THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WAR-TIME NATIONAL IDENTITY: the Japanese Pavilion at New York World's Fair 1939/40

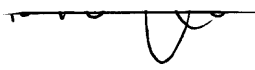
by

Akiko Takenaka
Bachelor of Engineering in Architecture and Building Engineering
Tokyo Institute of Technology
Tokyo, Japan
March 1990

Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Architecture Studies
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
June 1997

© Akiko Takenaka 1997. All rights reserved.

The author hereby grants to M.I.T. permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly paper and electronic copies of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of Author 
Akiko Takenaka, Department of Architecture
May 9, 1997

Certified by
Mark Jarzombek
Associate Professor of the History of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by
Roy Strickland
Chairman, Departmental Committee on Graduate Students

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY
JUN 20 1997
LIBRARIES

Readers

Sibel Bozdogan
Associate Professor of Architecture
Department of Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Leila W. Kinney
Assistant Professor of the History of Art
Department of Architecture
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Cherie Wendelken
Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Japanese
Department of Fine Arts
Harvard University

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WAR-TIME NATIONAL IDENTITY:
the Japanese Pavilion at New York World's Fair 1939/40

by
Akiko Takenaka

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 9, 1997
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science in Architecture Studies

Abstract

The period between the mid-nineteenth century and World War II was the age of international expositions for the countries of the European and American continents. Events were launched every few years in various cities, in order to demonstrate the level of cultural sophistication or technological advancement. The predominate ways in which these events have been studied are: as stages for the display of technology and design; as sites for the manifestation of imperialism and colonial authority; and as vehicles for studying culture of the host and participating countries. Little has been written from the political point of view concerning governmental strategies in foreign relations, which is surprising given the international nature of the events. This thesis examines one particular national pavilion presented by Japan at the *New York World's Fair 1939/40* from multiple perspectives, to reveal different intentions behind its planning and design. By drawing upon archival records and the condition of pre-war foreign relations, it argues that the pavilion design was a result of the political strategy of the Japanese government in apprehension of World War II.

The pavilion is not the work of an acclaimed architect, and has been considered of little significance in the history of modern Japanese architecture. This thesis explores the reasons for this negative reception through an examination of movements and debates among architects of the 1930s - a decade in which the entire intellectual climate of Japan was focused upon the search for a modern Japanese identity. This thesis attempts to bring to light the significance of an architectural work usually neglected in historical texts often written in a way which laud the architect as the fountainhead of architecture. Other forces which come into play in the creation of architecture demonstrate that, in interpreting a single building, various perspectives yield a fuller picture. My emphasis is on the political perspective - on the strained international situation in the years when the New York World's Fair was held.

Thesis Supervisor: Mark Jarzombek
Title: Associate Professor of the History of Architecture

To my parents

Acknowledgments

This work could never have been - without the warm support of many people. Although acknowledging some would mean neglecting so many, I particularly want to thank the following people:

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to,
Mark Jarzombek. my thesis advisor, for continuous encouragement and warm guidance throughout my academic struggles and endeavors during my two years at MIT.

My readers,
Sibel Bozdogan, for insightful comments and constructive criticisms.
Leila Kinney, for inspiring conversations and constant encouragement.
Cherie Wendelken for careful reading and valuable suggestions.

And to
John Dower at MIT Department of History for precious assistance and warm support.

Also,
Akira, for warm support and comprehensive response to all my queries.
Ari, for witty comments and enjoyable conversations.
Greg, for careful reading and thorough editing work.
Jim, for listening and sharing so many times.
and
All my friends and colleagues in the HTC program who have made this experience a pleasurable one.

Lastly, I would like to thank all the members of the faculty for selecting this work for the SMArchS Prize.

I thank you all.

Table of Contents

	Introduction	7
I	**Japan at Previous Fairs**	
	International Expositions and World's Fairs	13
	Japan at the Fairs	16
II	**The Japanese Pavilion at the Fair**	
	New York World's Fair (1939/40)	29
	Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie Moderne (1937)	35
III	**Culture, Politics and Architecture**	
	W.W.II and Depression	55
	Planning of the New York World's Fair	56
	Presentations	59
	Troubled Japan-US Relationship	63
	Misrepresentations	66
	Pan-Asianism: its origins and political use	69
	American Creators of the Fair	71
	Politics and Architecture	72
	Movements, Debates, and Styles	74
	Cultural use of Pan-Asianism	83
	Pan-Asianism at the Fair	87
IV	**The Construction of a War-Time National Identity**	
	The Creation and Recreation of Image as War-Time National Propaganda	112
	Creation: Japanese "Cultural Activities" of the 30s	114
	The Society for International Cultural Relations	115
	The Pavilion and Displays	118
	Recreation: Pre-war Images	123
	Alteration, Distortion and Manipulation	125
V	**In Conclusion**	138
	Illustration credits	141
	Bibliography	145

Introduction

How are identities formulated - or perceived and interpreted? The quality of an identity is greatly influenced by the situation in which the formulation process takes place. A personal identity is greatly influenced by the immediate environment of the self in the juvenile ages or the early years of adulthood when the basis of one's personality is formulated. The psychological effect of the years in which the formulation process takes place cannot be underestimated - should a child be situated in an unfavorable environment while the basis of his/her personality is created, an adverse effect may remain for many years to come.

In the creation of national identity, the contemporary international context greatly affects the outcome. Then, what kind of an identity may be formulated in a pre-war or war-time country? What is involved in the creation process? How is it different from the creation process in peaceful times? Furthermore, how would the international situation affect the reception or interpretation of the constructed identity?

This thesis explores the construction process of a Japanese national identity in the period prior to World War II. A world's fair is chosen as the stage of exploration, because of the complexity involved in the construction, presentation, and reception of a national identity. The Japanese national pavilion and its displays at the *New York World's Fair (1939/40)* are examined as a material example of the constructed identity.

This thesis deals with a period in which the Japanese, after a long period of aspiring to become similar to the West, were reconsidering "things Oriental." The Japanese government at the time, was trying to construct an Oriental image, faced with a political demand to create a Japanese identity not dependent on the West. Due to the troubled international situation between Japan and the United States in the following years, this constructed image was not received with good intentions. The thesis also attempts at the reconsideration of the architecture and the culture of Japan - by reflecting back from outside of the country. Although the relationship between Japan and the United States is no longer same today as it had been during the years of the Fair, stereotyping still exists on both sides, and Japanese do not seem to have arrived at an image of themselves which they can be comfortable with. The thesis does not attempt at the "correction" of such stereotypes, nor does it suggest what kind of image the Japanese should be constructing for themselves. Rather, it tries to reveal the complexity behind the process of creation of such images, through an examination of some examples of how stereotypical images are constructed.

This work is also a reconsideration and reevaluation of a neglected piece of architecture - the Japanese pavilion which will be examined, has been considered of little significance in the history of modern Japanese architecture. By examining the building from different perspectives, it attempts to reveal the different sets of intentions behind its planning and design. Other forces which come into play in creating a work of architecture demonstrate that, in the interpretation of a single building, various perspectives yield a

fuller picture. My emphasis lies on the political perspective - on the strained international situation in the years when the event was held.

Chapter I is a brief introduction of international expositions and world fairs. This is to characterize the American Fairs in relation to their European counterparts. A comparison of the events which took place in Europe with those in the United States reveals the contrasting ways international expositions were perceived by the host countries. European countries such as France and England clearly had strong messages to send internationally, whereas the United States perceived its fairs as events for its own people. Moreover, the events in the United States were commercially oriented when compared to the expositions which took place in the European countries. A brief examination of Japanese participation in world's fairs will follow, to illustrate the Japanese attitude toward participating in such events.

As a point of departure for my analysis of the Japanese pavilion at the *New York World's Fair* of 1939, another Japanese pavilion presented at an international exposition in Paris in 1937 will be introduced in chapter II. Unlike the pavilion at New York, which is considered of little significance as a work of architecture, the Paris pavilion received a Grand Prix for its design, and is celebrated in many Japanese architectural history books as a brilliant achievement of modernist architects. This success had augmented the negative reception of the New York pavilion in the Japanese architectural community of the time.

Chapter III examines the political situation of Japan in the 1930s as well as its influence on contemporary architectural culture. It also explores architectural movements and debates among the Japanese architects. Throughout the decade, the main theme was the search for an appropriate style to demonstrate a modern Japanese identity. Particularly towards the end of the decade, the entire nation was caught under the sway of strong

political ideologies of militarism and ultra-nationalism, resulting from its aggressive foreign policy towards the rest of East Asia. Styles of architecture in Japan, which had been gradually shifting from traditional towards modern under the influence of European architecture, saw a return to the traditional. Influenced by anti-Chinese as well as anti-Western sentiments, a search for the "original" Japanese architecture can be observed. A change in the type of religious architecture used as the Japanese design model exemplifies this search. The shrine - symbolizing the national religion, Shintoism - substituted for the temple, symbolic of Buddhism and derived from China. The Japanese pavilion at the New York World's Fair, modeled after a Shinto shrine, is significant in relation to this shift, and the search for an 'original' presentation of Japan through architecture.

In the 1930s and the early years of the 40s, various cultural activities of Japan were introduced, especially to the United States, through media such as publications and films, as well as actual demonstrations. Recognizing the need to refute the negative opinion gradually growing in reaction to their foreign policies, the Japanese government attempted to export a certain image of their country. So cunning were these images that they are sometimes labeled "cultural propaganda." In chapter IV, some examples of this propaganda are introduced, and their method of creating desirable images by abstraction, alteration, and juxtaposition of pre-existing facts are examined. The pavilion and its displays are analyzed in relation to the method of image creation used in the propaganda. I sketch the similarities in the methods employed in the creation of the pavilion at the Fair and various forms of cultural propaganda, and propose that this pavilion was one of the few cases in which a work of art (architecture) was used by the Japanese government as a part of its propaganda.

How successful was this propaganda? The question of American reception will also be explored. Due to the scarcity of published or documented material, suppositions will be made with reference to scholarship on the American reception of other propaganda

disseminated by Japan. Images of the Japanese which the Americans themselves created by drawing upon original Japanese sources, will also be examined.

- a note on translation and archival material -

The archives of the *New York World's Fair 1939/40* are on deposit in the manuscript division of the New York Public Library. The material fill approximately one thousand (1000) boxes, and are organized in sections (Administration, Board of Design, Construction, Foreign Participation, etc.) and further subdivided into categories under various file numbers and names. In referring to these archives, the designation NYPL will be used, followed by the box number and the file name (or number in some cases). Most of the records are without page numbers, some are without dates.

The records of correspondence between the Japanese foreign minister and the consuls general in New York at the time the Fair was in the process of creation (particularly Consul General Kaname Wakasugi who later became the Japanese Commissioner General to the Fair), was obtained from the Diplomatic Records Office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, Japan. Records which are more than thirty years old and have passed through governmental censorship are open for public access. The records of the New York World's Fair - mostly records of wire correspondence between the two countries, but also proceedings of committee meetings, newspaper clippings, blue prints, and original pamphlets) are organized in thirteen (13) files, together with the records for the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco, which had taken place in the same year. The correspondence will be referred to under the designation DRO, with the names of the correspondents and the date of correspondence.

In order to make the material easier to read for people who are not familiar with the Japanese language, I use Japanese names not as they are written in Japanese, with the family name first, but with the family name after the first name. When I refer to organizations or governmental orders and policies, I try to use English where an English translation exists, along with the Japanese. All translation from Japanese to English, from sources such as the correspondence, as well as books and journals in Japanese are mine unless otherwise noted.

I Japan at Previous Fairs

International Expositions and World's Fairs[1]

The first exposition to be regarded as "international" was the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* (London - 1851), commonly referred to as the *Crystal Palace Exhibition*. But the cultural phenomenon of expositions and fairs had been evolving slowly for almost a century prior to this event.[2] Through this preliminary period, institutions were formed, especially in France and Great Britain, to promote the principle of display. The major objectives of the earlier expositions - which started with the display of paintings in art galleries and later expanded into other fields - were the enhancement of trade, promotion of technology, and the education of the masses. Although artworks and products on display were domestic, the events clearly had an eye on the foreign visitor and were intended as a showcase for national identity. It was not until 1851, however, that expositions risked opening themselves to international participation, mainly due to fear of

economic competition. As the leader of European industry at the time, England decided to open the event internationally in order to expand its markets into other European countries. The Crystal Palace Exhibition was truly international in the sense that it was the first to invite other countries to participate.

Particularly in the case of the earlier expositions and fairs, the main pavilions and major structures themselves served as tools for displaying the technological progress of the host countries. The Crystal Palace Pavilion and the main pavilions of succeeding expositions - such as the Palais de l'Industrie (*Exposition Universelle*, Paris - 1855), the Machinery Hall (*Centennial International Exposition*, Philadelphia - 1876) and Galerie des Machines (*Exposition Universelle*, Paris - 1889), as well as iconic structures such as the Eiffel Tower (*Exposition Universelle*, Paris - 1889) and the Ferris Wheel (*World's Columbian Exposition*, Chicago - 1893) - are a few examples of structures which served such purposes.

For France and Great Britain in particular, international expositions were also stages to demonstrate geo-political position, and sites for the expression of imperialist ideology. From the planning of the site to the selection of which countries to invite, to the allotment of exhibition lots or display spaces to each country, the underlying message was that their country possessed more strength, militarily as well as economically, and was the more advanced technologically and culturally. In the case of French expositions, this was demonstrated by systematic site planning, through which practically all the natural and artificial objects in the world were given order (*Exposition Universelle* - 1867),[3] the re-proclamation of France's "traditional role" as the central figure of the world (*Exposition Universelle* - 1878 and *Exposition Coloniale Internationale* - 1931),[4] and the presentation of French aesthetic taste and culture (*Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et*

Industriels Modernes - 1925 and *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* - 1937).[5]

Similar intentions can be observed in the United States. The "exotic and popular attractions" conceived for the first time at the Midway Plaisance in the *World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago 1893), were, from then on, one of the major and financially successful features in the succeeding expositions taking place in the United States.[6] But their more important concern was commercial success. Unlike most of the European expositions, which were supported either by the royalty or the government, those held in the United States were commonly run by private organizations. This resulted in popular attractions such as the Midway Plaisance, innovative schemes such as the conception of certificates of membership and bonds, or collaboration with regional events (*Century of Progress Exposition*, Philadelphia 1933),[7] and analytic study of successful attractions from previous expositions (*New York World's Fair*, 1939-40).[8]

The difference in the nature of the events in France and the United States can also be observed in language: "exposition" being used in the French cases and "fair" in the American context.

