, but given the negative social effects of the introduction of capitalism and the rapid changes which ensued, this pragmatism was very soon seen as lacking something: morality. There was widespread disillusionment with the direction that the state was going—bringing the populace along with it—and there was a tangible need for something which would prevent any wide-scale rebellions by the general population against the state; as it was difficult at the time to spread a message across the adult population due to low levels of literacy at the time, students were to be the vanguard which would protect the state from such occurrences, telling their parents what they learned in school as well as remembering the lessons when they were working themselves. In short, all the seemingly benign rhetoric behind the benefits of teaching “morality” aside, students needed to be

28 Frühstück, 32

29 Literally “national body,” this term can convey various meanings depending on the circumstance, but generally is deployed in a way in which the translation “national essence” would be more appropriate. From the kanji 国体.

30 Gluck, 104

31 Gluck, 104
taught “morality” in an attempt to quell their innate desire to rebel against the “modern”—and due to its adoption of capitalism and stated desire to become wealthy and militarily strong, by its very nature oppressive—state.

The debate on “moral education,” after receiving attention at the end of the 1870s, raged through the eighties, culminating in 1889 and 1890, when fervent ideologues gave a series of powerful arguments as to the necessity for “moral education” based on Japanese indigenous values—as opposed to European moralities which had been used in the 1880s— to take center-stage in the education of youth around the country in order to combat the perceived deterioration of society. A few of these speeches/editorials warrant investigation.

Journalist Kuga Katsunan, who according to Gluck “was perhaps the most articulate of the minkan nationalists,” argued in 1889 that moral education was necessary for developing a “sense of nation” (kokuminteki no kannen),

Without which it is impossible to manifest the vitality of the nation as a nation. In terms of national unity, a sense of nation reinforces the vigor of monarchical government. In terms of civilization and progress, it harmonizes with this historical spirit. And in terms of commerce with the powers, it is closely linked to the spirit of independence. Thus if we wish to abandon the abuses of aristocracy, we must manifest a sense of nation. If we wish to guard against the vagaries of individualism, we must manifest a sense of nation. And if we wish to restrain the tendency to dependence, we must manifest a sense of nation....

[In Japan] not only is our national autonomy impaired but foreign influence threatens to rush in and buffet our island country about until our manners and customs, our institutions and civilization, our historical spirit, even our national spirit, are swept away. What is to save Japan (wagakuni) from these billows? Ah, but a sense of nation! [cited]

This desire for “morality” as the basis for the developing a “sense of nation” was not relegated to the thoughts of a single fanatical journalist; many shared similar beliefs, as was made evident at the Prefectural Governors' Conference held in Tokyo the in February the following year.

32 Gluck, 110
33 Gluck, 112
34 Kuga Katsunan, in Gluck 113
At the conference the issue of education was prominent, and there seemed to be a general consensus that something needed to be done immediately in order to remedy the poor constitution of students and graduates of the school system. Koteda, the governor of Shimane, stated the problem with the current situation thus:

Since 1872 the principle of education has focused primarily on skills and techniques, so that without realizing it we have neglected morality. If this situation continues, nationalism (kokkashugi) will deteriorate....

Pupils are proud of whatever small skills they gain in theory and mathematics. They condescend to their parents and incline toward flippancy and frivolity. Those who graduate from upper elementary school forsake their ancestral occupations and wish to become officials or politicians. If they continue further to middle school, even before they have graduated they begin to discuss political affairs. They themselves break school rules but complain of the suitability of the staff and provoke disputes and disturbances. At the worst, they leave school and take up political activities. Although teacher training is in part to blame, so, too, is the educational system. As this situation continues, youth will not value enterprise and will resort instead to lofty opinion. With immature learning and knowledge, they pursue fortune and scorn their elders, thus bringing the social order into confusion and endangering the nation.35

Once again, this governor's inveighing against the current state of education in Japan—fearing the deterioration of nationalism and wishing the promotion of universal jingoism—was common. Another governor chimed in during the Conference with a comment that lacked the flare of the previous two cited but gets to the heart of the matter as he saw it: "The purpose of moral education is to establish the foundations of the kokutai and teach the way of patriotism and ethics, thus producing a people who are not ashamed to be Japanese."36

Yamagata Aritomo, at the time both Home Minister and Prime Minister, was very much on the same page as the other wishing educational reform. In a major foreign policy statement, he conveyed his views:

The ways of loyalty among the people are the essence of the strength of a country. Unless the people love their country as their parents and are willing to safeguard it with their lives, though there are laws, both public and private, the country cannot exist even for a day.... Only education can cultivate and preserve the notion of patriotism in the people. In every

35 Koteda, in Gluck 117

36 Matsudaira, in Gluck, 115, my emphasis.
European country patriotism is inculcated from the earliest stages of the development of knowledge by teaching the national language, history, and other subjects as part of general education. So abundantly is patriotism emphasized that it becomes second nature, and when the youth become soldiers they are brave warriors; when they become officials they become good civil servants... Despite the existence of factional interests, the people unite in the great principle of making common purpose in the glory of the country's flag and its independence. This is the essence of a nation.\textsuperscript{37}

With all the public attention on the necessity of moral education, the government made a move:

Yamagata, who had conceived of the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors eight years before—after much debate as to the content—authorized the creation of a similar rescript for the youth of the country, The Imperial Rescript on Education,\textsuperscript{38} in October of 1890, which attempted to inculcate many of the same values. It read as follows:

Know ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors (waga kōso kōso) have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly planted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty (chū) and filial piety (kō) have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire (kokutai no seika), and herein also lies the source of Our education (kyōiku no engen). Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State (giyūko ni hōshi); and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects (chūryō no shinmin), but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji (1890)\textsuperscript{39}

In her brilliant commentary of the Rescript, Gluck points out that:

The Rescript... reflected a confluence of otherwise divergent ideological currents that flowed

\textsuperscript{37} Yamagata Aritomo, in Gluck, 118-119

\textsuperscript{38} Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo, or in kanji, 教育ニ関スル勅語

\textsuperscript{39} Gluck 121
around issues of school and nation in the 1880s. Partly because of this, the document itself emerged as a synoptic compendium of attitudes sufficiently common at the time that they appeared unobjectionable in substance and unspecific in meaning. The lack of specificity, however, meant that the imperial pronouncement that ended one period of ideological debate also marked the beginning of another. As ideologues laid layer upon interpretive layer on the text of the Rescript during the 1890s, its meaning was both embellished and sanctified. And the document that had initially expressed commonplace tenets of a civic ethos was increasingly used to define the permissible limits of loyalty and patriotism. In the course of the late Meiji period the Imperial Rescript was gradually enshrined at the core of national education, where it remained until it was finally withdrawn from the curriculum by government order in October 1946.\(^40\)

Ultimately, the official purpose of the Rescript was best summed up by the author of the first official commentary on the it:

> The purpose of the Rescript is to strengthen the basis of the nation by cultivating the virtues of filiality and fraternal love, loyalty and sincerity (kōtei chūshin) and to prepare for any emergency by nurturing the spirit of collective patriotism (koyukō aikoku). If all Japanese establish themselves by these principles, we can be assured of uniting the hearts of the people...If we do not unite the people, fortifications and warships will not suffice. If we do unite them, then even a million formidable foes will be unable to harm us.\(^41\)

While all of this discussion on the the industrialization, politicization, and education in early Meiji Japan may seem superfluous, it is indeed of the utmost necessity in order to place the history of judo—which will be explored next—in a national historical context, as the ideologies promoted by the founder for judo practitioners confound the idea that judo was created in a hermetically sealed environment. However, the specificities of these ideologies will be dealt with in Chapter 3, and for now it is of use to look at how judo was developed.

\(^{40}\) Gluck, 103

\(^{41}\) Inoue Testujirō, in Gluck, 130
FROM ART TO WAY

Judo was conceived of in the chaotic early years of the Meiji period, and as stated above, the ideologies promoted by Kanō Jigorō were heavily influenced by the times; the corporeal aspect of judo, however, was completely unique. Before getting to judo itself though, a brief biography of Kanō's early years will shed light on the his personal beliefs and the ideologies he promulgated in his later years.

Kanō was born in Mikage during the twilight of the Bakamatsu at the end of the Edo period, in 1860. He was born to a wealthy sake brewing family, with a father who was a high-ranking official in the Tokugawa shogunate that believed in “modernizing” Japan, and thus Jigorō began schooling at an early age studying subjects from both European and Japanese traditions.

At the age of ten, the Kanō family moved to Tokyo, only two years after the Meiji Restoration had occurred. The young Kanō continued his schooling, studying Confucian classics, as well as attending English lessons with Mitsukuri Shuhei, a future member of the Meiji Six Society.