> Exposition: the action of putting out to public view; an instant of this; a display, show, exposure.
>
> Fair: a periodical gathering of buyers and sellers, in a place and at a time ordained by charter or statute or by ancient custom. (In many cases fairs are resorted to for pleasure-seeking as well as for business; and in England they sometimes survive merely as gatherings for pleasure) Often modified by prefixing other words, indicating the things sold, by time of year, or some special object for which the fair is held.[9]

Japan at the Fairs

Japan made its debut at international expositions in 1862. At the *International Exposition of 1862* in London, the culture of the country was introduced through materials collected by Rutherford Alcock, an English ambassador to Japan, who praised the craftsmanship of the Japanese as being "comparable to the latest technology of Europe."[10] The display, known as the "Japan court," consisted mainly of pottery and crafts made of lacquer, bamboo and ivory [figure 1.1]. A group of Japanese scholars who were sent to Europe at the time on a research expedition by the government is said to have "encountered" the exposition and was introduced to the phenomenon for the first time[11] [figure 1.2].

Five years later, on the occasion of *Exposition Universelle* (Paris - 1867), Japan was officially invited for the first time to participate in an international exposition. National pavilions, which later became the main attraction of these events, did not yet exist. All the displays were exhibited in a large pavilion, in which areas for visiting countries were designated by the host nation. The main pavilions were themselves manifestations of technological progress. In these early expositions, it was usual for the host country to send detailed lists of materials it wanted displayed to each participating country. For this event, the French government sent two officials to Japan to advise on the selection. Similarly, in the case of *Weltausstellung* (Vienna - 1873), which was the next exposition in which Japan participated, a German hired by the Japanese government directed the selection of materials to be sent for display.[12] The material exhibited for these expositions bore a striking similarity to those selected by Alcock in 1862.

Japan maintained a significant record of attendance in the succeeding international expositions, building one or more pavilions in most cases. Starting with the *Weltausstellung* of 1873, it constructed national pavilions for seventeen international expositions prior to World War II. With the exception of the pavilion for the *Exposition*

Universelle des Arts et Techniques dans la vie Moderne (Paris - 1937), Japanese pavilions were designed after religious architecture, castles, and other historical edifices, or a combination of elements derived from these building types.[13] These pavilions were usually constructed by a group of carpenters sent to the site along with construction materials. The process of construction attracted much interest, especially in the United States, resulting in a fascination with Japanese carpentry [figure 1.3]. A pavilion at the *United States Centennial International Exhibition* (Philadelphia - 1876) was called "the best built structure on the Centennial grounds ... as nicely put together as a piece of cabinet work"[14] [figure 1.4]. The Japanese pavilions, along with the material displayed inside, were always received with much enthusiasm, and unlike most of the other East Asian countries, Japan was usually allotted an ample site on which one or more buildings surrounded by a landscaped garden were created.

The Japanese pavilion for the *World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago - 1893), was based on eleventh century architecture and situated on the Wooded Island in the lagoon, which occupied the center of the fair site [figure 1.5]. The elaborate wooden complex cost $100,000 for construction, and was presented to the city of Chicago at the close of the fair, to be maintained as a museum and tea garden.[15] The pavilion was not Japan's only contribution to this event. Other exhibits were included in the sections of Horticulture, Fine Arts, and Agriculture and the Mines, and another pavilion was built near the Manufacture's Building on Columbia Avenue. The *Japanese Village* was displayed on the Midway Plaisance, although this exhibition was not able to obtain official recognition by the Japanese government [figure 1.6].

Similarly, in the case of the *Louisiana Purchase International Exposition* (Saint Louis - 1904), the *Imperial Japanese Garden*, the official exhibit from Japan, consisted of the typical elements of a traditional Japanese garden, such as a stream of winding water,

stepping stones, arched bridge and stone lanterns [figure 1.7]. The main pavilion was modeled after *Kinkakuji*, a three-storied Golden Pavilion near Kyoto, constructed in 1395 - a square building encircled by open galleries, which were supported by slender posts and sheltered by dipping hipped roofs with deep eaves. At the entrance to the garden was the Formosa Pavilion, signaling Japan's nascent role as colonizer.[16] Aside from this garden, in which seven pavilions were constructed, the Japanese contribution consisted of materials exhibited in ten of the great galleries, as well as an unofficial setting in the Midway. Interestingly, the selection of the display materials were always similar to the collection introduced in 1862 by Rutherford Alcock.

Japan's colonial intentions were also put on display at the *Century of Progress Exposition* in Chicago 1933. The Japanese pavilion, designed in the style of the *Kamakura* and *Momoyama* periods, contained an exhibit of the South Manchurian Railway [figure 1.8]. This railway had been attacked by the Japanese army in September 1931 as a justification for the occupation of Manchuria, which later became a "puppet state" of Japan.

As a country which made few novel contributions to science and technology, Japan naturally placed its emphasis on displaying craftsmanship. As a late participant at expositions and fairs, Japan was always conscious of its reception. It is not surprising then that the pavilions were always modeled after traditional structures, and the displays consisted of bamboo and lacquer. Once they learned that carpentry was well received, the Japanese continued to display the process of creating the pavilion as a part of the exhibition. Once they learned that material with "exotic" qualities were welcomed, they consciously and intentionally selected material which would appeal to the European and American audience because of its foreign-ness. The Japanese presentation was always concerned with reception. It was not until the Paris International Exposition of 1937, or

perhaps even the New York World's Fair of 1939, that Japan finally determined to think about world fairs as a place to present a desirably created image, rather than a well accepted image.

---

[1]It is not my intention here to present a complete historical survey of international expositions or Japanese pavilions. I have selected expositions based on the significance of Japanese exhibits. For a complete historical survey of international expositions, see for example, John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990) and Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vista: the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988). For references which focus on Japanese exhibits, see for example, Mitsukuni Yoshida, ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankai-shi: 1851-1942* (The illustrated history of pavilion architecture: 1851-1942) (Tokyo: Shimonkaku, 1985) and Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Bankokuhaku no Nihonkan* (Japanese pavilions at international expositions) INAX Booklet vol. 10 no. 1, (Tokyo: INAX co., 1990).

[2]France has the longest history of national expositions. Eleven events were held in the country prior to 1851. The main objective was to recover the industrial activities which had stagnated after the French Revolution. For the history of national expositions prior to 1851, see for example, Kenneth W. Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions* (London: The Studio Publications, 1951).

[3]This order was established by integrating the two organizing principles, products and nations, into one coherent system. This later became the norm in the layout of international expositions. The products were organized in a system consisting of ten fundamental divisions of human endeavor (i.e. works of art, apparatus and application of the liberal arts, furniture and other objects for use in dwellings, clothing industrial objects), in which each group was divided into classes or subgroups. They were laid out in a concentric manner, so that one proceeding in the radial direction would be able to observe displays classified under the same group by different nations, and one proceeding in the circular direction would be able to observe the different groups of displays by the same nation.

[4]The main objective of the *Exposition Universelle* of 1878 was for France - then in the course of recovery from incidents such as the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune Revolt - to "proclaim to the world that the country was ready once again to resume its traditional role as a great civilizing force in human culture." (Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, 63).

[5]The theme of *Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes* of 1925 was the "promotion of understanding and harmony between art and industry." Strict regulations were passed determining the aesthetic nature of the exposition, stating that "the Committee of Admission have announced their intention to admit only those works which possess the quality of artistic originality, of perfect adaptation to modern conditions of living, and of good workmanship. The exhibits are limited to works of *new inspiration*, imitations and copies of existing work being rigorously excluded." ("International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art at Paris France," *Architectural Record 57*, April 1925, 383-384, italics original) The planners of the fair intended to reestablish France's position as the primer arbiter of taste and style in the industrial and decorative arts in the aftermath of World War I.

[6]Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, 127.

[7]The Century of Progress Exposition, which had been financed independent of government subsidy, was the occasion for an array of innovative fund raising schemes: large industries were invited to present exhibits, sometimes a whole pavilion devoted exclusively to one company; the public was invited to purchase a certificate of membership which was good for ten admissions to the fair; a bond of ten-million dollars was issued; and the exposition lent its name to a large number of special events in the vicinity from baseball and football games to classical concerts. Most of these endeavors became common features in the succeeding American fairs.

[8]For the planning of the amusement zone in the New York World's Fair 1939/40, a study was conducted of attractions that had been successful at earlier fairs, and a list was formulated of the qualities that seemed to result in popular attractions. The list included characteristics such as: an appeal to curiosity, thrill, exclusive presentation, low price, and short performance. (Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions*, 1851-1988, 293-300).

[9]Definitions taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*.
Another difference between the events held in Europe and the United States was stated in one of the articles included in the general regulations applying to the New York World's Fair.

> Awards
> Article XII
>
> > As it is not an American custom, and as in addition to protests from possible American exhibitors and because of the divided opinion in Europe as regards the value of these awards, the New York World's Fair 1939 Incorporated has decided at the present time not to follow the custom established in Europe and no awards will be given.
>
> NYPL: Box: 526; File: Regulations (date unknown).

[10]Cited in Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankai-shi: 1851-1942* (The illustrated history of world expositions: 1851-1942) (Tokyo: Shimonkaku, 1985), 143.

[11]Timothy Mitchell mentions the similar case of Egyptian scholars visiting *rue du Caire* in *Exposition Universelle* (Paris 1889) in his *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[12]It was a common practice for the Japanese government at the time (Meiji Restoration of 1868 to the end of 19th Century) to hire Europeans specialists from various fields for assistance in modernization and Westernization.

[13]The design of most of the pavilions was an eclectic style which combined elements from several historical buildings to achieve a design easily associated as typically Japanese. In the case of the Phoenix Pavilion presented at the *World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago* 1893 for example, the structure consisted of three buildings connected by corridors, each designed in styles representing three different time periods. The pavilion exhibited in Paris in 1900 was said to be designed after Horyuji, a temple, but with many ornaments not present in the original structure.

[14]Thompson Westcott, *Centennial Portfolio: A Souvenir of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia*, Philadelphia: 1876 (cited in Clay Lancaster, *Japanese Influence in America*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1983, 48).

[15]Lancaster, 83.

[16]Formosa (Taiwan) had been ceded to Japan at the end of Sino-Japanese War in 1895.

Figure 1.1 "Japan Court"
International Exposition of 1862 - London, 1862

Figure 1.2 Visiting scholars
International Exposition of 1862 - London, 1862

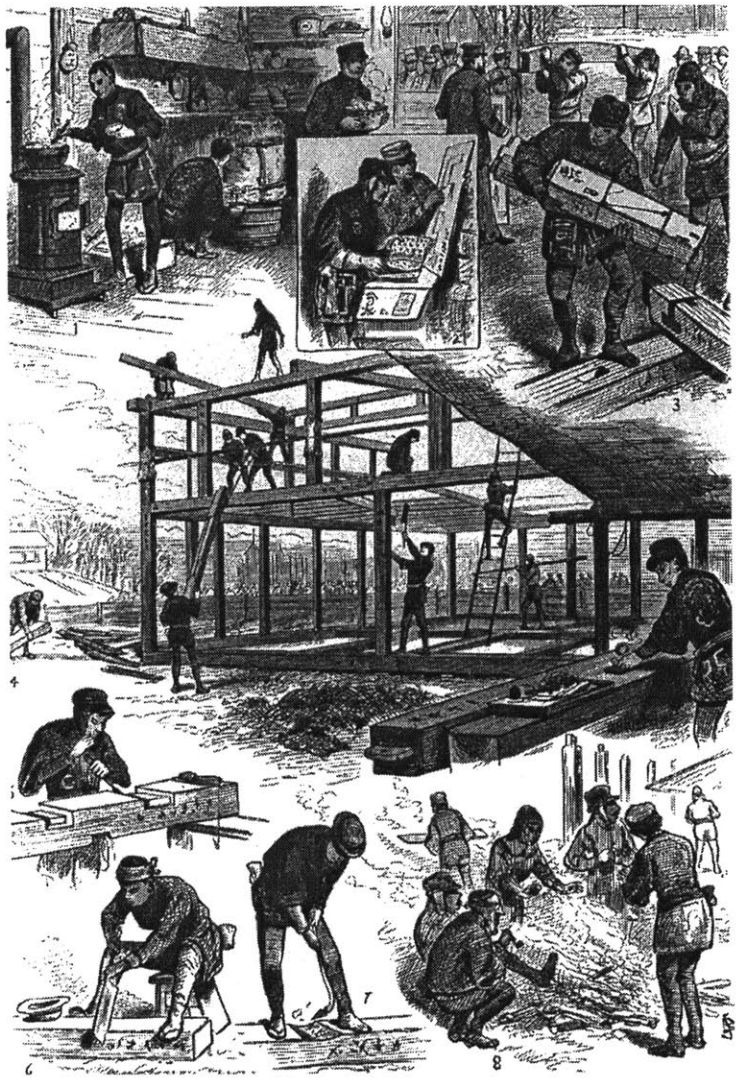


Figure 1.3 Japanese carpenters constructing the pavilion
Centennial International Exposition - Philadelphia, 1876

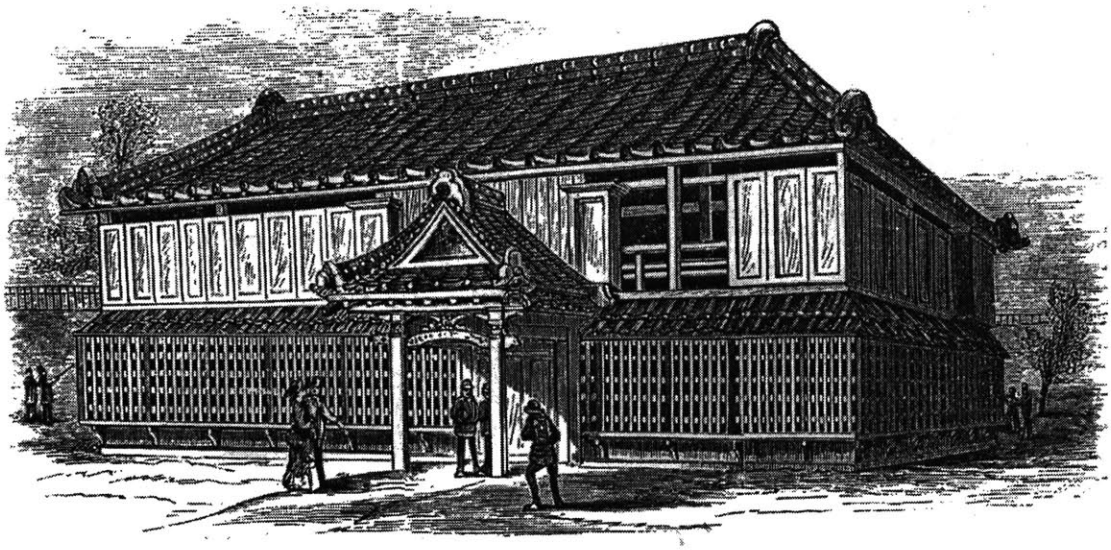


Figure 1.4 Japanese pavilion
Centennial International Exposition - Philadelphia, 1876