At fourteen, Kanō enrolled in the Foreign Language School—which was part of the Kaisei school—and there he got his first exposure to the concept of sport when he learned how to play baseball from two American professors who taught at the school.

In 1877, at the age of seventeen, Kanō began jujutsu training, which he found himself

42 Now the East Nada district of Kobe.
43 Michel Brousse and David Matsumoto, Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life (London: Ippon Books, 1999), 73
44 The Meirokusha, or in kanji 明六社, named so because it was formed in the sixth year of Meiji (1874). This was a highly influential group, consisting of many prominent statesmen and thinkers, including Mori Arinori and Fukuzawa Yukichi, among others.
45 The Kaisei Gakkō, which would become part of Tokyo Imperial University.
46 Brousse and Matsumoto, Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life, 74
47 Actually jūjutsu, or in kanji 柔術, this term is translated as “the gentle art.”
interested in due to the fact that smaller practitioners of the art could overcome larger, stronger men using skill alone. It was difficult for him to find teachers, due to the fact that the main martial arts school—which had taught the samurai of the previous era how to fight—had been disbanded, and since then jujutsu had fallen into disrepute as something which was of little use in a “modern” world.

Once he started training, however, he was enthralled with the art, and proceeded to study as much as he could from several different teachers. Years later, he recalled this period of his life:

In my youth I studied jujutsu under many eminent masters. Their vast knowledge, the fruit of years of diligent research and rich experience, was of great value to me. At that time, each man presented his art as a collection of techniques. None perceived the guiding principle behind jujutsu. When I encountered differences in the teaching of techniques, I often found myself at a loss to know which was correct. This led me to look for an underlying principle in jujutsu, one that applied when one hit an opponent as well as when one threw him. After a thorough study of the subject, I discerned an all-pervasive principle: to make the most efficient use of mental and physical energy. With this principle in mind, I again reviewed all the methods of attack and defense I had learned, retaining only those that were in accordance with the principle. Those not in accord with it I rejected, and in their place I substituted techniques in which the principle was correctly applied.

From the years of hard work and meticulous contemplation over the guiding principle behind the various jujutsu schools, Kanō felt that he was ready to teach his newly refined system of combat to students: in 1882, in a small rented space in a Buddhist monastery, Kanō began teaching what he named “judo”—to distinguish it from its less refined predecessor—at a place he called the Kōdōkan.

Explaining why he chose to use the term “judo” as opposed to “jujutsu,” Kanō stated that “the main

48 The Kōbusho, or in kanji, 講武所.
49 Brousse and Matsumoto, Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life, 74
52 Translated as “the place for the study of the way,” in kanji this term is 講道館.
53 Brousse and Matsumoto, Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life, 75
reason was that ‘dō’\(^{54}\) is the major focus of what the Kōdōkan teaches, whereas ‘jutsu’\(^{55}\) is incidental....I judo was a means of embarking on the dō.”\(^{56}\) Or as he put more simply, “judo is more than an art of attack and defense. It is a way of life.”\(^{57}\)

Thus, from its inception Kanō had conceived of a method of fighting that was more than just the techniques: it was a “way” or “path” with which one was to follow in life, with moral undertones which were to be developed in tandem with the public debate on “moral education” which was so prevalent in the eighties and beyond. Kanō was necessarily well versed in the discourse, as education was his life: in the year of 1882 he was a lecturer in politics and economics at the Peers' School,\(^{58}\) had his own private preparatory school,\(^{59}\) and ran an English language school.\(^{60}\) But while he was most certainly part of the “moral education” debate from the 1880s onward, his own personal convictions, as well as those he would demand of those who would practice judo, were yet to be set in stone.

While 1882 is generally credited as the year judo was officially created, by 1885 there were just fifty-four applicants seeking instruction at the Kōdōkan.\(^{61}\) By that time the new martial way had become well-known in the martial arts circles, but had yet to gain prominence on a national scale. However, the following year it had achieved that prominence, by winning a tournament sponsored by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Force, organised to see what method of combat the new cadets would be

---

54 Translated as “path” or “way,” in kanji this term is 道.

55 Translated as “art” or “skill,” in kanji this term is 術.


57 Kanō, *Kodokan Judo*, 16

58 A highly prestigious private school for nobility. In Japanese it was called the *Gakushūin*, or in kanji, 学習院.

59 The Kanō Juku, or in kanji, 嘉納塾.

60 Brousse and Matsumoto, *Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life*, 75

61 Stevens, 24
taught.\footnote{Glynn A. Leyshon, \textit{Judoka: The History of Judo in Canada} (Gloucester: Judo Canada, 1998), 13}

While this victory over jujutsu is an enshrined part of judo lore, it seems that everything, from the rules of the competition to the competitors, favoured judo from the outset: lethal techniques were prohibited—heavily favouring Kanō's new method, as judo was composed of non-lethal techniques\footnote{Stevens, 25}—and there was no time limit for the matches, which once again favoured the younger trainees of Kōdōkan judo, who frequently practiced randori during practices, over the more kata oriented, older jujutsu practitioners.

Regardless of the details, after that tournament the profile of judo rose tremendously, with it being adopted by the Tokyo Police Force, and soon after police departments around the country followed suit. It was perfect for the Meiji state, having had its “Western-style” penal code promulgated in 1880 that,

With regard to punishments... made provision for only one form of death penalty—hanging—and apart from fines, all of the other penalties it sanctioned were variations on imprisonment: servitude (tokei), exile (rukei), imprisonment with hard labor (chōeki), imprisonment without labor (kingoku), and short-term imprisonment (kinko).... In this way, the new penal code marked the completion of Japan's formal transition from a system in which there were a wide range of different penalties, most of which involved an act of overt physical violence inflicted on the body of the criminal, to one in which imprisonment was the primary mode of punishment.\footnote{Daniel Botsman, \textit{Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan} (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 2005), 169-170}

Thus judo was a perfect method for police to learn because of the fact that it \textit{was not} lethal: police officers could subdue transgressors of the law in a relatively safe manner, so that they could then be brought to justice in the newly created courthouses and jails.

In the first twenty-two years of Meiji, much of the stage was set for what would occur in the years to follow. On the economic side, the government was pursuing a policy of heavy
industrialization and militarization, which although initially quite possibly built for self-defense, found other uses in the years to follow. The government's attempts at social control—or to use Sheldon Garon's term, "moral suasion,"—would slowly intensify during the years to come as a result of increased resistance to those very same policies. Education would be broadened, and more and more children would be brought under the watchful eyes of pedagogues. And judo, having now be enstated as the training method for the police force, was used to keep everyone in line in case physical confrontations broke out.

CHAPTER 2

No Gooders:
An Examination of Perceived Societal Pathologies and Their Remedies, 1890-1930
CHAPTER TWO

By the beginning of the 1890s, the foundations of new “modern” Meiji state had been created, and the years that would followed seemed to be spent continually building on those foundations. The emphasis on heavy industry and militarization quickly gave Japan the most sophisticated military apparatus in the region, a military they used to defeat China in the (First) Sino-Japanese War in 1895. As a result, “Japan had acquired Taiwan as a colony and jump-started its industrial revolution, and ideologues both within and outside the government argued heatedly for the need to cultivate a new generation of national subjects (kokumin)\(^{66}\) capable of supporting the empire both in times of war and in times of peace.”\(^{67}\)

It is this cultivation of a new generation of national subjects is the subject of this chapter. Because of an increasing need for patriotic citizens for the war efforts, there was an increasingly clinically gaze being directed towards the delinquent youth of the country in an attempt to categorize different types of deviance so that it could be understood and thus cured; this of course was easier said than done, as the often the root of the deviance lay in the very nature of the state itself, and policy makers could only ever treats the symptoms and not the cause.

But an attempt to make people “get with the program” was made on several fronts, just as it had been done in early Meiji: through the promotion of certain ideologies, a shift of emphasis towards the physical education in schools, and finally through new broadly-defined laws which were enforced by a large and well-trained police force.

---

66 In kanji, 国民.

DELINQUENCY

From the very beginnings of the Meiji state's existence, there was a concern about the youth with regards to how and what they should be taught, what they should believe in, how they should act, etc. This concern gradually became stronger and stronger, and reached what seemed to be the apex with the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript On Education in 1890; but that was only the beginning. The concern gradually turned into a hysteria, and as stated above, with the victory of the Sino-Japanese War, and colonization of Taiwan, there was a renewed interest in these young kokumin, as they were now to be exemplars in the colonial empire, supporting the state in war and peace.