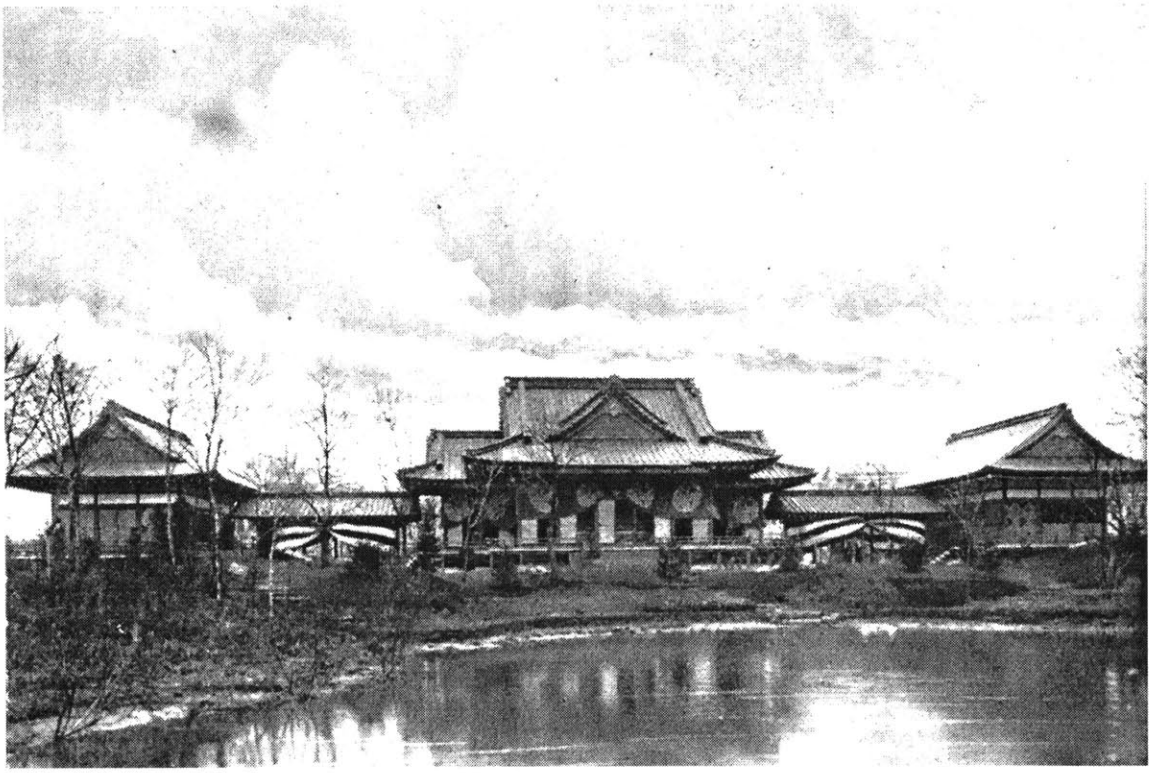


Figure 1.5 Japanese pavilion
World's Columbian Exposition - Chicago, 1893
Architect: Masamichi Kuru

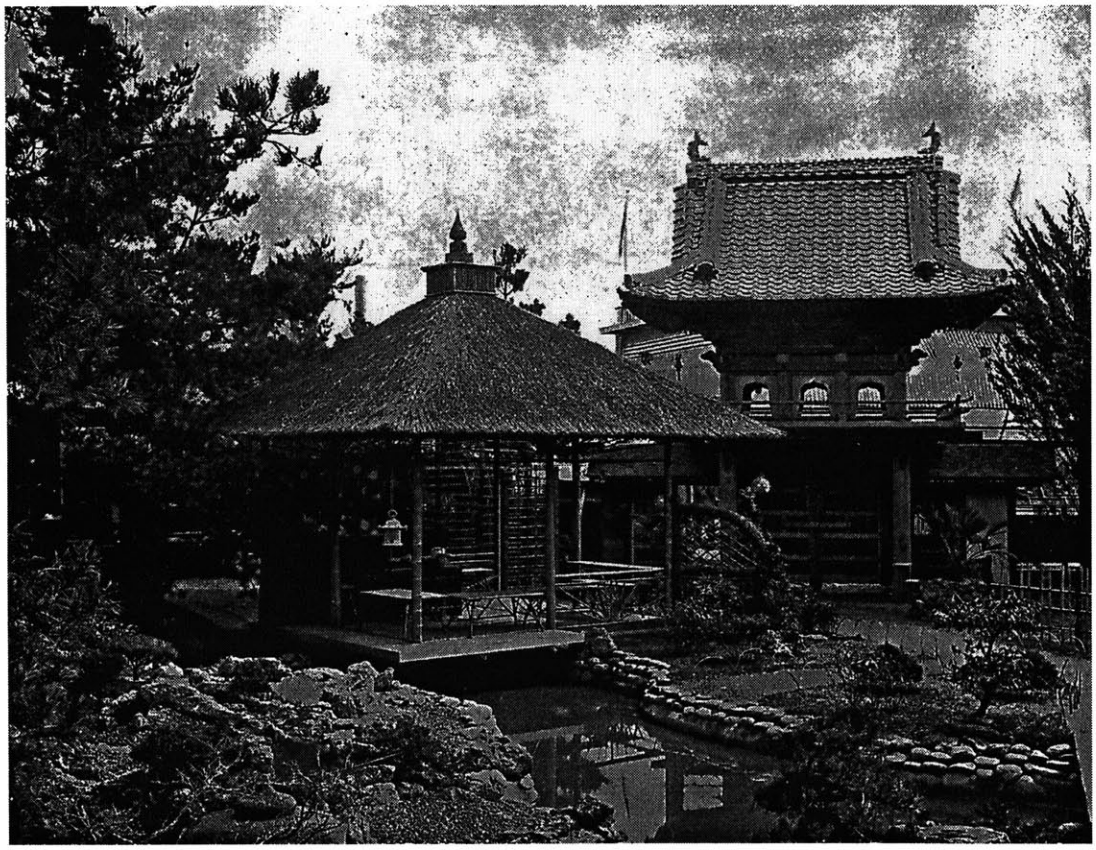


Figure 1.6 Japanese Village on Midway Plaisanse
World's Columbian Exposition - Chicago, 1893

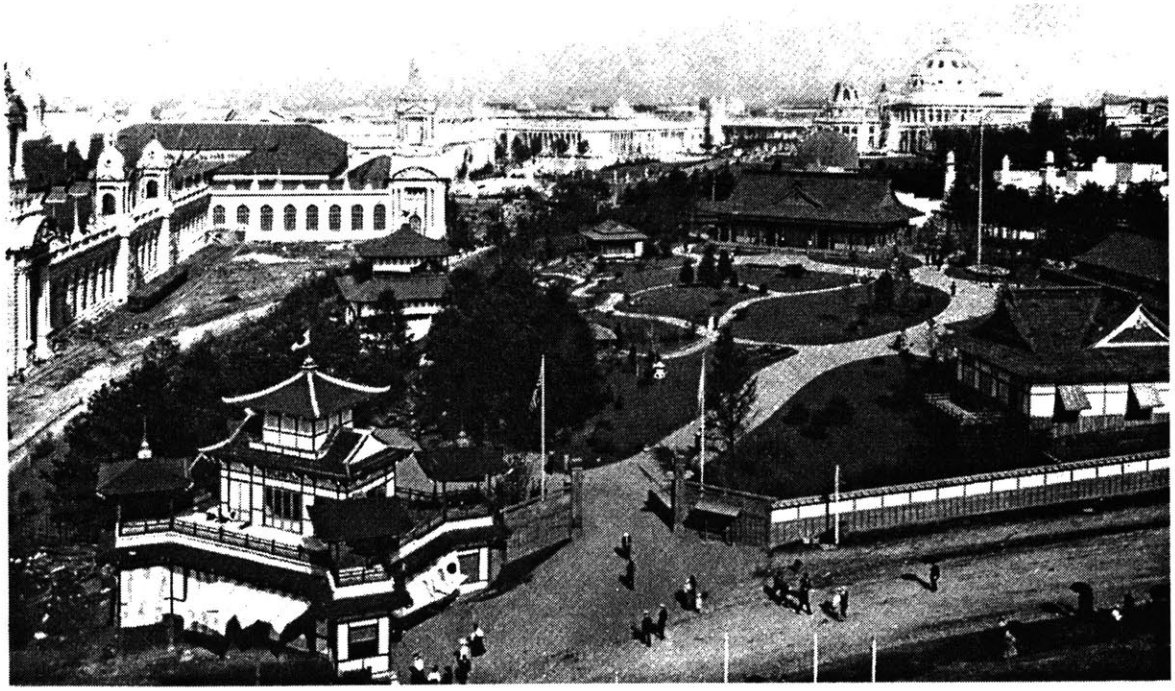


Figure 1.7 Japanese Garden
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition - St. Louis, 1904

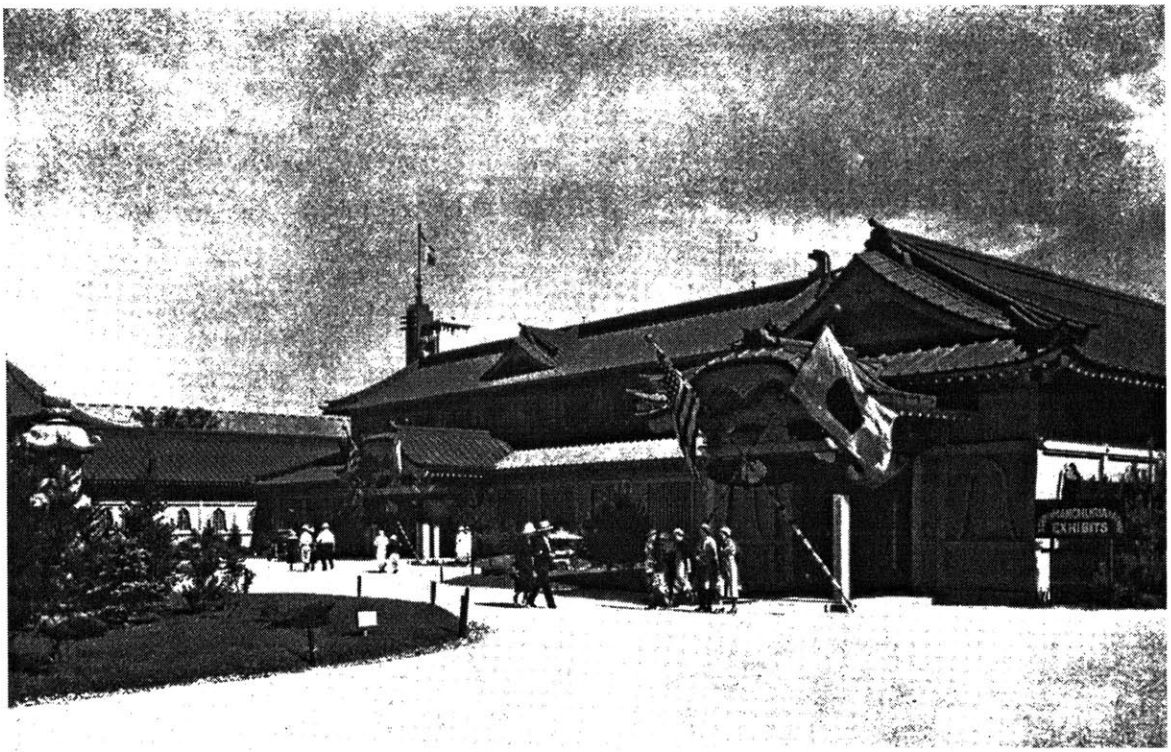


Figure 1.8 Japanese pavilion
A Century of Progress Exposition - Chicago, 1933

II Japanese Pavilion at the Fair

The New York World's Fair (1939/40)

The New York World's Fair of 1939 and 1940 was held at Flushing Meadows in the borough of Queens in New York City. It continued for eighteen months, divided into two seasons, during which more than forty-five million people visited the site [figure 2.1]. It was the most important and spectacular exposition ever held in the United States. By every measurement - size, cost, attendance, publicity, foreign government participation, number of exhibitors - it outranked every other American fair. It was the first international exposition held in New York since the "Crystal Palace" exposition which had taken place in 1853 out of rivalry towards England. Its specific purpose was to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as president, which had taken place in New York on April 30, 1789. More generally, it proposed to celebrate the achievements of modern scientific and industrial civilization while offering an optimistic and exciting

vision of the future world in the making. Like all fairs, it hoped to stimulate trade and sell goods.

Bearing the theme "Building the World of Tomorrow," the Fair was designed to "demonstrate that betterment of future American life which may be achieved through the coordinated efforts of Industry, Science and Art."[1] The Fair placed its focus on the ideal relationship between culture and technology, with a hope of vitalizing industry in order to overcome the depression, from which the United States had been suffering for over a decade. The theme center, embodying the central theme of the fair, was comprised of the Trylon, a 700 foot obelisk, and the Perisphere, a 200 foot globe. The Perisphere contained the Fair's principal spectacle "Democracity," a huge scale model of an imaginary metropolis of the future. The official guidebook described this feature as the "symbol of a perfectly integrated, futuristic metropolis pulsing with life and rhythm and music."[2] Radiating from the theme center were a series of thematic zones and focal exhibits depicting major areas of human activity (amusement, communications, production, science, transportation, etc.) [figure 2.2]. A variety of parades, pageants, special events and other entertainment were also offered.

In spite of the future-oriented theme of the fair, the Japanese pavilion was by no means an exception to the historical trajectory of "traditional" presentation. The pavilion, designed in *shinmei* style - a type of Shinto shrine architecture - and surrounded by a traditional style Japanese garden, was one of the few "traditional" style national pavilions at the fair [figure 2.3].[3] On the pamphlet of the pavilion were two girls in kimono with Japanese umbrellas, along with the words: "Changeless, timeless Japan ... its enduring charm takes its place naturally in 'The World of Tomorrow.' ... When the Fair's modern world bewilders you, remember - and enjoy - the Japanese Pavilion!" [figure 2.4][4]

The presentation did not comply with the theme of the fair, and was altogether different from that of most nations. But this pavilion and the materials displayed inside, such as works of art and craft, calligraphy, and silk products - with a demonstration of silk production - were in keeping with previous exhibits. It obtained the customary complements from the American audience for its aesthetic level and skilled craftsmanship.

The design of the pavilion was the work of Yasuo Matsui, a Japanese architect practicing in New York City as a partner of the firm F.H. Dewey and Company, Architects and Engineers. The selection of this architect was the result of a compromise reached by the government, in response to provisions in the building code of New York requiring a registered architect to design the pavilion. Although the design is credited to Hitedo Kishida, a professor at Tokyo University, with Matsui designated as the associate architect, Kishida seems to have had little influence on the design.[5] The interior design of the Japanese section in the Hall of Nations was undertaken by Iwao Yamawaki, an architect and a member of the Bauhaus from 1930 to 1932.[6] Unlike the pavilion itself, the interior design was introduced in various arhcitectural journals in Japan at the time [figures 2.5-2.8].