The problem was that not everyone was a model citizen; there were various categories of people which did not fit the mold the state had set: there were draft dodgers, vagrants, socialists, nanpa68, and kōha69, to name a few, and each category of delinquent was studied in terms of the causes of their delinquency as well as possible remedies which might reduce the symptoms that these perceived social viruses caused, or “cure” society altogether.

Draft dodging occurred during the first Sino-Japanese War, with people either moving to the far, secluded corners of the Japanese islands to avoid the draft, or employing techniques which deemed them physically unfit for military service: among the methods they used were starving themselves until they were under the minimum required weight for service, feigning visual or aural handicaps, drinking soy sauce, which because of its high level of sodium would cause heart problems, and buying other people's birth certificates; all of these methods were punishable offenses if detected, and but they

68 Generally translated as “libertine” or “rake,” this term denotes men who engaged in casual sex with women. This term is still in usage today, and “nanpa suru” means “to pick up a girl.” In this thesis, the Japanese term will be used in rather than a translation. The kanji for the term is 軟派.

69 While at the time this term generally denoted “ruffians,” in contemporary Japan it carries a more positive meaning closer to “straight-arrow,” and is seen as the opposite of the more morally lax nanpa. In this thesis, the Japanese term will be used rather than a translation. The kanji for the term is 硬派.
flourished nonetheless.\textsuperscript{70}

Vagrants were the result of the violence which capitalism had inflicted on the population. While their had certainly been poor people before the Meiji Restoration, with “modernization” more and more people found themselves without homes or any means of subsistence. However, while it wasn't hard to put two and two together, the discourse around these people, and the \textit{shakai mondai}\textsuperscript{71} they and others represented, hardly ever spoke of the evils of capitalism. As Gluck points out,

The fundamental reasons [for the social problems] were often economic, despite the fact that ideological language tended to substitute "society" for "economy," such as it did "nation" for "politics." Or perhaps it might be said—following Barthes, who described myth as language-robbery—that because the problems were economic, their ideological representations avoided the word, as if to obliterate the meaning of economic contradictions with talk of social concord.\textsuperscript{72}

With a growing population searching for work in the metropoles of Japan, the problems of the government's drive towards industrialization became evident: “In Tokyo and Osaka, highly visible slums sprang up as day laborers, rickshaw drivers, artisans, mechanics, and female textile operatives crowded into disease-infested neighborhoods. A survey by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police in 1890 classified 5,736 of the prefecture's population as 'poor,' including 291 individuals who were 'on the verge on starvation.'”\textsuperscript{73} This new segment of the population was examined, with officials “commissioned by the city of Tokyo to study a mental condition that one might call lethargy among the lumpen proletariat living in Tokyo”;\textsuperscript{74} the general consensus was that these people were “indolent” and of “poor character.” But there were others that were less dismissive, recognizing “that the root cause

\textsuperscript{70} Frühstück, 33

\textsuperscript{71} Social problem, or in kanji, 社会問題

\textsuperscript{72} Gluck, 29-30

\textsuperscript{73} Garon, 39

\textsuperscript{74} Suzuki, in Ichiro Tomiyama, “Colonialism and the Sciences of the Tropical Zone,” \textit{Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia} (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 214
of many of the problems they described lay in the process of industrialization, and they wrote
compassionately of poor people's daily struggle for survival.” 75

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, very little aid was given to these people.
As one policy maker claimed, "a system to prevent poverty is the root, whereas a system to relieve
poverty is the branch," and that what was needed more than assistance was "to improve the general
morals of the poor and develop their industry while establishing programs to encourage their diligence,
 thrift, and vigorous efforts." 76 Further, when meager assistance did begin to be offered, officials would
“discourage the poor from applying for public assistance, offering instead 'spiritual relief.'" 77

As time passed, matters did not improve themselves. After the Russo-Japanese War, the
Japanese state was put under a great amount of economic strain due to the lack of indemnities received
from Russia. 78 Ambaras details the consequences well:

Fears of social disintegration mounted after 1905, when the burdens imposed by Japan's war with Russia threatened to devastate the economy. Heavy taxes and widespread out-migration brought many rural communities to the brink of collapse. Those who left their villages swelled the ranks of the urban poor, now called "lean people" (saimin); but they could not escape conscription, taxes on basic consumer goods, and other financial impositions associated with the state's military programs. The 1905 Hibiya Riot, in which Tokyo crowds upset over the terms of the Portsmouth Treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War attached police stations and other institution affiliated with the government, raised fears among state leaders of the destructive potential of "the masses." 79

With the widespread chaos that ensued after the Portsmouth Treaty, caused by who officials felt
were members of the deviant population, there was a change in the official definition of what a
“delinquent” was, and whereas in 1900 a report had estimated that there were roughly five thousand, in

75 Ambaras, 38

76 Inoue Tomoichi, in Garon, 43.

77 Garon, 53


79 Ambaras, 34
1907 with the new definition, a Home Ministry survey reported that there were fifty thousand.\textsuperscript{80}

In a direct response to the economic hardships they faced, a series of labour strikes took place throughout the period, with the numbers peaking in the post-war periods of both the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War.\textsuperscript{81} These strikes were seen as a direct threat to the government and a challenge to its authority, and in 1907 during the Ashio Mine labour strike, government troops were sent in to pacify the strikers.\textsuperscript{82}

At the end World War I, and the economic hardships faced by a great portion of the population due to inflation led to the Rice Riots of 1917-18. Having seen enough hardship, and encouraged by the success of the Russian Revolution, students began forming socialist groups at their universities.\textsuperscript{83} This new socialist students were labeled “radicals,” and had to be dealt with in a different way. This was due to that fact that they were generally:

Young people of promise from good families who came form the same elite imperial universities as did the authorities. They were in fact part of the establishment, and quite different from the old-style radicals of the Meiji period. Thus, in light of the "fundamental respectability" of the new radicals, the state was forced to reconsider its traditional criminal procedures. Old methods of strict surveillance and executions...were inadequate.\textsuperscript{84}

Thus there was a need for new methods of controlling these segments of the population whose heterodox economic thought was seen as a threat to the state's social order. The solution was to create a broadly defined law that police could use liberally in order to detain anyone suspicious of being part of any of these groups.

But it was not just the poor, rioters, and radicals which received popular interested during the

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ambaras, 48
  \item Gluck, 32
  \item Ambaras, 34
  \item Ikuo Abe, Yasuhara Kiyohara, and Ken Nakajima, "Sport and Physical Education under Fascistization in Japan." \textit{InYo: The Journal of Alternative Perspectives on the Martial Arts and Sciences} (June 2000).
  \item Richard H. Mitchell, \textit{Thought Control in Prewar Japan} (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 97
\end{itemize}
time. In the early 1920s, many young people—instead of mobilizing in student groups which attempted to alleviate some of the social suffering—simply sought refuge from the quotidian drudgery through time spent at “modern” sites of leisure: cinemas, cafés, etc.\textsuperscript{85} This type of seemingly benign behaviour was also seen as unacceptable, as time spent at play was not time spent “for the state.” The blame for this type of behaviour was not placed on the bleak domestic environment of economic hardships, but rather—just as was the case with the student radicals—malignant “foreign ideology.” As one Tokyo social worker in 1921 plainly stated: "The world trend of self-centered democracy has filled the spirits of youth in general, and it is said that this has caused the frequent appearance of juvenile delinquents."\textsuperscript{86}

One of the reasons why the state felt that these idlers needed to be controlled was because their care-free/morally lax behaviours were apt to infect others. In the 1920s, this was especially the case with \textit{nanpa}: popular accounts stated that these morally bankrupt individuals “seduced girls from good homes, ruthlessly exploited them, and then discarded them when they were of no more use,”\textsuperscript{87} and within public discourse, “media accounts of ruthless \textit{nanpa} youths and their \textit{jogakusei}\textsuperscript{88} victims had become increasingly graphic and sensational, designed to titillate as well as to 'alert' readers.”\textsuperscript{89}

But while the 1920s marked a new level of intensity with which \textit{nanpa} were being discussed publicly and studied privately, they had been around for decades. The reason why there was renewed interest in them, however, was due to the fact that previous decades they had shared the streets—and the spotlight in public discourse—with another type of delinquent, the \textit{kōha}, who had by the twenties

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{85} Ambaras, 98
\item \textsuperscript{86} Ambaras, 98
\item \textsuperscript{87} Ambaras, 76
\item \textsuperscript{88} The translation for this term is “female student.” The kanji for the term is 女学生.
\item \textsuperscript{89} Ambaras, 79
\end{itemize}
all but disappeared from the public eye.

The kōha were students in the cities who were depicted as having a hell bent desire for bloodshed, and if “journalistic and official reports are to believed... many carried short swords, cane swords, or knives, and 'showdowns' among groups of students were, in one critic's words, 'virtually a fashion.'”

These delinquents were defined as “a type of student who concentrated on physical activities like judo, adopted a swaggering, aggressive style, and rejected contact with women out of fear of becoming weak and effeminate—a view they held of those students, referred to as "rakes" (nanpa), who dressed well and pursued the company of women.”

The fact that some of these kōha practiced judo deserves investigation: Kanō himself was passionate about morality and the necessity of serving society, and attempted to impart his belief on his students, making it difficult to account for these types of ruffians.

There are two reasons why, despite the desires of Kanō, students engaged in such impious behaviour. The first is that by the turn of the century Kanō had yet to codify his beliefs into the maxims for which judo was soon to be known, and thus students had to rely on the more implicit moral expectations of judo as opposed to the explicit ones stated decades later. The second, of course, is that even if they were fully aware of the beliefs of the founder, they could disregard them and proceed to pursue their nefarious thrills.

However, these kōha seemed to decline steadily as the decade progressed, and by the 1920s it was not students, but working and unemployed youths—referred to as “hooligans,” “locals,” or “no-

90 Ambaras, 69
91 Ambaras, 69
92 This topic will be elaborated on in Chapter 3.
93 In Japanese, yota or yotamono. The kanji for these terms are 与太 and 与太者, respectively.
94 In Japanese, jimawari. The kanji for the term is 地回り.
gooders,”—who filled in the gaps, taking pleasure in “harassing, picking fights with, or mugging people on the streets, or in wreaking havoc in eating and drinking establishments.”

But these groups of ruffians soon became more and more sparse—whether through police crackdowns or on their own accord—and although the streets were safer for their absence, they were soon missed: “police officers and reporters from the 1920s and 1930s wrote of the decline of the ruffian (kōha) and the predominance of the rake (nanpa) style of delinquency, often in tones of regret tinged with cultural and gender anxiety.” The fact that this was the case is quite interesting for the purposes of this study. While no direct causality can be made, it is quite possible that this gender anxiety was one of the factors which led to judo being made mandatory in the middle school curriculum in 1931: the nation wanted to get their kōha back.

The above mentioned segments of the population were not confined to a single socio-economic status, from specific locations of the country, or confined strictly to the cities or the villages: they came from all walks of life from all over the country. Because of the lack of shared characteristics, a panacea was simply impossible to devise, and the state had to deal with these people in very much the same way that they had since the beginnings of the Meiji state: through a combination of educational and legal reforms.

---

95 In Japanese, furyō. The kanji for the term is 不良.
96 Ambaras, 143
97 Ambaras, 147
The educational policies that had been in place in the first two decades of the Meiji period, which culminated in the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, simply weren't working as the policy makers had hoped. Despite the attempt to improve “moral” education and inculcate a sense of nation and duty, it was very evident, as the case of the Sino-Japanese draft-dodgers illustrated, that not everyone was getting the message.

The root of the problem in the eyes of policy makers seemed to be “too many Japanese with Western hearts”\(^{98}\); that is to say, there was an overabundance of “dangerous thoughts” from abroad which threatened the very foundations of Japanese society. What was needed was both to further the inculcation of “morality” and patriotism and frugality, while at the same time limiting the exposure to foreign ideology. This latter aspect of the policy involved a multi-faceted approach: it involved the censorship of materials deemed “dangerous,” as well as a reduction in the hours of idle time students had, which could potentially be used cultivating unpatriotic thoughts.

Schools thus became sites of an increasingly clinical gaze. Educational reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century believed that the “student youth had to be kept economically dependent, socially insulated, sexually abstinent, and physically fit in preparation for their future roles as middle-class men and women.... 'Nature,' whether expressed in terms of male barbarity and predation or female frivolity and vanity, had to be overcome by nurture.”\(^99\) No longer was it just a matter of “morals”; they were still important, and attempts at ideological indoctrination were redoubled, however the physical aspects of a child's development became just as important as the development of their minds. Pedagogues argued that there was a need for a “balance between body and

---

\(^{98}\) Seikichi Yamamoto, in Ambaras, 67

\(^{99}\) Ambaras, 84
mind,” and that “an overdose of knowledge, if accompanied by a lack of physical exercise, could provoke rather unwelcome results in a child.”100

This need for balance was especially necessary in middle schools, because those were the years that a student went through adolescence, which “with its physiological and psychological changes, was a period of ’storm and stress' which, if not weathered properly, could ruin one's entire life.”101 There was a blossoming interest in sexuality, and ways to control it, given the public discourse on nanpa and other forms of delinquency which seemed to be rooted in lax sexual morality. Adding to the discourse, “Katsuura Tomoo, the influential principal of Tokyo's First Prefectural Middle School, argued that male students in the thirteen-to-eighteen age group needed strict discipline to temper their bodies and minds to resist wild urges. Child-study experts... recognized the benefits of cold baths and physical training to strengthen adolescent boys' feeble nerves, but Katsuura and his followers surpassed even reformatory administrators in their emphasis on military drill, regimentation, and uniforms.”102

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Kanō Jigorō served as the head of the Tokyo Teachers' Training College, and once again he was very much aware of the debates that were going on about education and perceived need for an increased emphasis on physical education. As a result, in 1906 he “introduced a special course [at the college] that combined the humanities with gymnastics training. Later, other courses were added in which academic subjects were studied together with training in judo, kendo, or other sports.”103

Sports, martial arts, and other forms of physical education were valuable for a number of reasons above and beyond their capacity to “strengthen adolescent boys' feeble nerves.” They were

100 Frühstück, 66
101 Ambaras, 87
102 Ambaras, 90
valuable because they took up free time, which otherwise could possibly be spent engaging in censurable activities. They were valuable in that they made bodies stronger. And they were valuable as a means for ideological indoctrination:

The ideological control over working youth and students had a strong connection with the 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 for the purpose of indoctrinating "collective behavior, moral training, [and] aspiration of national spirit" in the students.104

Ideological indoctrination, in combination with physical education, seemed to produce better citizens than either method alone: together they seemed to produce more well-rounded citizens better able to suit the needs of the state. But while physical education produced consistent results of creating fitter people, the ideological aspect had a less than exemplary track record and did not always produce more patriotic citizens. What was needed was something to bolster ideology, and that help soon arrived in the form of increasingly repressive laws, supported by an ever expanding police force and surveillance nets.

104 Abe et al., 2000
ON THE BOOKS

In 1925, the Japanese state enacted the infamous Peace Preservation Law which for all intents and purposes gave police carte blanche to arrest anyone suspected of “altering the kokutai.” As one commentator noted, the Peace Preservation Law charm lay in the fact that “it could be interpreted so any different ways,” and that police and prosecutors alike could “interpret the law for their own convenience.”\(^{105}\) And the way it was interpreted was generally the same as that of a procurator who summed up his thoughts eloquently in 1928: “any action which infringes upon the present social order is a thought crime.”\(^{106}\)

The Law was invoked during the mass arrest of student radicals in 1928,\(^ {107}\) which was part of a larger two year campaign conducted against the delinquents who frequented the “modern” sites of leisure mentioned earlier:

> The commissioner of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police, Maruyama Tsurukichi, in July 1929 pledged to "deal a devastating blow" to "the red lights and jazz world that pervade the capital." The Tokyo morals police, which had already arrested more than three hundred waitresses and dancers in the first months of 1929, also began rounding up forty to fifty "delinquent modern boys and girls" a night in a series of raids in August.... Behind the crackdown lay a profound concern with the spread of urban decadence and unregulated relations between young men and women. Tokyo's metropolitan government prohibited students from entering any cafe, bar, coffee or tea house that so much as employed waitresses.\(^ {108}\)

With the new law on the books, and a large, well-trained police force willing to enforce it, the stakes of expressing heterodox thought were immense, and while some still fought against the state, others became silent. The Peace Preservation Law, by eliminating non-state sanctioned ideology from public

---

105 Mitchell, 118.
106 Hideo Sakamoto, in Mitchell, 94
107 Abe et al., 2000
108 Garon, 107
discourse, greatly assisted in the overall desire of the state to create “patriotic” citizens: patriotism was no longer an option, it was a requirement, by penalty of jail time.