The pavilion and its interior attempts to express a modern design through traditional style. They were described as follows by Kaname Wakasugi, the Japanese consulate general of New York and commissioner general to the exhibition:

> Although representing a Shrine dating from 300 BC., the pavilion, harmonizing with the spirit and form of modern Japanese architecture, is marked by a simplicity of line. The walls are of white stucco with pilaster treatment, and between the pilasters are ornamental windows. The windows are for appearance only, as the pavilion is air-conditioned and artificially lighted. Despite its simplicity of form, it has been designed to give an impression of magnificence.[7]

This "modern" discourse was not extended to the garden surrounding the pavilion. The garden, designed by "Dr. Takashi Tamura and Mr. Nagao Sakurai, the latter a famous landscape architect of the Imperial Household,"[8] according to the commissioner general, was:

> a very fine example of Japanese symbolic landscaping. Irregular pools, miniature cascades, dwarf pines and ornamental shrubs are set about in such a manner as to give the visitor the impression that he is in a quiet corner of Japan itself.[9]

The exhibits displayed inside seemed to be an attempt to integrate the modern and the traditional: the former by demonstration of newly acquired technology or recent scientific discovery, and the latter through the highly skilled craftsmanship which had always been the focus of attention of foreign audiences in the previous expositions. Various events and demonstrations were also held: flower arrangement, tea ceremonies and the creation of traditional artworks introduced the sophistication of the culture; a silk manufacture demonstration by two girls showcased the conscientious labor attitude of the younger generation.Emphasis was further placed upon the "friendly relationship" of the two countries, Japan and the United States. The commissioner general described the exhibits as follows:

> The Japanese Pavilion itself is divided into three sections: the reception hall houses a profusion of Japanese art products, and the silk exhibit tells the story of silk from the cocoon to the finished product. The third section of the Pavilion, one of extreme interest to the American public, is dedicated to the long history of the friendship of the United States and Japan. Here, throughout, the story of the close relationship between the two nations is told.
>
> Japan also has a striking exhibit in the Hall of Nations. This display, occupying 5,000 square feet, consists chiefly of murals. The entire wall of one side is covered with a photographic panorama of the Japanese countryside, with snow-capped Mt. Fuji towering in distant grandeur. In the

> center of the hall is a small irregular island of crystal stones from which rises a forest of bamboo trees. In this hall the Tourist Bureau maintains an information booth, supplying literature to all visitors. A novel feature of this hall is a newly developed Japanese radio-photo device on which pictures from Japan are received daily.[10]

The portrayal by the Commissioner General suggests that, despite the traditional pavilion and displays which emphasized craftsmanship, Japan was still trying to present itself as a modern country. The design of the pavilion itself, was an attempt at the co-option of the modern characteristics in the traditional, which had always been the norm, and had always been well received. There was a desire to demonstrate the modern state of the country in a not-too-conspicuous manner, staying within the framework of traditional Japan, thus avoiding the chances of unfavorable reception.

Ever since the outset of Westernization in the latter nineteenth century, the ultimate goal of the country had always been to "catch up to" and "overcome" the West. Japan in the 1930s was a considerably modern country in terms of technological capability. Less developed was a theoretical framework in which to situate rapid progress in technology and its resulting effects in industry, economy and politics. Nevertheless, Japan was always conscious of the West, and thought of its current position as resulting from borrowing and learning from the West. If the government had wanted to demonstrate the modern-ness of the country, however, its timid presentation of modern characteristics at the Fair does not seem to reflect their strong desire.

These points become even more intriguing given the Japanese pavilion presented two years prior to the *New York World's Fair*, at *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* (Paris - 1937). The pavilion, designed quite consciously in the "modern" style, was awarded the Grand Prix for its excellence in architectural design

and its ingenuity in the integration of tradition into "modern" style architecture. When considered in relation to this occasion, some questions arise as to why Japan reverted to the presentation of traditional culture two years later. Indeed, the pavilion at the World's Fair had caught the attention of Japanese architects of the time, not as a significant work of architecture, but as an object for severe criticism. While the pavilion presented at Paris is celebrated as an example of a brilliant achievement oby modernist architects, the pavilion at New York is often treated as a "humiliating regression" in historical texts of Japanese architecture and articles in architectural journals of the time.

The reason for this contrast in treatment is was not only the successful foreign reception of the modern pavilion in Paris, or the regression of presenting a *traditional* design following a *modern* design. The design of the pavilion presented at Paris had undergone many changes prior to its presentation in the foreign context, due to controversy between its architects and the government authorities in charge of the exhibition. By the 1930s Japanese architects, familiar with the theory and design trends of contemporary Europe, and were experimenting with new designs, especially in the field of residential architecture. Thus the original intention of the government to present a traditional pavilion, clashed with the ambitions of the young modernist architects who mounted the exposition as an opportunity to prove on an international stage their ability to design "modern" style architecture. For these architects, the accomplishment signified a confirmation of the modernists' victory over government authorities. The design of the pavilion was a result of transformations - first in Japan, then in Paris, prior to its presentation at the exposition.

Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne (1937)

With the official decision to participate in the international exposition at Paris in 1937, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan organized the Paris Exposition Committee, in collaboration with the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ministry of Trade, the Association for the Promotion of International Culture, and Japan Trade Association.[11] The Committee commissioned the design of the national pavilion to Hideto Kishida, a professor of architecture at Tokyo University, who executed a limited competition among five young architects. The winning entry was a modern design of glass and steel submitted by Kunio Maekawa,[12] a young modernist trained under Le Corbusier and Antonin Raymond.[13] This design, although selected as the best in the competition, was rejected by the Committee on account of its lack of "traditional Japanese aspects" [figures 2.9, 10].

Since international expositions were perceived by the government as a place for the presentation of national identity and promotion of commerce, the Paris Exposition Committee argued that it was crucial that the pavilion and its displays possess characteristics easily associated with Japan or Japanese-ness. As an alternative, the Committee selected the submission by another participant, Kenjiro Maeda, which was "a traditional Japanese style design with tiled roof for the tower ... black lacquered pillars encircled by open corridors, and for the exterior, whitewash walls ornamented in the traditional style and randomly decorated with red lacquered pillars."[14] The architect had succeeded in his attempt to please the Committee by manifesting the traditional Japanese style, which had always been the norm for previous world expositions.

This incident raised strong reactions among the young modernists in Japan, as well as journalists and critics, who felt indignation at the demand to present an old-fashioned building on an international stage when Modern style architecture was being designed in the

country. Maekawa himself expressed his anger by accusing the council of "merely repeating the presentation of an obsolete style of architecture which may well be an insult to the nation,"[15] and architect Ken Ichiura, one of the five participants in the original competition, proposed that they "should not reinforce the stereotyped image of Japan where all the scenery is Mt. Fuji and all women are *Geisha* girls."[16] Despite the resulting controversies within the architectural culture of the time, the Committee had no intentions of alteration. Not until the revised regulations issued by the French government, mandating the use of French materials and workers, created difficulties for the on-site construction of a traditional style pavilion. Such pavilions in previous expositions were always made possible by sending Japanese carpenters to the site with the necessary materials.

As a compromise, the Committee then selected a Japanese architect familiar with French culture and working conditions: Junzo Sakakura,[17] a young modernist who had just returned from Paris, where he had been working under Le Corbusier, albeit with conditions stating that he make as much reference as possible to the previous design by Kenjiro Maeda, and with "an emphasis on exoticism." Such demand stemmed from the Committee's awareness from their past experience, of the popularity of exotic qualities with foreign audiences.[18] A newspaper article reporting the selection of the architect anticipated the new design to be "the most appropriate design for a 'Japanese-like Japanese pavilion'"[19] In reply, Sakakura commented that his pavilion would be "of totally new design and structure, demonstrating a Japanese-like quality making the best use of French materials." Conscious of the adjoining Soviet site, he also commented that he would avoid the creation of "a poorly designed Modern pavilion" for fear of becoming a "laughingstock when placed next to the Soviet pavilion."[20] The ambiguity of this comment might have contributed to Sakakura receiving the opportunity to realize the pavilion with little supervision by the government. Judging from the circumstances, the government hardly

suspected Sakakura's intentions to design a pavilion without precedent in Japanese presentation. Sakakura proceeded with the design in Le Corbusier's office in Paris, without any inspection by the members of the Japanese Committee.

Sakakura's design for the pavilion may be best described as Corbusian, infused with elements taken from traditional Japanese architecture [figures 2.11-13]. It was constructed on exposed rubble foundations, and made extensive use of slopes: both of which were characteristics of Le Corbusier. There were appropriations of traditional elements, however, such as the ornamentation on solid white-washed walls (known as *namako-kabe).* Not in their original form as had been used by Maeda, but as steel ornaments on glassed facades. The exposed rubble may be interpreted as a variation of castle fortification. The thinness of the steel frame suggests a translation of wooden structures typical of Japanese residential architecture. In the words of architectural historian and critic Shoichi Inoue, Sakakura's pavilion was an exercise in "digesting the 'historical style of Japan' into a 'progressive style of the West'."[21] Sakakura himself had the intention of integrating traditional aspects into modern style architecture. He speaks of his design as an attempt at the exploration of "a style for the new age, which should be a rational architecture with the full incorporation of the scientific achievements of the age, but with full consideration for the psychological and physical comfort for those who inhabit the building. As such, it is possible to create a design capable of expressing its regionality."[22]

This design, again, was not what the Committee had in mind. The disturbed members severely criticized the design for its lack of Japanese qualities. Despite the controversy caused within Japan, the pavilion, once presented in its foreign context, was well received for its ingenuity in the integration of tradition into modernity. A review in *Magazine of Art* praised the design as having achieved "in steel and glass those qualities which characterize

traditional Japanese building in wood and which now are ideals of modern architects all over the world: sensitive but direct treatment of material, unity and openness of plan, standardization of elements, and highly developed simplicity of the whole."[23] Furthermore, its design was awarded the Grand Prix, along with the Spanish pavilion designed by Jose-Luis Sert and Luis Lacasa, and the Finnish pavilion designed by Alva Aalto.

The temporal coincidence of the exposition and the modern movement in Japan had resulted in the avant-guardist presentation of a pavilion type without precedent in the history of Japanese participation at international expositions. Its success in foreign reception can be explained in terms of the architectural culture of the time. Le Corbusier, who had designed *Pavilion de L'Esprit Nouveau* in the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes* (Paris 1925), had become an influential figure in the international context. As a result, many of the national pavilions in the exposition of 1937 had employed Corbusian vocabulary. Obviously, Sakakura, who had been working under Le Corbusier in Paris, was familiar with the Corbusian design vocabulary as well as the cultural trends of Paris at the time. It is understandable that Sakakura's design, which had incorporated traditional Japanese aspects into Corbusian language, became popular. Modern as it may have seemed to the eyes of the Japanese authorities, the pavilion, incorporating as it did some Japanese qualities, must have appeared somewhat exotic to the French audience.

The Paris pavilion had employed French modern materials and design elements strongly influenced by modernism yet infused with tradition. The New York pavilion, on the other hand, was a presentation of Japanese tradition using American materials and workmen. Its demonstration of authentic Japanese-ness was thus only possible through image and representation. Unlike most of the previous pavilions, the New York pavilion was not able

to prove "authenticity" through its materials or the process of its erection. Interestingly, the material displayed inside the comparatively "modern" Paris pavilion remained within the framework of "Japanese presentation" set by Alcock over half a century earlier. The description of the displays for the New York event suggest a more conscious effort at the presentation of modernity. If there was indeed an attempt to demonstrate authenticity as well as modernity in New York, the reactions of Japanese architects and historians suggest that it was not appreciated by the architectural community in Japan. To what extent then was this attempt successful in the American context?

---

[1]NYWF File: C 1.0 Statement - Michael M. Hare Theme "The Fair of the Future 1939: A Proposal Submitted by the Committee formed at the Dinner at the City Club Wednesday, December 11, 1935," amended February 10, 1936 and May 13, 1936.

[2]Cited in Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: the Century of Progress Expositions* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 131.

[3]John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), 148.

[4]Pamphlet pictured in Yoshida ed. *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankai-shi: 1851-1942*, 174.

[5]The correspondence between the foreign minister and the ambassadors exchanged throughout the planning of the pavilion indicates that Kishida took little part in the actual design of the pavilion.

[6]Iwao Yamawaki (1898-) was one of the major figures to introduce the design principles formulated at the Bauhaus to Japanese architects through activities such as his professorship at Shin Kenchiku Kogei Gakuin (New School of Architecture and Crafts).

[7]NYPL, Box: 101; File P0.3 Japan, Foreign Participation.

[8]NYPL, Box: 101; File: P0.3 Japan, Foreign Participation. I have quoted the names and descriptions of the landscape architects directly from archival material. No further information was available concerning these designers.

[9]NYPL, Box: 101; File P0.3 Japan, Foreign Participation.

[10]NYPL, Box: 101; File P0.3 Japan, Foreign Participation.

[11]The English naming of these groups come from the translation of "Tokyo - Paris 1936-37" written by Tadayoshi Fujiki (translated by Bill and Lou Tingey) in *Process Architecture: Sakakura Associates - Half a Century in Step with Postwar Japanese Modernism*, vol. 110, 1993, 31-38.

[12]Kunio Maekawa (1905-1986) one of the central figures in the Modernist movement in Japan in the 1920's, studied under Le Corbusier from 1926 to 1930. He was also known as *Konpe no Maekawa*

(Maekawa of competitions), submitting entries to most of the competitions which took place prior to World War II. Some examples of his major works are Kyoto Kaikan (Kyoto Hall) of 1960 and Tokyo-to Bunka Kaikan (Tokyo Culture Hall) of 1961. The most comprehensive text written in English about Maekawa is *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Modernism in Japanese Architecture*, a Ph.D. dissertation by Jonathan Reynolds.

[13]Antonyn Raymond, who had originally started his work in Japan under Frank Lloyd Wright, is considered to be the first figure to introduce Modernism into Japanese architecture with the Raymond Residence (designed and built in Japan in 1924). The building was composed of multiple boxes inserted both horizontally and perpendicularly using rectangular panels, and was finished with exposed concrete. In *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku* (Modern architecture in Japan) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1993) architectural historian Terunobu Fujimori credits the Raymond Residence as one of the earliest examples of Modern Style architecture, not only in Japan, but in the world.

[14]"Pari-haku Nihonkan (The Japanese Pavilion at Paris Exposition)," *Kenchiku Sekai* (Architectural world), September 1936, 35. All translations from Japanese texts and journals are mine unless otherwise noted.

[15]Kunio Maekawa, "1937 nen Pari Bankokuhaku Nihonkan Keikaku Shokan (Some thoughts on the design of the Japanese Pavilion for Paris Exposition of 1937)," *Kokusai Kenchiku*(International architecture), September 1936,16.