The law, while the broadest in scope in Japanese history until that time, did have its historical antecedents. As early as 1875, article 13 of the Newspaper Ordinance stated that “any person who publishes any article in which the writer argues for the change of the Government or destroying the State, or which is inclined to provoke social disorder, shall be subject to imprisonment from one to three years.”109 And two-and-a-half decades later, the Public Peace Police Law110 of 1900 “restricted organized labor,” and “was aimed primarily at anti-government political groups: they were required to register their programs with police and needed special permission to meet; police could dissolve their meetings and disband their organizations; joining a secret organization was forbidden, with violations of this law punishable by fines and up to one year in prison.”111

The difference between the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 and its predecessors, however, was the degree to which is was able to be enforced: law is just another form of ideology if it does not have a sufficiently large police force to support it, making sure that the state is both bark and bite. By 1925, the surveillance systems of the country had grown tremendously, and it was not just the police themselves that were monitoring, but student associations as well, some of which “functioned like miniature police departments.”112 Very few avoided attention, and if they did it wasn't for long.

The stage was set. In middle schools, the combination of physical education and “moral” education was being used to create strong, patriotic, moral citizens. The Peace Preservation Law of

109 Mitchell, 22
110 Chian Keisatsuho, or in kanji, 治安警察法.
111 Mitchell, 33
112 Ambaras, 90
1925 discouraged non-conformist beliefs by penalty of jail time, and the streets were being cleaned of all the types of delinquents which had existed in the public's mind for decades: the socialists, *nanpa*, *kōha*, and those that had idled around the cafes, dance halls, and movie theatres. Given the great scope of surveillance of the police, and its jurisdiction, the state no longer needed to fear rebellions, and could begin training the population in ways that would have undermined their authority only decades before.

In 1931, middle school students across the country began their judo training.
CHAPTER 3

Maximum Efficiency, Minimum Effort: A Foucauldian Analysis of Judo in Schools
CHAPTER THREE

Judo is not morality but moral education in the broad sense. If we include judo as a subject into the curriculum of our schools throughout the country, it can certainly compensate for the weak points of our present educational system, support the character formation of our pupils and strengthen their patriotism. Should we ever have international conflicts, and should we ever be attacked by enemies from all sides, by following the teachings of judo, we need not feel fear and will not surrender. And in peaceful times the foreigners will admire the modern development in our country as well as our customs and habits. If we follow the teachings of judo... the time when our country will be one of the strongest civilized countries will be close.\(^{113}\)

While it took until 20 January 1931 for judo to be made compulsory in the middle school curriculum across the country, its eventual inclusion was far from unexpected. Given that there had been a bill drafted by the Japanese Diet in 1908 for its inclusion in the curriculum,\(^{114}\) and that it had it had been included in the curriculum in some middle schools as early as 1911,\(^{115}\) it seems odd that it took so long for it to be passed and put into practice across the nation.

Regardless of the time it took for judo to be made a mandatory part of every Japanese middle school child's education, when it finally came to be practiced it had a profound influence on the nation: judo as a whole was quite possibly the ultimate pedagogical tool for the creation of docile bodies ever concieved, in that it created national subjects that were able to be “subjected, used, transformed and improved.”\(^{116}\) This chapter will examine judo by separating the physical practice from the ideological teachings of founder, and then analyzing judo as a discipline and the implications of its mandatory practice.

\(^{113}\) Kanō, “A Look at Judo and Its Educational Value” in Niehaus, 1178

\(^{114}\) Stevens, 41

\(^{115}\) Niehaus, 1179

THE CORPOREAL

The physical practice of judo was what Kanō Jigorō felt was “lower-” or “mid-” level judo, in contrast to “upper-level judo” which he felt was practiced and achieved outside of the dōjō in society at large. While it is certainly the case that if a middle school student disregarded the ideology and simply practiced judo for its physical benefits the project to create docile citizens wouldn't be nearly as thorough, the effects of the practice alone are worth investigating.

Judo is unlike most forms of physical education in that it is an method of fighting. Previously Japanese students had been taught various forms of gymnastics during their physical education classes, but in 1931 that all changed: students were expected to strengthen their bodies by learning how to attack and defend against an opponent.

This is a highly significant development, and must be examined. Why would a state begin teaching middle school students the same techniques that the police force had been using to maintain the peace? Would this not undermine their power? It most certainly would; in times of physical confrontation between police and private citizens, the physical power the police held of the populace through the knowledge of judo would be negated. This was precisely why physical education teachers in colonial Taiwan were not allowed to teach judo, or any sport related to fighting for that matter, as the authorities felt that “such sports might encourage the Taiwanese to rise up against the government.” But there were reasons for teaching students judo that outweighed this undermining of the power of the police to physically coerce civilians, all of which will be examined shortly; practical considerations must be examined first.

---
117 Literally translated as “place of the way,” the kanji for this term is 道場.
118 Kanō, Mind Over Muscle, 95
Kanō didn't like the Swedish and Danish gymnastics held hegemony in the field of physical education for many reasons: he felt that while gymnastics may have been beneficial to the physical cultivation of the body, there was no moral or intellectual benefit to be gained, and that gymnastic movements weren't applicable to daily life.\textsuperscript{120} Further, he believed that “the goal of physical education is to develop a strong, healthy body... while at the same time developing the ability to cultivate the mind.”\textsuperscript{121}

Judo was also superior to gymnastics from a pedagogical perspective in other ways. It was much more highly regimented: judo had definite rankings which students could attain through diligent practice: while Kanō had initially conceived of three \textit{dan}\textsuperscript{122} and \textit{kyū}\textsuperscript{123} in 1883,\textsuperscript{124} by 1931, this ranking system had been greatly elaborated, with the \textit{kyū} rank holders wearing white belts, the first five \textit{dan} grades wearing a black belts, and sixth-degree onwards wearing a red-and-white belts.

This belt system was of the utmost importance for maintaining discipline, as “discipline is an art of rank, a technique for the transformation of arrangements. It individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations.”\textsuperscript{125} With belts on, the students and teachers could immediately identify each other's ranks, and social relations on the mat were dependent on and constituted by these ranks. There was a definite hierarchy on the judo mats, and certain formalities needed to be adhered to in a complex system of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{120} Kanō, \textit{Mind Over Muscle}, 53
\item \textsuperscript{121} Kanō, \textit{Mind Over Muscle}, 52-53
\item \textsuperscript{122} In kanji, the character for this term is 段.
\item \textsuperscript{123} In kanji, the character for this term is 級.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Stevens, 23
\item \textsuperscript{125} Foucault, 146
\end{itemize}
senior students/junior students,\textsuperscript{126} pupil/teacher\textsuperscript{127} relations.

These belt ranks also made it easy to differentiate who should be doing what during the class. To facilitate the learning further, the techniques themselves had been standardized and classified into five groups in 1895,\textsuperscript{128} and there were certain techniques which were more difficult to execute than others, and therefore were only practiced by those of higher ranks. The belts made it easy for a teacher to assign different techniques to be practiced for different students during the class, thus making sure that everyone was practicing appropriate techniques and progressing at an appropriate rate. This type of coded exercise was precisely what was needed to create docile bodies: time spent practicing judo can be seen as “disciplinary time,” and was precisely the type of exercise that Foucault had envisioned when he stated, “it is this disciplinary time that was gradually imposed on pedagogical practice—specializing the time of training and detaching it from the adult time, from the time of mastery; arranging different stages, separated from one another by graded examinations; drawing up programmes, each of which must take place during a particular stage and which involves exercises of increasing difficulty; qualifying individuals according to the way in which they progress through these series.”\textsuperscript{129}

Because of the nature of judo, there was a great deal of practice needed to become a proficient judoka. Unlike other martial arts that rely on striking, judo is a grappling martial art, and one has to throw one's opponent, then grapple with them on the ground, holding one's opponent on their back, choking, or arm-locking them. None of these are “natural”; all require a great deal of instruction, thus discipline. Foucault states that “discipline defines each of the relations that the body must have with

\textsuperscript{126} The Japanese terms for these are senpai/kōhai, or 先輩 and 後輩, respectively.

\textsuperscript{127} The Japanese terms for these are seitō/sensei, or 生徒 and 先生, respectively.

\textsuperscript{128} Brousse and Matsumoto, \textit{Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life}, 78

\textsuperscript{129} Foucault, 159
the object that it manipulates,”¹³⁰ and in judo this the discipline needed is all the more great due to the fact that the object in not inanimate but rather another living, breathing human being: in randori, “free-practice/sparring,” two people engage in an exercise where each is trying to out-manipulate the other, and how they relate to each other depends on what techniques they are proficient in, and thus how diligent and disciplined they were in their training.

Because judo is a form of fighting, it was also much less likely and much more difficult for student to give a sub-maximal effort during their classes. It is less likely because, as Kanō pointed out, “when undergoing [regular] physical training, you are likely to grow tired of monotonous exercises like calisthenics, and there is little mental benefit. But if you can train for defense against attack at the same time, it becomes enjoyable as well as beneficial.”¹³¹ It was more difficult to give a sub-maximal effort for another reason: in gymnastics as well as other sports, if students didn't wish to give their all, there was little a teacher could do to reprimand, if the students sub-par effort was able to be detected at all; in the case of judo, it was quite different. In a judo class, the sensei could use the unruly student for throwing demonstration, punishing the student corporally without in any way seeming to punish, which in any other non-combative sport would be impossible. The teacher could use the unruly student to demonstrate chokes and armlocks, choking the student unconscious in front of his peers and then reviving him, or damaging his joints for a more long-lasting lesson.¹³² This definite physical power a teacher had over the student served to reify the relations of respect and reverence that the social hierarchy dictated should be followed, and this physical power of the sensei over the student was all the more great when considering it was physically powerful men teaching newly pubescent middle school students.

¹³⁰ Foucault, 152-153
¹³¹ Kanō, Mind Over Muscle, 24
¹³² Anecdotally, this type of disciplining continues to this day, and personal accounts from friends have related incidents of some middle school teachers giving purposefully giving their students “cauliflower ears,” (called gyōza [餃子] in Japanese), as well as other similar sadistic practices, adding legitimacy to the idea that it more than likely occurred in the time period this study is focused on as well.
children.

But the beauty of judo as a form of fighting and physical education is that the teachers rarely have to reprimand students, as they discipline each other. A student who doesn't train hard will be thrown, held on his back, choked, and armlocked by his peers. No longer does a delinquent have to simply fear authority figures; everyone in his cohort is a potential threat, someone who could and would cause physical distress to him if he didn't start trying himself. In a judo class, one cannot be a pacifist; one has to actively engage his/her opponent: throw or be thrown. Any antagonism between students which existed outside of the dōjō in some form or another is intensified by the state sanctioned combat which students were now supposed to train in.

It is important to keep in mind that although there certainly was pain involved in judo training due to the simple fact that it was indeed based on jujutsu, Kanō had created judo as a sport and form of exercise which could be practiced at a great level of intensity by taking out the majority of the dangerous techniques (e.g. striking with the fists, kicking, small joint locks, etc.) so that there would be as little interruption in a pupil's judo training as possible due to injuries. In this way it was not just a form of combat, but a form of exercise, a “technique by which one imposes on the body tasks that are both repetitive and different, but always graduated. By bending behaviour towards a terminal state, exercise makes possible a perpetual characterization of the individual either in relation to this term, in relation to other individuals, or in relation to a type of itinerary. It thus assures, in the form of continuity and constraint, a growth, an observation, a qualification.”

The fact that students were learning how to fight and possibly undermine police's physical power over the populace was trumped by the physical benefits judo provided, as well as several other considerations. By 1931, the Peace Preservation Law of 1925—which interestingly was enacted under the administration of Prime Minister Katō Takaaki, whom Kanō had known from his days as a

133 Foucault, 161
student\textsuperscript{134}—had made it virtually impossible for any single individual or group to voice any dissent, let alone engage in physical confrontations, without being imprisoned. The state had by 1931 a strong grip on the populace, and it no longer needed to fear rebellions and labour riots that had threatened the very foundation of the “modern,” capitalist state since the beginning of the Meiji restoration. By 1931, it was much more important to create strong bodies starting in the middle schools, whether they were to be used at war or at peace, on the battlefield or on the shop floor. As Kanō so aptly put it,

Becoming strong, whether through judo or another form of exercise, has value only when one puts that strength to use for society. If you do not understand this, you will encounter obstacles and be unable to accomplish what you set out to do, regardless of your strength. Therefore, you must remember that the purpose of expending a great deal of effort to build a strong body is to enable you to undertake jobs that you might otherwise be unable to endure.\textsuperscript{135}

Physical education was thus important not only for the individual's health, but for the nation itself, a fact made all the more explicit in the following quote:

The prosperity of a country depends on the fullness of the nation's energy, which in turn is inseparably linked with the efficient training of people's mind and body. Hence all the powers of the world are busy trying every means to enhance their national strength. With this end in view they devote, inter alia, their unstinted efforts to physical culture, and there is no country but has some methods characteristically its own, with which it endeavors to foster th national vigor.\textsuperscript{136}

Thus for the Japanese kokutai, judo was the “unique method” which would serve to energize it. It was distinctly Japanese, and it was in Kanō's opinion far superior to all other forms of physical education, which would allow Japan to, as the opening quote to this chapter stated, become one of the strongest civilized countries in the world. And the reason for this superiority in Kanō's mind lay not simply in the fact that it was kinesiologically superior to other forms of physical education (though it may have been), not in the fact that its regimented structure made it simple to monitor a student's progress (which

\textsuperscript{134} Vladimir Putin, \textit{Judo: History, Theory, Practice} (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2004), 4

\textsuperscript{135} Kanō, \textit{Mind Over Muscle}, 101

\textsuperscript{136} Kanō, in Sumitomo Arima, \textit{Judo, Japanese Physical Culture: Being a Further Exposition of Jujitsu and Similar Arts}. (Tokyo: Mitsumura Co. Ltd., 1906)
which certainly was the case), but rather that it had a strong ideological component to it as well. It is to this ideological component, part of judo's “mental training,” which shall be explored next.
Kanō felt that through judo instruction, one would be able to apply “the theory of fighting across the spectrum of life to master a method for tackling things.”\textsuperscript{137} Thus, the ideology behind judo espoused by its founder was one that did not just encompass the physical practice of judo, but life itself. Kanō believed that in life,

One’s mental and physical energy must be used most effectively in order to achieve a certain goal. That is to say, one must apply the most effective method or technique focusing the mind and body. If we use the term ‘seiryoku’ for one’s mental and physical energy, this should be expressed as \textit{seiryoku saizen katsuyō} (best use of one’s energy). We can shorten this to \textit{seiryoku zenyō} (maximum efficiency). This means that no matter what the goal, in order to achieve it, you must put your mental and physical energy to work in the most effective manner.\textsuperscript{138}

This maxim, \textit{seiryoku zenyō}\textsuperscript{139}—which along with judo's other maxim, \textit{jita kyōei},\textsuperscript{140} was launched by the Kōdōkan Cultural Society which was founded in 1922\textsuperscript{141}—has been translated many ways, including “maximum efficiency, minimum effort,” and “maximum efficient use of mind and body.” Regardless of the translation used, the idea behind this maxim is simple: every movement, every action, every energy expenditure—whether mental or physical—should have a purpose, and it should be done in the most efficient, least wasteful manner. As Kanō put it, because of the concept of \textit{seiryoku zenyō} which is the very essence of judo, “judo is not merely a martial art but rather the basic principle of human behaviour. When that basic principle is applied to defense against attack or applied as physical education in randori at the dōjō, these are application of that principle in judo, but are only one aspect of judo—it is wrong to assume judo ends in the dōjō.”\textsuperscript{142}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{137} Kanō, \textit{Mind Over Muscle}, 110
\item \textsuperscript{138} Kanō, \textit{Mind Over Muscle}, 43
\item \textsuperscript{139} In kanji, 精力善用.
\item \textsuperscript{140} In kanji, 自他共栄.
\item \textsuperscript{141} Brousse and Matsumoto, \textit{Judo: A Sport and a Way of Life}, 81
\item \textsuperscript{142} Kanō, \textit{Mind Over Muscle}, 77
\end{itemize}
The maxim *seiryoku zenyō* is perhaps the most eloquent encapsulation of everything that those interested in the project of creating docile bodies could have ever conceived. As Foucault states, “disciplinary control does not consist simply in teaching or imposing a series of particular gestures; it imposes the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency and speed. In the correct use of the body, which makes possible a correct use of time, nothing must remain idle or useless: everything must be called upon to form the support of the act required.”¹⁴³ This is precisely what Kanō had desired in the practice of judo, albeit without necessarily realizing it implications: he desired that through judo his students learned to expend their energy with “maximum efficiency.”