[16]"Kenchiku Zasshi," November 1936, cited in Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankai-shi: 1851-1942*.

[17]Junzo Sakakura (1901-1969) studied art history and architectural design at Tokyo University, and practiced under Le Corbusier from 1929. Immediately after returning to his home country in 1936, Sakakura returned to Paris to design the pavilion for the exposition. He remained in Paris for a few years to collaborate with Le Corbusier on his urban planning schemes. Sakakura's works include the Kamakura Museum of Modern Art (1950), Tokyu Kaikan (Tokyu Hall) (1954, expansion designed by Le Corbusier in 1956), and collaboration with Kunio Maekawa and Takamasa Yoshizaka in the execution of the National Museum of Western Art, originally designed by Le Corbusier. He is also known for translation of Le Corbusier's texts into Japanese (*L'Unite D'Habitation de Marseille* and *Manière de Penser L'Urbanisme*). For monographs of his works, see for example, "Sakakura Junzo Kenchiku Kenkyujo Sakuhinshu (The Works of Sakakura Junzo Architects and Associates)" Special issue of *Kenchiku Gaho*, November 1965, and *Gendai Nihon Kenchikuka Zenshu* (Contemporary architects of Japan) *vol. 11* (Tokyo: Mitsui Shobo, 1971).

[18]This is the most popular account of the incident. Others suggest however that Sakakura was sent to Paris with Maeda's drawings to supervise the construction process, and not to revise the design.

[19]From *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Shinbun* (a newspaper), September 22, 1936.

[20]All quotations by Sakakura are from *Tokyo Nichi-nichi Shinbun*, September 22, 1936.

[21]Shoichi Inoue, "Pari Hakurankai Nihonkan 1937 (The Japanese Pavilion at Paris Exposition 1937)" in *Bankokuhakurankai: Sono Rekishi to Yakuwari* (International expositions: their history and roles), Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai ed., (Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1985) 147.

[22]Junzo Sakakura, "Pari Bankokuhaku Nihonkan (The Japanese Pavilion at Paris Exposition)," *Kokusai Kenchiku*, June 1939, 11.

[23]Elizabeth Mock, "The Paris Exposition," *Magazine of Art*, 30, May 1937, 269.

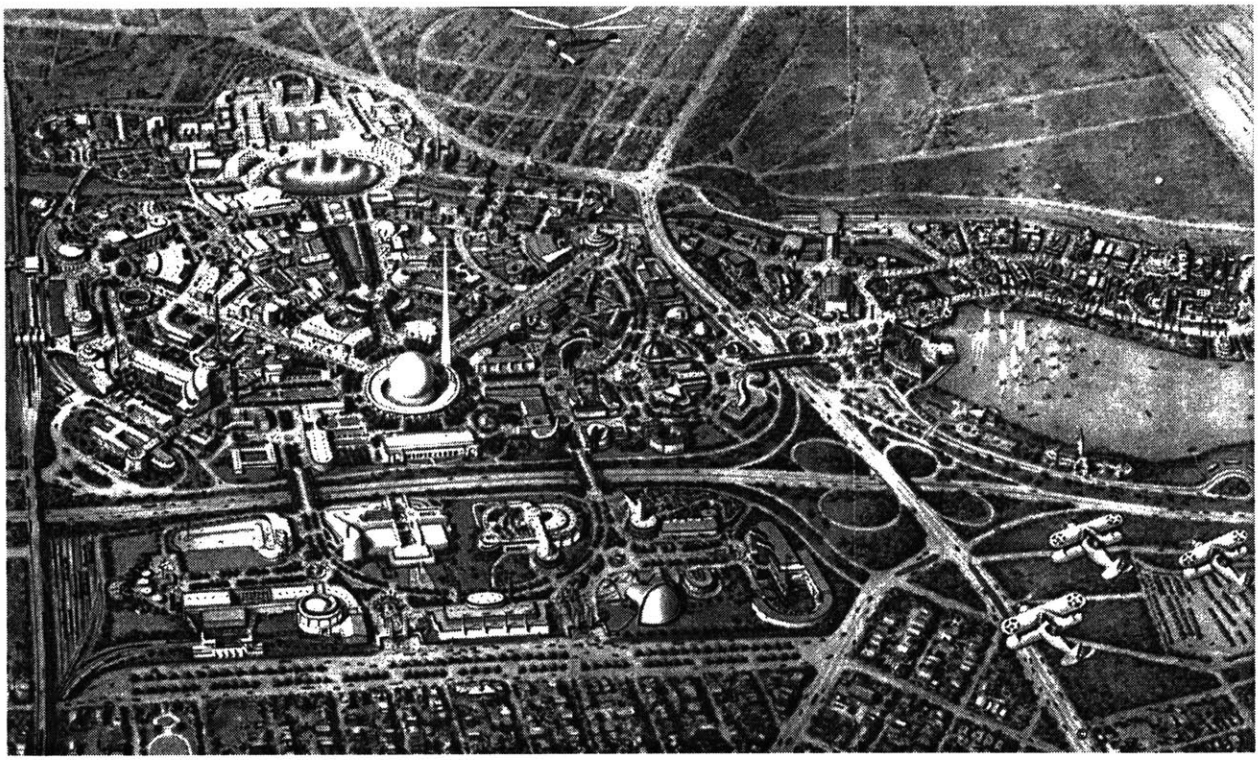


Figure 2.1 Birds eye view of the Fair site
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40

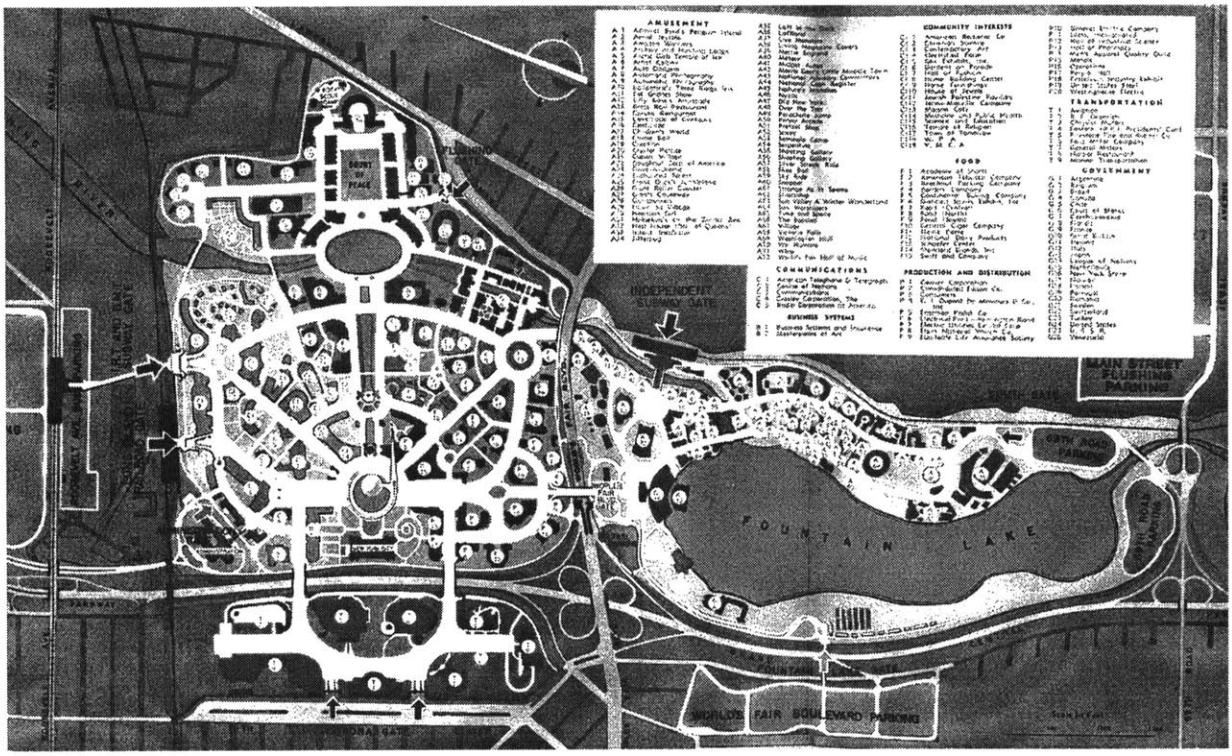


Figure 2.2 Plan of the Fair site
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40

Figure 2.3 Japanese pavilion
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40
Architect: Hideto Kishida, Yasuo Matsui

Figure 2.4 Poster of Japanese exhibits
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40

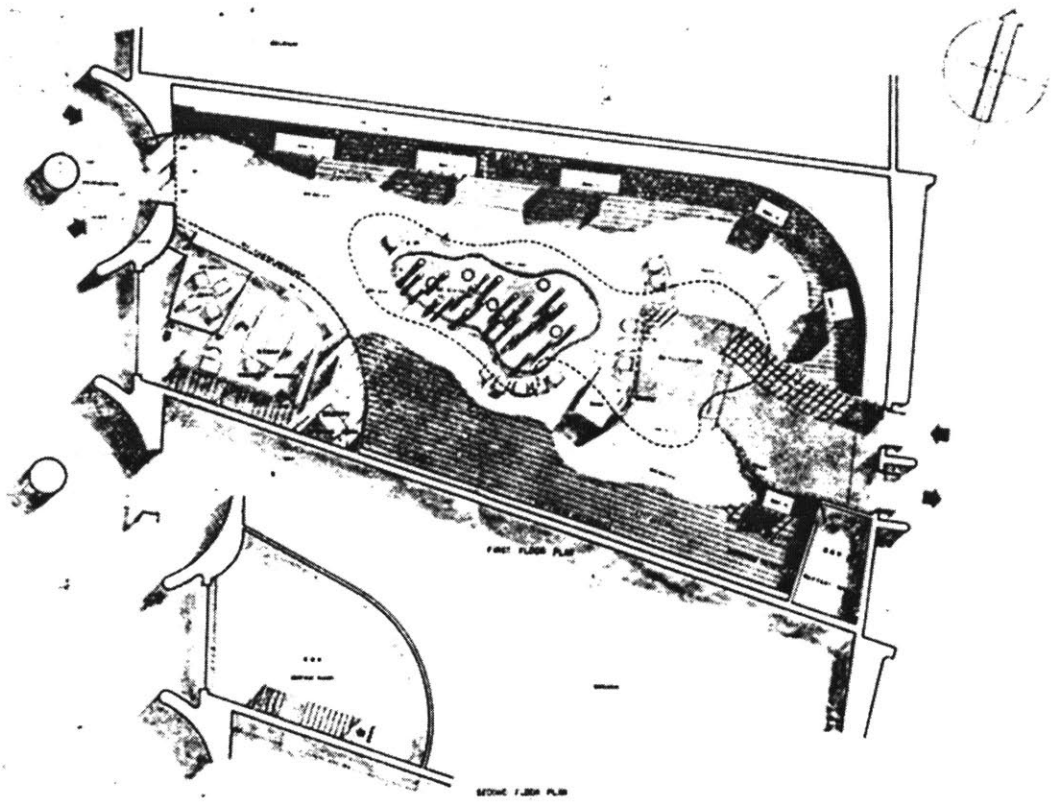


Figure 2.5 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations - plan
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40
Architect: Iwao Yamawaki

Figure 2.6 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations - entrance
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40
Architect: Iwao Yamawaki

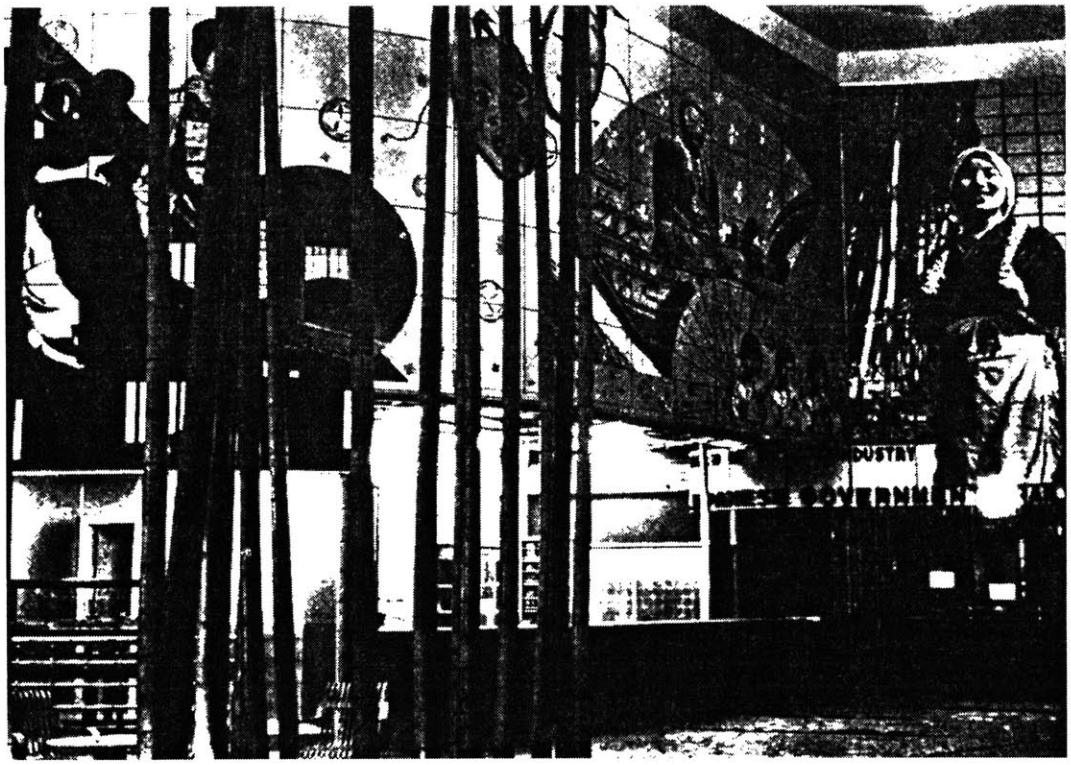


Figure 2.7 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations - interior - photo mural
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40

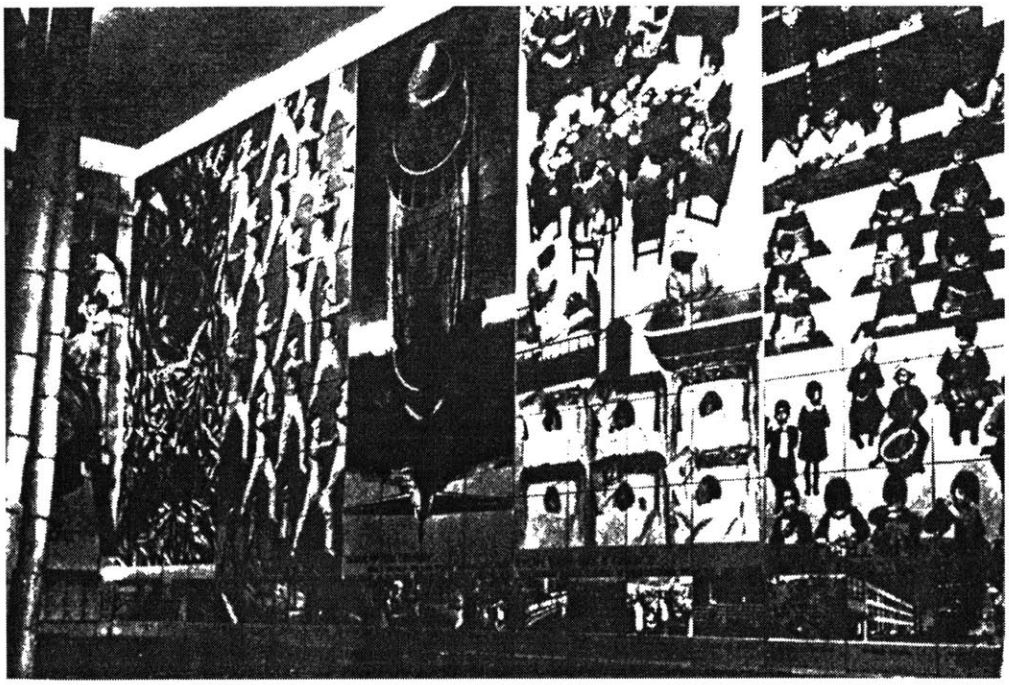


Figure 2.8 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations - interior - photo mural
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40

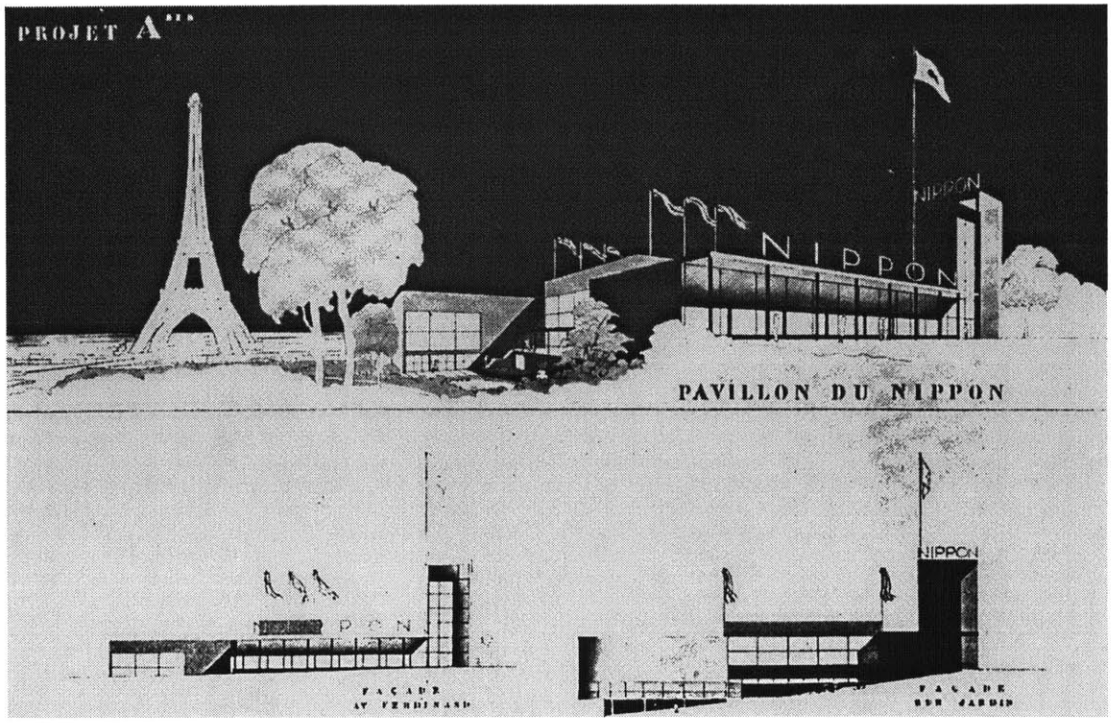


Figure 2.9 Proposal for the Japanese pavilion - perspective and facade
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Architect: Kunio Maekawa

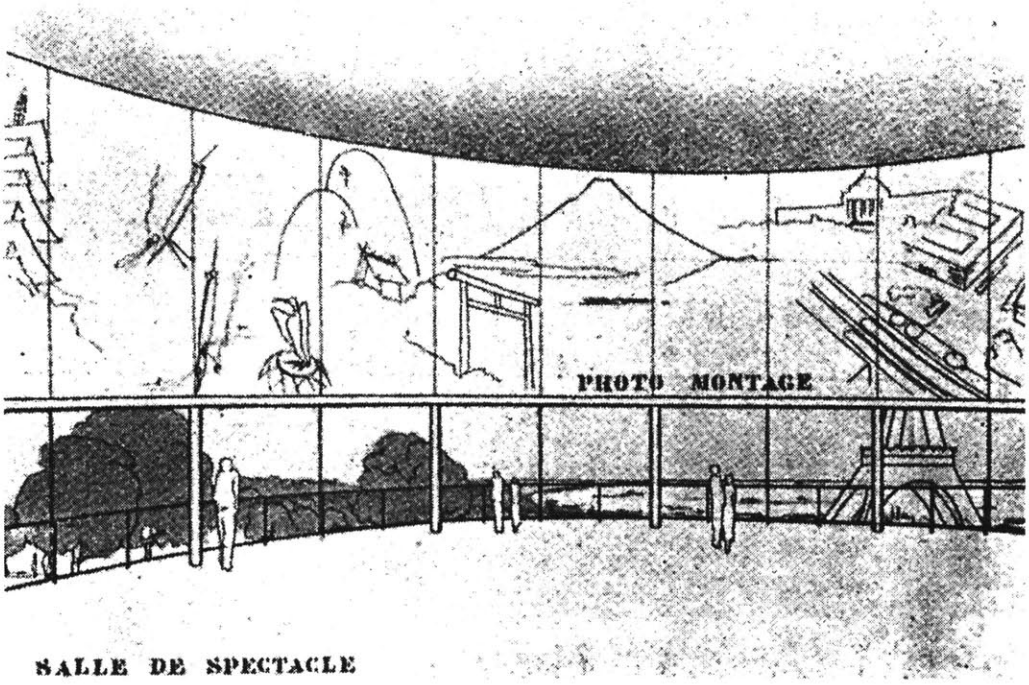


Figure 2.10 Proposal for the Japanese pavilion - interior
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Architect: Kunio Maekawa

Figure 2.11 Japanese pavilion - view from the south-east
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Architect: Junzo Sakakura

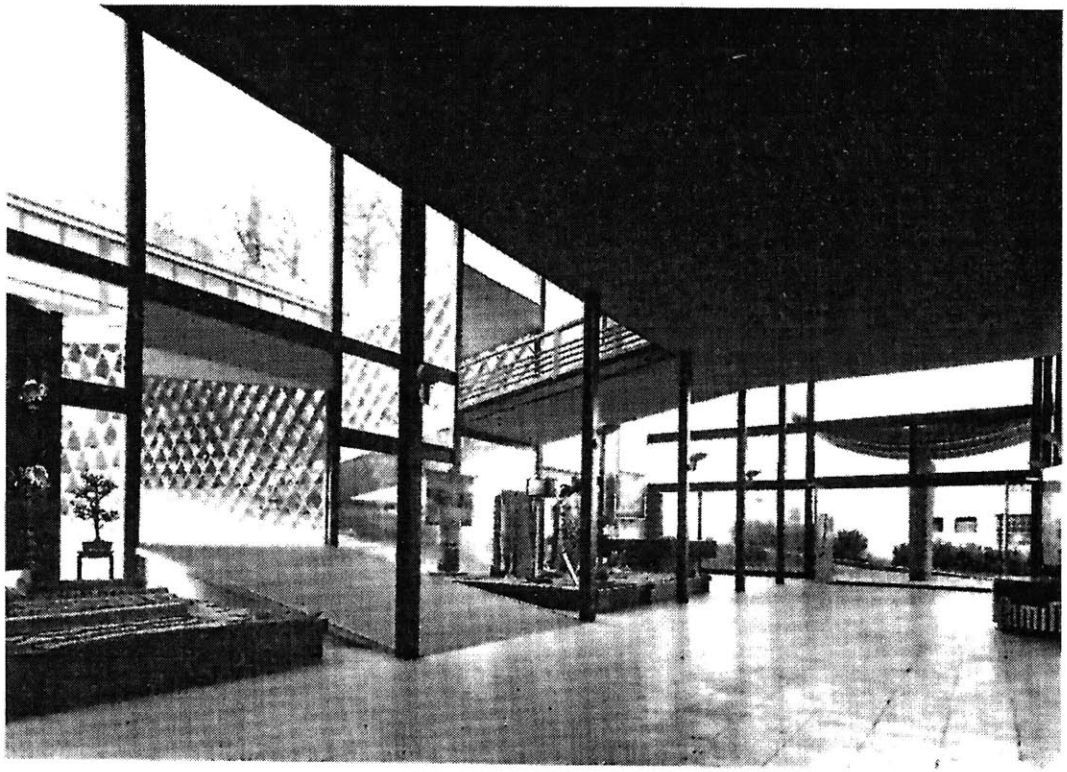


Figure 2.12 Japanese pavilion - entrance hall
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Architect: Junzo Sakakura

Figure 2.13 Japanese pavilion - view from the west
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Architect: Junzo Sakakura

III Culture, Politics, and Architecture

In order to analyze the design of the Japanese pavilion at the New York World's Fair in relation to the previous one at the International Exposition at Paris, it is necessary to investigate the architectural culture and the political situation of Japan at the time the projects were conceived. The decade of the 1930s was filled with turmoil both within and outside the country. In terms of architectural design trends, modernism was still extremely influential. Japan was no exception, having experienced strong European influence in the early years of the decade. By the middle of the decade, the modernist architects of Japan, considerably accustomed to imported design, were attempting to proceed one step further by searching for a modern style unique to their country. The decade also saw a worldwide economic depression. The unemployment situation of Japan however, was relatively better than in the United States and the European countries. In the post World War I period, the political climate experienced radical changes. The relationship between Japan, the United

States and the countries of Europe was becoming increasingly tense, particularly because of repeated attempts to negotiate post-war disarmament. The relationship between Japan and the rest of East Asia was also troubled. Since the beginning of the decade, Japan was in the process of expanding into northern China, invading and conquering land in Manchuria. The intensification of militarism in the diplomatic strategies toward East Asia was greatly influencing the thoughts of the general public. Likewise, architects were gradually swept up in the militaristic climate of the country.

This chapter investigates the architectural culture and the political situation of Japan in the 1930s, seeking a framework in which ideological influence on the world's fair exhibits can be examined. Due to the scarcity of published material concerning the Japanese pavilion at the New York World's Fair (in contrast to the Paris event), my main source is the record of correspondence between the foreign minister of Japan and the Japanese consulate general of New York during the time when the Fair was in the process of preparation, and the archival records of the New York World's Fair.

W.W.II & Depression

In 1939 and 1940, there was much tension among the countries participating in the Fair, resulting in some withdrawals and some changes to exhibits. The atmosphere filled with anxiety intensified particularly in the second season of the Fair, which lasted from May to October of 1940. The Soviet Union had already withdrawn during the first season, following the outbreak of World War II in Europe in September 1939. At the request of the commissioners, their pavilion was shipped back to Russia in January 1940. Denmark also pulled out, and was replaced by Iraq. Norway no longer participated officially, but the exhibition was maintained by a group called the Friends of Norway. The flags of the French and Polish exhibits were draped in black, and a notice was posted outside the

uncompleted Czech pavilion apologizing for the inability to complete the building due to the Nazi invasion. Germany did not participate from the beginning, claiming that one of the themes of the Fair, democracy, was not in accordance with its national policy. For some of the participating countries, the exhibition was no longer only a matter of the search for an appropriate way to present national identity, an endeavor at the promotion of commerce, or an attempt to demonstrate progress in technology. The relationship between Japan and the United States was not without political and economic tensions either. Thus, the decision as to what type of pavilion and material would be displayed was not in the hands of architects, but remained in the domain of the government authorities.

Planning of the New York World's Fair

During the process of preparation for the exhibition at the New York World's Fair, wire correspondence was constantly exchanged between the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Japanese consul general stationed at New York. The earliest correspondence preserved is dated December 22, 1935, and informs the Foreign Ministry that an exposition is to be held in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration. The last is dated October 28, 1940, reporting to the Japanese officials the close of the fair on October 27. Although the nature of the correspondence places the main focus upon budgetary and legal matters, it serves as a significant source of information regarding the creation of the Japanese exhibition in the Fair, especially because of the scarcity of published material.

The majority of the planning for the Fair had, obviously, taken place in New York. Numerous records recount meetings held by various advisory committees in the "Board of Director's Room" in the Empire States Building. Those of primary concern here are the meetings held by the Advisory Committee on Foreign Participation. With Thomas J.

Watson, president of International Business Machines Corporation, as the chairman, and John L. Merrill of All-American Cables Inc. as the vice-chairman, this committee was further subdivided into seven sub-committees according to regions: Latin America; Canada; Europe and the Near East; the Irish Free State; the Union of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand; and the Far East.[1] Herbert S. Houston, a New York based publisher was appointed as the Commissioner to the Far East for the New York World's Fair on June 9, 1937 for his "experiences in the Far East, and acquaintances with some of the influential figures, companies, presses in Japan."[2]

Interestingly, the first correspondence between the Foreign Minister of Japan and the Japanese Consul General in New York, includes a criticism of the Fair. Japan had been planning to hold an international exposition in Tokyo in 1940, in commemoration of the 2,600th year of the Imperial reign.[3] Perhaps out of frustration for the temporal coincidence of the two events, it speaks contemptuously of the cause of the event as "celebrating a history of a mere 150 years while ours is the celebration of 2,600 years of history."[4] The planning process of the Tokyo exposition was already in progress, and continued concurrently with the preparation for the New York event, and a competition for the *Kenkoku Kinen-kan*, a memorial for the national foundation, was held in association with the Tokyo exposition in 1937 [figure 3.1]. Detailed reports on the progress of the preparations were frequently exchanged in the following months, sometimes accompanied by press releases, official material distributed by the Fair officials, or clippings from newspapers and journals.