The idea that one needed to apply the teachings of judo (i.e. the principle of *seiryoku zenyō*) for the benefit of society is a recurring theme throughout Kanō's writings: he was absolutely adamant about this necessity to serve society, and felt that “a person’s true value is determined by how much they contribute to society during his or her lives. And because these very contributions enable those who strive to perfect themselves to achieve this, the purpose of judo is to perfect yourself so that you can contribute to society.”¹⁴⁴ To use *seiryoku zenyō* for one's selfish desires and gains was anathema to Kanō, as the other maxim of judo—*jita kyōei*, “mutual welfare and benefit”—made clear. Rather, as he repeatedly stressed “devotion to *seiryoku zenyō* entails striving to act selflessly for the good of society.”¹⁴⁵ This belief in the necessity to better society was so strong that Kanō considered it “upper-level” judo, which to reiterate, was as opposed to the various skills and techniques acquired during the physical practice of judo, which he considered “lower-” and “mid-” level judo that were discussed in the previous section. And one needed to be both selfless and efficient when practicing this “upper-

---

¹⁴³ Foucault, 152

¹⁴⁴ Kanō, *Mind Over Muscle*, 92

¹⁴⁵ Kanō, *Mind Over Muscle*, 80
level” judo. Its application spanned every single human endeavour, everything from the extraordinary to the mundane. Even when considering food, a basic necessity of life itself, one needed to apply the principals taught by judo:

When carrying out some kind of duty for society, it is alright to skip a meal once or twice, but eating irregularly when it is not necessary to do so is not good. So, from the standpoint of seiryoku zenyō, you must eat a proper amount whenever you can. Yet because work can often be demanding, for the sake of yourself, others, and society, you must be prepared to miss a meal once or twice, though not in excess.¹⁴⁶

This insistence on being efficient in everything is at the very heart of “upper-level” judo, or judo at the ideological level, and this it seems was more important than the physical practice itself. For it was Kanō's benign belief that “as long as they believe that they have used their mental and physical energy most effectively, human beings will never lose hope, nor will they suffer undue anxiety.”¹⁴⁷

The problem with Kanō's belief that judoka should work with maximum efficiency to benefit society is that his seemingly benign ideologies were easily taken up by less-than-benign ideologues within the government to promote a more malignant agenda, a problem that plagued many liberal intellectuals at the time.¹⁴⁸ For Kanō, his ideologies were extraordinarily useful for those in power due to the fact that never in his writings did he ever state that one should question the direction with which society was going. While earlier in life some of Kanō's writings seem to be tinged with nationalism—as the quote opening this chapter makes clear—in his later years he seemed to genuinely believe in peace, and jita kyōei, “mutual welfare and benefit,” wasn't something which was to be considered for Japanese domestic politics alone, but something he desired the world to embrace. He was so greatly against nationalism close to the end of his life that he was ambivalent towards having judo included in the Olympics—a long time dream of his—due to the fact that at that time, he felt the “Olympic Games

¹⁴⁶ Kanō, Mind Over Muscle, 80
¹⁴⁷ Kanō, Mind Over Muscle, 99
[were] so strongly flavoured with nationalism that it [was] possible to be influenced by it and to develop Contest Judo as a retrograde form as Jujitsu was before the Kodokan was founded. Judo should be as free as art and science from external influences—political, national, racial, financial or any other organised interest. And all things connected with it should be directed to its ultimate object, the benefit of humanity.”

His latter day beliefs thus were summed up in 1937, a year before his death, when he wrote “I believe that world peace and the welfare of humankind must be realized through the spirit that judo brings about.”

But despite his benign intentions with the creation of judo, it was deployed by the government in a way that suited their agenda, and proved the perfect pedagogical tool to create docile citizens; disciplined soldiers of the battlefield or the industrial army who would, as Boussanelle observed, would “obey whatever he is ordered to do; his obedience is prompt and blind; an appearance of indocility, the least delay would be a crime.” Why would these docile bodies obey what they are ordered to do? Because to do otherwise would be inefficient: it is more easier to swim with the current than against it.

Of course, not every judo practitioner followed Kanō’s teachings; many were completely against the government and gradual move towards what is commonly referred to as “Japanese fascism.” That is precisely why judo, and its ideologies, were needed. Had everyone been on board with the government from the beginning, there wouldn't have been a necessity for judo to be taught. Just like a new law, judo was made mandatory in the school curriculum because it was meant to correct and dissuade certain behaviours—that had very much been exhibited—which were against the desires the state. But while some paid no attention to the ideologies which judo sought to inculcate, others accepted the ideologies with open arms, becoming “better” citizens, seeking to aid society as it was progressing in

150 Kanō, Mind Over Muscle, 84
151 Boussanelle, in Foucault, 166
the most efficient way possible.
JUDO AS DISCIPLINE

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, judo as it was deployed by the Japanese state from 1931 was perhaps the greatest pedagogical tool for creating docile bodies ever conceived: from the physical practice to its ideologies, every aspect of judo was geared toward creating citizens which would be more easily controlled and more effective in their respective positions throughout society. Judo was an art of discipline, a way of “composing forces in order to obtain an efficient machine,” the machine being the Japanese state itself.

In Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Foucault looks at the genealogy of the modern prison as an institution in Western civilization. Because Japan was a “late-comer” to capitalism and “modernity,” the timeline for the development of various techniques of power over the populace that had taken centuries to evolve throughout Europe were introduced much more abruptly and intensely, with great social consequence. By the 1930s, however, much of the social unrest that had been a threat to the hyper-capitalist, imperialistic Japanese state had died down—or rather, been “pacified”—and it was a perfect time for the state to begin renewed efforts to create a strong kokutai which was efficient and obedient, and judo was the perfect tool.

In Europe in the eighteenth century, Foucault remarks that the changes that marked a paradigm shift in projects of docility were many:

To begin with, there was the scale of the control: it was a question not of treating the body, en masse, ‘wholesale’, as if it were an indissociable unity, but of working it 'retail', individually; of exercising upon it a subtle coercion, of obtaining holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself—movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the active body. Then there was the object of the control: it was not or was no longer the signifying elements of behaviour or the language of the body, but the economy, the efficiency of movements, their internal organization; constraint bears upon the forces rather than upon the signs; the only truly important ceremony is that of exercise. Lastly, there is the modality: it implies an uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the processes of the activity rather than its result and it is

152 Foucault, 164
exercised according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space, movement. These methods, which made possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed upon them a relation of docility-utility, might be called 'disciplines'.

This paradigm shift in the project of docility is precisely what was going on in early twentieth century Japan, and what the physical and ideological practice of judo, functioning as an officially state-sanctioned “discipline,” worked perfectly to serve and intensify. Judo as it was deployed by the Shōwa state, was “an art of the human body... which was directed not only at the growth of its skills, nor at the intensification of its subjection, but at the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely”\textsuperscript{154}: the physical practice of judo was to make bodies strong and limber, the ideology to make them more useful and obedient: the principle of seiryoku zenyō addressing the former, Kanō's insistence on serving society the latter. Judo was the perfect discipline: “discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, ‘docile’ bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience).”\textsuperscript{155}

Kanō's obsession with the societal application of seiryoku zenyō, of “maximum efficiency,” was truly at the heart of this discipline. Everything, from eating to sleeping, needed to be done in accordance with the principal, so that not a single moment was wasted in idleness. In this way, it was precisely what Foucault was speaking of when he wrote:

\begin{quote}
Discipline... arranges a positive economy; it poses the principle of a theoretically ever-growing use of time: exhaustion rather than use; it is a question of extracting, from time, ever more available moments and, from each moment, ever more useful forces. This means that one must seek to intensify the use of the slightest moment, as if time, in its very fragmentation, were inexhaustible or as if, at least by an ever more detailed internal arrangement, one could tend
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{153} Foucault, 136-137

\textsuperscript{154} Foucault, 137-138

\textsuperscript{155} Foucault, 138
towards an ideal point at which one maintained maximum speed and maximum efficiency.\textsuperscript{156}

Foucault states that a body viewed through this new technique of subjection called “discipline” is a “body of exercise, rather than of speculative physics; a body manipulated by authority, rather than imbued with animal spirits; a body of useful training and not of rational mechanics, but one in which, by virtue of that very fact, a number of natural requirements and functional constraints are beginning to emerge.... In the exercise that is imposed upon it and which it resists, the body brings out its essential correlations and spontaneously rejects the incompatible.”\textsuperscript{157}

As stated above, it was the Japanese state who was the authority which manipulated these bodies, but the question which must be asked is why, at that particular moment in time, was it seen as necessary. In Europe, discipline, like other new political anatomies, “were adopted in response to particular needs: an industrial innovation, a renewed outbreak of certain epidemic diseases, the invention of the rifle or the victories of Prussia.”\textsuperscript{158} The question that needs to be asked then, is what were the particular needs of the Japanese state at that time?

The possible reasons for it not being included in the school curriculum anytime before 1931 have been examined in the previous chapters, but why was it in 1931 that it was finally made mandatory?