The New York Times of October 9, 1936 reported that the American government invited "all countries" to the Fair. In January 8 of the following year, an official invitation was sent from the US embassy to the foreign minister of Japan. From its record of attendance at previous expositions, one might take for granted that Japan would not hesitate

to accept the invitation. But the documents indicate signs of reluctance. At the time, there were three fairs the country had to consider: its own event planned for 1940, the New York World's Fair, and the Golden Gate International Exposition, which was to take place in San Francisco concurrently with the New York Fair. Suggestions supportive of participation in both events were made by the Minister of Commerce, presidents of the Japan Industrial Association, Japan Cultural Society, and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as participation in both events might function as a way to secure participants for Japan's own exposition planned for Tokyo. Their strong opinions finally convinced the cabinet to accept the New York invitation.[5]

The formal acceptance of the invitation by the Japanese Cabinet is reported on the front page of the August 22, 1937 edition of *The New York Times*. The comments by Japanese Foreign Minister Koki Hirota, which accompanied the acceptance emphasized the "intimate historical connection between New York and Japan." However, the largest header on the same front page read "Japanese Air Bombs Spread Fire and Terror in Shanghai; Raid on Nanking is Repulsed." Japan and China had been in conflict since the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931.[6] The war between the two countries, which would eventually lead to an adversarial relationship between Japan and the United States, had officially started on July 7, less than two months prior to the date of the newspaper. This issue was indirectly touched upon in one of the comments relating to the Japanese acceptance of the invitation to the Fair. Shinji Yoshino, Minister of Commerce, expressed that "Japan believes the constructive work she has been doing in Asia will be approved when the world sees the results." The article concludes with an adroit comment by Herbert S. Houston, Commissioner to the Far East, asserting that "Japan looks beyond the present situation in China to her permanent policies in Asia. She sees in the World's Fair a great

opportunity to interpret those policies and to show she can justify them and her claim to leadership in Asia."[7]

Presentations

The correspondence also reveals the dilemma that the Japanese government was facing with regards to their presentation strategy: whether to present itself as a modern country or to emphasize its traditional qualities and model its pavilion after an historical edifice. The success of the "modern" pavilion of the previous exposition did not eliminate this question since the "traditional" pavilion had so long existed and was therefore taken for granted. The theme of the fair, "building the world of tomorrow" on the other hand, suggested the exhibition of a modern style pavilion.[8] It called for the participating countries to present their most up-to-date conditions, or their prospects for the future. It would thus seem appropriate for Japan to have exhibited a modern style pavilion similar to the one presented at Paris two years earlier. The correspondence suggests, however, that the government authorities did not even give consideration to the presentation of a "modern" style pavilion.

The basic policy for presentation was determined by February 19, 1938. The correspondence from consul general Kaname Wakasugi to Foreign Minister Hirota reads:

> The presentation shall be based upon the theme of the fair, and present "Japan of Tomorrow." It will focus on the promotion of Japan, and will not be hampered by any concepts which have ruled the preceding examples, in which the displays resulted in the mere showcasing of commodities.[9]

From this description however, one might still expect the presentation of a pavilion similar to that of Paris. This policy statement is followed by a section describing the style of the Japanese pavilion, which proposes the building be "in a style unique to Japan, and enhanced with dramatic linear and curvilinear beauty in order to harmonize with the

surrounding buildings."[10] The expression of "a style unique to Japan" is ambiguous; it might be argued that the Paris pavilion was also designed in "a style unique to Japan." A comment in the same document expresses concern that Japanese architecture "whose beauty resides in its minimalist simplicity, will not have enough prominence when placed among the Western style pavilions."[11]

The government's preference for "traditional" as opposed to "modern," and "arts and crafts" as opposed to "technology and industry" was based on long experience starting with the first impression obtained by the Japanese when comparing their own exhibits to those of the European nations. At the Vienna exposition of 1873, government officials sent to observe the fair were dismayed at the "immaturity" of their own contribution, and astounded by the advanced technology demonstrated by the European participants. Japanese arts and crafts were well received at this occasion. The officials rightly analyzed this favorable reception to be the result of curiosity, due to "the difference in the nature of the Japanese exhibits from those of the European nations.".[12] The impression received by these officials seems to have strongly determined the culturally oriented displays to follow.

The Grand Prix given to Sakakura's pavilion was not enough to convince government officials that the "modern" architecture of Japan was comparable to that of the West. The conclusion reached by the government was that the pavilion should be designed in "a style easily associated with traditional Japanese architecture" because "the general American public, used to large scaled buildings and wide streets, and with no knowledge of Japanese culture, will not be able to appreciate the spirit of true Japanese architecture."[13]

In the following months, concerns regarding budgets and workers were constantly exchanged. As was the case with the exposition in Paris, the Japanese scheme to send workers and materials to the site encountered difficulties. Correspondence from the consulate to the Foreign Minister dated February 21, 1938 suggested that the specifications be completed in Japan but the design be finished in New York, and stated that the building code of New York required a registered architect to work on the pavilion design. It concluded with the proposal that a Japanese architect already working in the United States be hired as an "associate architect" or a "consulting architect" to mediate between the two countries. This requirement was the decisive factor in the selection of Yasuo Matsui, an architect who had been practicing in New York for more than twenty years at the time of the Fair (yet unknown in Japan), to finish the design for the pavilion in New York. Matsui had been a long-time acquaintance of Wharton Green, liaison engineer of the Japanese pavilion, and was recommended by Green because of his "close connections with the Japanese government and its business men."[14]

American labor unions created further difficulties for the plan to have Japanese to work on site. The conflict was reported in *Asahi Shinbun*, a major newspaper in Japan as "American workers exclude Japanese carpenters; Japanese pavilion at New York World's Fair in uncertainty."[15] Furthermore, correspondence from Shigekuro Monno, president of the Japanese Association for the New York World's Fair, to Toshihiro Niikura, Secretary of Commerce, reported the necessity of reconsidering the budget plan for the pavilion and its displays, since on-site acquisition of material and workers would require a considerably bigger expenditure. Monno went as far as to suggest withdrawal from the presentation of a national pavilion.[16] According to the records on the Japanese side, American labor unions never conceded their argument that the workforce should consist exclusively of union members, and insisted on full use of materials with "Japanese-like qualities" obtainable in

the United States.[17] The controversy did not remain unnoticed by the American press. The *New York Journal and American* dated June 21, 1938 announced that the "Japs [are] blaming labour for fair plan cut."[18] Similar issues were also developing in the process of preparation for the San Francisco Fair.

Reluctant to give up the construction of a national pavilion, various attempts were made to enable its construction. One was to reconsider the overall plan for the pavilion and the garden, and the other was to persuade the American side to lift the restraints placed upon the Japanese workers. The first proposal for the national pavilion[19] called for a main pavilion and a smaller one. The former included the *Nichibei Kokko Sanko-bu* (Diplomatic Room)[20], a main hall, a display section of silk products, a demonstration section for silk processing, and the science section. The smaller pavilion was dedicated to arts and crafts. [figure 3.2] The pavilions were single-storied, occupying an area of 728 *tsubo* (approximately 2878.5 sq. yards), and situated in a Japanese garden landscaped with trees and an artificial lake. The two pavilions were connected by an arched wooden bridge over the lake. The specifications called for extravagant use of silk decoration for the furniture, ceiling, carpets, walls, and window sills, and lacquer finish for the walls and furniture. Reconsideration of the budget, however, resulted in the elimination of the smaller pavilion, a decrease in the size of the main pavilion, and considerable alteration of the specifications. Such complications persuaded Toshio Yeto, the chief of the Publicity Department of Chamber's Association for the New York and San Francisco International Expositions, to write to the American authorities to plea for relaxation of the restrictions:

> We hope, for the sake of Americans who will see the fair, that the labor union there will let us send over Japanese materials and labor as we have planned. It will be impossible for any but Japanese to put up a true Japanese-style building. An international exposition is meant to show the things peculiar to each nation. If the buildings are all alike, what is the use of having an international exposition?[21]

Although the correspondence on the Japanese side suggests persistence by the Americans in completely excluding Japanese materials and workers, the record in New York reveals otherwise. Comments were made by General Manager J.C. Holmes, that "in the interest of economy and in order to preclude controversy with American labor unions, it should be recommended to foreign commissioners that the number of workmen in their own nationality to be imported to be kept to a minimum," and therefore to "confine workmen coming from abroad to supervisors and specialists, such as workers in plastic glass or mosaics from Italy, painters and decorators from Japan, etc..." However, since "there is no restriction to prevent the importation by any government of any number of workmen," they were to be aware that "no organized minority with a selfish interest, whether that minority may be a labor union, a religious group, or some other associations for persons which, because of its selfish interest, commit any act at which foreign governments might properly take umbrage."[22] A newspaper release further commented that "many of the foreign pavilions and sections in the Hall of Nations will be constructed or finished largely, if not entirely, of material brought from abroad," with examples of materials to be imported such as colored bricks from Holland, building material from Belgium, marble from Italy, and iron grill gates and windows from Turkey.[23] Although it is not possible to draw a definite conclusion from the comparison between the records of the two countries, the disparity suggests the possibility of some miscommunication or misunderstanding which ultimately resulted in the intensification of troubled relations.[24]

Troubled Japan-US Relationship

Changes in the international situation leading up to World War II also had a strong influence on the method of presentation. The American view of Japan at the time of the fair

was by no means a favorable one. A troubled relationship had existed ever since the termination of World War I in 1918. Tension persisted internationally over disarmament. Although this was not restricted to relations between the United States and Japan, it played a significant role, along with many other factors, in conflict between the two countries. Another issue was Japanese immigrants in the United States. In 1924, the Johnson Immigration Act was passed, which barred entry to "aliens ineligible for citizenship (the Japanese and other Asians)." Japanese immigration to California had been problematic in the United States since the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1907, a Gentleman's Agreement was concluded between the two countries whereby the Japanese government consented to voluntarily restrict immigration. But discrimination against Asian immigrants persisted on the West Coast, resulting in the 1920 enactment of *Hainichi Tochi-ho*, a land bill depriving Japanese residents of the right to own land, followed by the complete refusal of the United States to take in new immigrants four years later. These incidents promoted a strong anti-American feeling among Japanese. Demonstrations were held in parks and in front of the American Embassy in Japan, cinema companies refused to run American films, and a number of books were published foretelling a war between the two countries.[25]

In subsequent years, a number of disarmament meetings took place, mainly between Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States, but with little result. The Geneva Conference of 1927 concluded with bitter feelings between the United States and Great Britain. The London Naval Conference of 1930, which had seemingly achieved consensus among the five countries concerned, had, in reality, left considerable dissatisfaction. Conferences on a larger scale were also held. On the occasion of the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva of 1932, nearly sixty nations assembled, only to adjourn without results two years later because of emerging conflicts in Europe and East Asia. When the five countries met again in 1935, the unsatisfied delegates of Japan

abandoned the conference in the midst of negotiations. Ironically, efforts for peace through disarmament were resulting in adverse international relations.

Insecurity and distrust in both Europe and East Asia were also aggravating the situation. The origin of the conflict in the East was the Japanese aspiration to become ruler of Asia. Japan had long been in conflict with China, invading and occupying various districts even prior to the official start of the Sino-Japanese War on July 7, 1937. For Japan, a rapidly developing but small-sized country, resources in Manchuria were of extreme interest: the land was seen as a site for agricultural undertakings, prospective residences for the growing population, and plants for expanding industries. It was hoped that Manchuria would simultaneously provide space for Japan's surplus population and produce enough raw materials, foodstuffs, and manufactured goods to enable Japan to be more self-sufficient. Japan believed its desire for colonial resources was justified by European possession of colonial property for similar purposes.

At the outset, the United States was relatively unconcerned with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Japan and China were remote countries in the Far East, and as was clear from the Johnson Immigration Act of 1924, the situation of the people in both countries were of little significance to the American government. The main interest of the United States in the two countries was as trade partners, a role in which Japan had a more advantageous relationship. Since the United States was supporting Japan with resources such as petroleum and gasoline, and was also exporting resources to China, the international situation was quite delicate. Although the American view was sympathetic towards China, Franklin D. Roosevelt, president from 1933 onwards, did not initially consider abolition of export towards Japan, since exports to Japan had grown close to seven times those to China.[26] Nevertheless, Japan's invasion of China was starting to have

adverse effects on the American market in China, which ultimately necessitated the American abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce with Japan on July 26, 1939.[27]

Japan's pan-Asian intentions were easily seen. In December 1937, Japanese troops occupied Nanking and committed the well-known massacres, which triggered the all-out war between Japan and China. In April of 1938, *Kokka Sodoin-ho* was promulgated - the law on the total mobilization of the nation. This made it clear to everyone within and outside the country that Japan was preparing for total war. In November 1938, Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe announced the plan to construct a New Order for East Asia (*Toa Shinchitsujo*). This order clearly indicated the Japanese intention: an East Asia ruled or dominated by Japan.

Misrepresentations

As can be surmised from the above events, the feeling of anxiety in the relationship between not only Japan and the United States but also among the East Asian countries, and between Japan, the United States, and the European countries was intensifying. This was the international situation at time of the New York World's Fair. Under such circumstances it was necessary for the Japanese government to carefully consider their presentation strategy. A progress report dated June 1, 1938 records a suggestion made by a member of the committee that "in order to alleviate the negative feelings of the Americans towards Japan, it is crucial that we make prodigious participation for both events (New York and San Francisco) and publicize our interest and enthusiasm in the maintenance of a harmonious relationship with the country."[28] Prior to the abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce, concerns about the possibility that the Americans might terminate their trade relationship can be observed. In a committee meeting held by the Japanese to discuss the display of materials, suggestions were made to "indicate our indebtedness to the United

States" and "demonstrate our desire to maintain our position as the best customer in East Asia for the United States, and that our trade relationship should be the foundation of peace in the Pacific."[29]

Suggestions for changes in the presentation strategy can also be seen in the correspondence. For example, the Japan International Press Photo Association of New York advised that, in consideration of the relationship between the two countries, the main objective of their presentation should be to "banish the public opinion prevailing in the United States which mistakes our country for an enemy or an invader." This was to be performed by "high-handedly promoting the ideals of peace." Thus the exhibition should present "the traditional Japanese spirit which is neither aggressive nor jingoistic," and narrate the significant role played by the United States in introducing modern culture to this "fairy tale-like dream island." Furthermore, the association instructed that the poster for the Japanese exhibit should depict "Japanese girls in traditional attire" with captions inviting visitors to a "changeless timeless Japan."[30] The advice by the Japan International Press Photo Association was taken not only for the exhibits and the poster, but also in a newspaper advertisement [figure 3.3]. Covering over half a page of the *New York Times* was a sketch of the Japanese pavilion and the surrounding garden with copy such as:

> When you cross the arching bridge that leads to the Japanese pavilion... when you walk in the exquisite Nippon Garden... you'll feel almost as if you've been transported to that enchanting land.
>
> A refreshing retreat amid the Fair's whirling activity in the garden invites you to stroll among its pools and waterfalls... imagine yourself among the mountains and lakes of ancient Japan.[31]