There were periodic collapses of the Japanese economy after World War I which caused great social distress and unrest, but the perhaps the greatest depression of the decade occurred in 1928 onwards, in response to the worldwide Great Depression. However, due to the presence and enforcement of the Peace Preservation Laws, very little dissent could be voiced by the general civilian

\textsuperscript{156} Foucault, 154

\textsuperscript{157} Foucault, 155

\textsuperscript{158} Foucault, 138
population; there was, however, growing nationalist sentiment among the rural population and the political right. With the rise of nationalism came a backlash against “modernity,” and there was a cry for a return to “traditional values,” and Kanō seemed to share very much the same sentiment:

Loyalty, faith, honor, and various other virtues were emphasized in the marital arts of the past, but I keenly feel their importance even today. The deterioration of society’s morals today is primarily the result of a failure to emphasize these virtues. So I believe that those who practice judo in particular must apply themselves to these matters and restore today’s neglected public morals.

Further,

When we consider what kind of martial art we should use today in order to achieve [the goal of the future people of Japan valuing their country and having a strengthened love for their country], there is none better than judo. The customs of the past are still followed today, and many people maintain a strong sense that the martial arts are something that should be honoured, and that ill intentions or weak-willed behaviour while aspiring to follow the path of the martial arts is improper. That being said, today there is no particular need for training in the use of spears, and the need for swordsmanship is declining, so judo is clearly the most appropriate martial art for today. If you learn from a good judo instructor, naturally you can honour Japan and love things Japanese, elevate your spirit, and cultivate a brave character.

But the use judo for the cultivation of this *yamato damashii*—this “brave character” born of samurai spirit—was of immediate importance in another way, not just to restore public morals and promote a sense of austerity amongst the impoverished populace. If the desire was for the cultivation of the Japanese spirit alone, there would have been other, less politically dangerous ways for its promotion as opposed to teaching the impoverished populace how to fight in hand-to-hand combat; under the wrong conditions this could certainly backfire, making it more difficult for the authorities to control rioters, who would now be trained in the very mode of combat that the police themselves were trained in. There was an additional impetus towards judo’s inclusion, and that lay in the imminent war


160 Kanō, *Mind Over Muscle*, 105-106

161 Kanō, *Mind Over Muscle*, 111-112

162 In kanji, this term is 大和魂, and means “the Japanese spirit.”
with China.

The Mukden Incident\textsuperscript{163}—which is seen as one of the major events which instigated the Second Sino-Japanese War which officially began 7 July 1937—took place on 18 September 1931, nine months after judo was made mandatory in schools across the country. While the event itself was too late to have any causality assigned to it, the “incident” was no accident; there were many years of tension between China and Japan previously, and in 1930 the Japanese army had begun an “institutional response” which included an “Estimate of the Situation” in Manchuria by the army's Second Department, which “reflected concerns that had been addressed at the highest government level three years earlier in the 1927 Eastern Conference.”\textsuperscript{164} While an analysis of the “incident,” the Second Sino-Japanese War, and its causes are beyond the scope of this paper, suffice it to say there was much premonition amongst the higher-ups in the Japanese government about the seemingly inevitable conflict with China. There was a need to prepare the nation for the impending conflict, and judo was very much a part of this project. There was a need to train the civilian population in judo so that they would be good soldiers as well as good civilians on the home front. As Foucault reminds us:

\begin{quote}
It may be that war as strategy is a continuation of politics. But it must not be forgotten that “politics” has been conceived as a continuation, if not exactly and directly of war, at least of the military model as a fundamental means of preventing civil disorder. Politics, as a technique of internal peace and order, sought to implement the mechanism of the perfect army, of the disciplined mass, of the docile, useful troop, of the regiment in camp and in the field, on maneuvers and on exercises.\textsuperscript{165}
\end{quote}

And this training of the civilian population did not just occur in the homeland, but in the colonies as well, albeit years later. Lin and Lee point out that in Taiwan, after the Mukden Incident,

\begin{quote}
Physical education underwent a significant change... popular physical education emphases on play were eliminated because those could not promote the government's political intentions.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{163} Also known as the “Manchurian Incident” as well as the “September 18 Incident.”

\textsuperscript{164} James Weland, “Misguided Intelligence: Japanese Military Intelligence Officers in the Manchurian Incident, September 1931” \textit{The Journal of Military History}, 58:3 (July 1994), 453-454

\textsuperscript{165} Foucault, 168
Programmes that could increase physical strength and improve skills available for national defense were introduced. After the Second World War broke out in 1939, the government further revised physical education. In 1939, Japanese martial arts (judo and [kendo]) were introduced, together with a greater emphasis on physical and mental training.\textsuperscript{166}

In Korea, there was a similar policy shift after the Mukden Incident: after having similar policies of banning the teaching of forms of combat,

The Japanese expanded Korean martial arts. Several Korean martial arts clubs, especially Chosun Mudo-gwan (the Korean Hall of the Way of Martial Arts), Chosun Yeonmu-gwan (the Korean Hall of Training Martial Arts), Chosun Gangmu-gwan (the Korean Hall of Strengthening Martial Arts) and Chosun Jungang Gidokgyo Cheongnyeon Hwe Yudobu (the Korean Central YMCA Judo Club) were absorbed into a Japanese Judo club, Dong-gyeon Gangdo-gwan (the Tokyo Hall of Strengthening the Way) from 1 July 1938. Unsurprisingly, instead of traditional Korean martial arts, the Japanese emphasized Japanese traditions.\textsuperscript{167}

Judo was thus implemented nationally in 1931, and less than a decade later in the colonies, to fulfill a military dream of society; “its fundamental reference... not to the state of nature, but to the meticulously subordinated cogs of a machine, not to the primal social contract, but to permanent coercions, not to fundamental rights, but to indefinitely progressive forms of training, not to the general will but to automatic docility.”\textsuperscript{168} Judo as part of the national curriculum fulfilled the ideals set out in 1772 by Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte, Comte de Guibert, when he wrote:

\begin{quote}
Discipline must be made national... The state that I depict will have a simple, reliable, easily controlled administration. It will resemble those huge machines, which by quite uncomplicated means produce great effects; the strength of this state will spring from its own strength, its prosperity from its own prosperity. Time, which destroys all, will increase its power. It will disprove that vulgar prejudice by which we are made to imagine that empires are subjected to an imperious law of decline and ruin.\textsuperscript{169}
\end{quote}

The strength of the state in Japan was based on the strength of various ideologies of its population, and the ideology promulgated by the founder of judo and its exponents was an invaluable piece of the

\textsuperscript{166} Lin and Lee, 327
\textsuperscript{168} Foucault, 169
\textsuperscript{169} Guibert, in Foucault, 169
overall intricate system of ideological indoctrination in which the state was engaged. As Servan aptly points out:

A stupid despot may constrain his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas; it is at the stable point of reason that he secures the end of the chain; this link is all the stronger in that we do not know of what it is made and we believe it to be our own work; despair and time eat away the bonds of iron and steel, but they are powerless against the habitual union of ideas, they can only tighten it still more, and on the soft fibres of the brain is founded the unshakable base of the soundest of Empires. 170

No other ideology promulgated by the state was as simple and as powerful as that which was promoted by judo: “maximum efficiency, minimum effort,” and the belief that “the most important thing is to strive to develop yourself so that you can acquire as much spare energy as possible to expend on society, which will in turn greatly benefit yourself as well.” 171

It needs to be stressed that not everyone embraced Kanō’s ideologies as they were deployed by the state: there certainly were those who—despite the laws forbidding anti-state sentiment and other ideological discourses which promoted jingoism and an increasingly beligerent attitude towards foreign powers—attempted to dissuade the state from its increasingly evident warpath; but those that did embrace judo and its ideology would use their physically strong, disciplined bodies to serve the state unquestioningly in the most efficient way possible until a major event shook the very foundations of their epistemological presumptions.

170 Servan, in Foucault, 102-103

171 Kanō, Mind Over Muscle, 131
CONCLUSION

The inclusion of judo in the Japanese middle school curriculum beginning in 1931 needs to be seen a new stage in the creation of docile bodies, and the culmination of decades of debate with regards to how to best cultivate a sense of nation among the youth while strengthening their bodies for use in times of peace and times of war. It was perfect for the needs of the state at the time: as physical education, it was quite possibly the most kinesiologically superior form of exercise that had been practiced in schools at that time, as a form of fighting it prepared the youth from a young age to become comfortable with the idea of combat and introduced methods of attack and defense that were directly applicable on the battlefield. Furthermore, the beliefs promoted by Kanō—beliefs that were not created in isolation but rather was part of a long epistemological genealogy—worked perfectly in conjunction with the Peace Preservation Law of 1925, the former promoting the idea that one should strive to benefit society, the latter condemning anything but precisely that. Judo, in tandem with the inculcation of patriotism and other traits not necessarily emphasized in its teachings, was a truly insidious combination which was perhaps the most efficient way for creating good citizens and good soldiers for the ends which the Shōwa state wished to achieve. The practice of judo did not guarantee docility, but a full embrace of its practice and ideology made it more likely than any other method conceived.