In the address delivered by Commissioner General Wakasugi at the opening of the fair, emphasis was placed upon the significance of the "American contribution to the progress of

the country" in the "building of a modern Japan," and the importance of the "economic relations which are and have been fundamental factors in the furtherance of [the] traditional relationship" between the two countries. [32]

Such effort did not go unnoticed by the press. In *The New York Times*, the Japanese pavilion was described as follows:

> Japan is stressing her history, her culture and her relations with the United States, rather than her industries, in a pavilion modeled after an ancient Shinto Shrine. Paintings, prints and other items of Japanese art are explained to visitors by Japanese girls in native costume, and the dominating displays show how commerce with America has been built on good-will. Silk and textile products are exhibited in the rear hall. (Japan also has an exhibit in the Hall of Nations devoted largely to Japanese life and cultures.)[33]

The Japanese pavilion and the exhibits displayed inside presented the country as a peaceful, exotic land which was not as advanced as the United States or Europe. The copy on the poster and the newspaper ad are typical examples of Orientalist presentation, establishing temporal and spatial distance between the observer and the observed. This was, of course, not a true illustration of the situation in the country. Much political tension existed, and the discussions taking place between government authorities regarding foreign policy were by no means peaceful. Similar observations can be made with regards to economy and industry. For example, when much of the world was struggling to recover from the Depression in the 1930s, Japan's annual growth rate averaged 5 percent of GNP. As a trading nation, Japan had become a major exporter of manufactured products and a major importer of raw materials. Developments were not limited to Japan proper but similar growth could also be observed in the colonies ("Formosa" and Korea) and the puppet state of "Manchukuo."[34]

In 1937, the number of buildings constructed and the amount of construction materials produced reached their pre-World War II summit.[35] In the decade preceding this year, the Japanese construction industry experienced rapid technological advancement, with the introduction and popularization of steel and concrete as building materials. Although the 1920s can be characterized as a period of world-wide struggle resulting from the post-war depression of 1920, the financial crisis of 1927, and the world-wide depression starting in 1929, the domination of large-scale accumulation of capital was established in Japanese industry as the result of the concentration of enterprise, the establishment of cartels, and industrial reform. With the invasion of Manchuria, the economy was reorganized militarily and capital gained a large interest in the production of war munitions. Thus, Japan had recovered from depression long before the European countries or the United States, and was proficient in its use of steel and concrete for construction of larger scaled buildings. Such circumstances provided the basis for a rapid increase in the construction of high-rises, which continued until 1937.

Pan-Asianism: its origins and political use

It is necessary here to introduce pan-Asianism, an ideology popular in war-time Japan. This thought had existed long before this period. One of the earliest and certainly the most famous pan-Asianist was Tenshin Okakura, who was actively engaged in the promotion of Japanese culture to the West around the turn of the century.[36] Ironically, Okakura was strongly opposed to the military domination of Asia by Japan. Nevertheless, pan-Asianism was adopted and used by the government as the bases for its ambitions to expand territorially and militarily into the vast land of China.[37]

Pan-Asianism situated Japan as the leader of East Asia, with a mission to unite the countries in the area so that they would not be "oppressed" or "endangered" by the West.

Pan-Asian thinking was celebrated by the government, partly as justification for aggression in China, but also as a response to the need for a new national ideology under which to unite in prosecuting the war. Since the invasion of China was an unexpected development, initiated in 1931 by Japan's expeditionary forces in North China, the central Government, although supporting the actions of the army, needed to devise ad hoc explanations for the invasion. Pan-Asianism proved useful as the much needed justification for their aggressive actions. Five objectives were stated as reasons for the creation of Asian unity.[38] First of all, the Japanese government stated their mission as salvaging the people of China from the "controlling Chiang Kai-shek regime, dominated by pro-Communist and anti-Japanese doctrines." The second objective was to "build a defensive alliance against the aggressive encroachments of the Comintern, the common enemy of all countries of East Asia." It was, thirdly, as all other countries saw, to accommodate the growing population of Japan. The Japanese government asserted however, that demographic expansion would not only solve the problem of Japan, but also "improve the economic life of all three countries (Japan, China and 'Manchukuo')." The "unity" was also meant to put an end to racial conflict among different peoples in the area. This was manifest in the establishment of "Manchukuo," in Manchuria, a land of mixed races in danger of the "encroachment of the Western Powers." The last stated reason was the achievement of peace. Thus was the aggressive foreign policy practiced by the Japanese government justified.

A "New Order for East Asia" was issued in 1938, clarifying the intention of the government that Japan be the leader of all East Asia. The first step deemed necessary was to "liberate one's mind from unconsciously following familiar Western patterns of thought."[39] It was propagandized that Asian unity was the antithesis of nationalism, individualism, liberalism, materialism, and other negative aspects all associated with the

Western countries. Emphasis was placed upon rebuilding, regenerating, reawakening, and rebirth - all indicative of Japanese self-consciousness about ending "Western-dominated patterns and restoring Asia to its past greatness."[40] A treatise written in 1939 on cultural policy toward China stated that the Japanese had for too long looked down on "things Oriental," and depended on the West. It stressed that Japan should "totally put an end to the long period of dependence on and copying of the West."[41]

This movement suggests a diversion from the previous mindset, inscribed in the consciousness of the Japanese since the dawn of modernization about overcoming their status as late-comers to industrialization. Whereas the earlier modernizing attempts were made with the West as the model, under pan-Asianism, Japanese endeavored to look back upon themselves for the first time.

American creators of the Fair

The American creators of the Fair were attentive to the tension between Japan and China. Although China ultimately was unable to participate in the Fair due to the "action that had been taken at Nanking," both were included in the list of countries to which official invitations were originally sent.[42] The primary concern of the organizers was the location of the site allotted to each country. In a meeting of the Advisory Sub-Committee on the Far East, comments were made suggesting that since "Japan and China are highly susceptible in their dislike of one another ... extreme care should be taken to handle both nations and their exhibits separately."[43]

Similar problems were confronted with regards to Manchuria, a district in northern China which the Japanese government claimed to have "freed" from China and helped obtain independence. Although Japan treated Manchuria (or "Manchukuo" as the land was called by the Japanese) outwardly as an independent state, it was, in reality, a "puppet-

state," intended as a site for all the undertakings not possible in Japan due to the lack of land. The government of the United States had never recognized "Manchukuo" as an official state, and was therefore reluctant to allow its participation, since it might "prove distinctly embarrassing if any encouragement were given to an exhibit at the World's Fair bearing a 'Manchukuo' label whether or not under Japanese auspices."[44]

The Fair committee did not show any signs of objection to displaying materials related to the Manchurian Railways as a part of the exhibition of Japanese technological and industrial progress. Such material had already been presented at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, 1933. But the aggressive actions taken by Japan towards China had intensified since the previous exhibition. Thus, the idea of exhibiting a controversial Japanese enterprise was not wholeheartedly welcomed by the Americans, all the more since it was clear that the company was itself integral to the Japanese strategy of expanding its power in Manchuria. In spite of efforts by Japan to enable its presentation, the South Manchurian Railway Company decided, in the end, to not take part in the Fair.

Politics and Architecture

Architecture and culture are created and influenced by social, political and economic developments. In the years between the 1920s and the end of World War II, during which Japan experienced considerable progress in technology and industry, much discussion took place in the country concerning issues of national identity. Consistent throughout, the main thesis was a search for the *true Japanese-ness*. This search dates back to the fifth century, when Japan was strongly influenced by the Chinese culture, but intensified with the introduction of Western culture starting with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Japan had always been confronted with the issue of the necessity for a "true" Japanese quality, particularly in cultural areas such as literature, music and art. This was due to Japanese

self-consciousness towards the European countries from which they imported most of the technology and culture that enabled their relatively swift transformation into a modern nation. Technology hardly became an issue: the Japanese were relatively proficient at mastering and adapting new skills. It was principally through culture that they wished to express their characteristics or to demonstrate their difference from European countries.

The enthusiasm for a "true Japanese-ness" increased with its expansion into China, and the establishment of its ambitions as the leader of East Asia. Incidents taking place particularly in China and Manchuria heightened nationalist sentiments, increasing the desire for tangible evidence of "Japanese spirit." It can be observed throughout the various "movements" undertaken by architects, and can be clearly visualized through transitions in the formal qualities of architectural design. The following section will examine architectural movements in Japan in the 1920s, 30s and 40s, as well as the debates over "styles" exchanged among the architects. It will situate architectural culture within the political context I use to analyze the Japanese presentation at the New York World's Fair.

The 1920s has been described in Japan as a decade in which "politics and culture became inseparable ... [and] there emerged for the first time a new concept indicative of the confrontational characteristics of politics and culture." In other words, "*culture* became a *political* issue and *politics* became a *cultural* issue."[45] This was even more true of the following decade, when Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, and Imperialist Fascism in Japan integrated and incorporated "traditional" art and culture by the public into a new nationalist ideology.[46] Strong emphasis was placed upon architecture and urban planning, which functioned to enable clear visualization of political ideology. The influence of fascism on architecture and urban planning was especially notable in Nazi Germany, where extensive urban reconstruction was undertaken by Adolf Hitler and Albert Speer.[47]

The architectural style of Japan in the 30s, the period during which fascist ideology was being structured, cannot be simply classified as a single style: it wavered between what is often referred to as the Imperial Style and the contrasting design of Japanese Modernism, strongly influenced by the International Style. The prevailing design in the 1920s and the first half of the 30s, particularly for large-scale or institutional architecture, was the Imperial Style, which was constructed with Western technology but ornamented with elements typical of traditional Japanese architecture. In the latter half of the 30s, the period in which both pavilions were constructed, the mainstream was European-influenced Modern architecture. Imperial Style-like design re-emerged in the early to mid 40s, although these designs are hardly ever realized due to the outbreak of the war. Whereas the earlier Imperial style attempted at the architectural presentation of national identity, or synthesis of Western and Japanese architecture - by adding elements signifying Japanese-ness onto structures employing Western technology - the later version embodied different intentions.

Movements, Debates, and Styles

In the 1920s and 30s, a number of architectural movements emerged, and numerous debates over styles were exchanged among the architects. Under the influence of the Vienna Secession, the group "*Bunri-ha*" was conceived in February 1920. This group, comprised of six graduate students of Tokyo University, is considered to have been the very first modernist movement in Japan. It was opposed to historicism, and maintained the necessity to create "new architecture without imitation." Critical of the technology oriented inclination of the contemporary architectural works, it advocated the "importance of creative activity."[48] These thoughts can be observed in the first publication of the group *Bunri-ha Kenchikukai no Sakuhin* (The works of the Bunri-ha group).[49] Included are pleas made by

the members such as "please acknowledge architecture as a work of art" and "we believe that architecture must be a work of art."[50] These opinions were in reaction to the architectural trend of the country at the time, which was indeed technology oriented. Starting in the 1910s, the construction industry was obsessed with the newly acquired knowledge of steel and concrete, resulting in the shift in emphasis of architectural design towards technology. The Imperial Style, created by basically pasting decorative elements onto Western Style buildings, was also excluded from "art" in the minds of these modernists. The central activities of the *Bunri-ha* group were regularly held exhibitions and publications of works by the members. Seven exhibitions and four publications are the fruits of their activities before the dissolution of the group in 1928. The group was most significant in the sense that it functioned as a trigger for the initiation of other movements in the years to follow.

In 1923, "*So-usha*" was conceived. Although this group is said to have been directly influenced by *Bunri-ha*, the members consisted mostly of workmen, as opposed to the intellectual elite comprising the *Bunri-ha*. The social status of the members of *So-usha* created an outlook to search for the social foundation upon which architecture should be created - an attitude which later gave them a leftist inclination. Following the formation of *So-usha*, a number of smaller groups were organized. However, a disposition indicative of political interest cannot be observed in the activities of these groups at this time. The statements of declaration of these groups clearly indicated their non-political and art-oriented characteristic.

Politics did gradually begin to embrace the thoughts of some architects however. Following the footsteps of Europe, Japan in the mid-twenties experienced the strong influence of rationalism and functionalism. This was reflected in the characteristics of architectural

movements. For example, "*Nihon-International Kenchiku-kai* (Japan International Architectural Association)" was conceived in 1927 by architects strongly influenced by Walter Gropius. This group is well known for their strong opposition to the architectural competitions of the time, in which Imperial Style designs topped with traditional Japanese style roof were always selected as the winning design.[51] Concurrently with the establishment of the Japan International Architectural Association, *So-usha*, originally disinterested in politics, began to lean toward leftist thinking. The members, mostly from the working class, strongly criticized the rationalists' thinking and advocated an "architecture for proletariats" based on Marxist art theory. In October 1930, "*Shinko Kenchikuka Renmei* (New Architects League)" comprised of nearly one hundred members, was formed, only to break up in less than two months after the first meeting. Their manifesto clearly revealed Marxist influence, and some members, uneasy with the political qualities of the group, are recorded to have abandoned the activities after the first meeting.[52] Furthermore, architects affiliated with institutions in particular, were pressured by their seniors to withdraw from seemingly political activities.[53] The primary reason for the termination of the group however, is said to have been an article in *Yomiuri Shinbun* - a major newspaper in Japan - which had criticized the group to be conducting "red" propaganda through architecture.[54] If this group had indeed been interested in leftist ideology, the exceedingly short duration of its existence discouraged the involvement of the architects in political activities. Although small groups emerged and disappeared in following years, it was not until 1936 that a group with a clear ideological intent was formed once again. This was a group named "*Nihon Kosaku Bunka Renmei* (Japan Arts and Culture Association),"[55] whose statement declaring that "Japan has embarked on a long term construction process as the leader of East Asia," which shall be achieved through the prosecution of the "holy war" clearly indicates its fascist, or pan-Asianist character.[56]

With the exception of the *Japan Arts and Culture Association*, which was established in an age when it seemed natural to associate all thoughts with nationalism, the connection between architectural movements and political ideologies was generally weak. Although it may be argued that architects generally preferred to express their political position through their works (architectural design) rather than through active involvement (rallies and demonstrations), the connection between the two seems to be especially weak in the years directly following the break-up of the New Architects League in 1930. It is possible to surmise that the modernists of the later 30s were disinterested in politics, particularly since the strong nationalism manifest in political thinking was not in accordance with the "international" qualities that architecture of modernism supposedly possessed.

How were these movements reflected in the actual architectural styles of the same period? The design of the period wavered between styles. Stylistic trends may be categorized by three distinct but overlapping trends: the Imperial Style which was the mainstream until mid 30s; Japanese Modern of the late 30s; and the Fascist Imperial of the 40s, which terminated concurrently with the end of World War II.[57] Although the Fascist Imperial was the dominating style of the 40s due to war time climate, the earlier two cannot be separated by clear-cut periods. Japanese Modern did become the mainstream in the late 30s due to the strong influence of European modernism, but it was not so much that the architects who were designing the Imperial Style converted to Japanese Modern. The latter style was introduced partly by the Ministry of Construction and partly by younger generation architects.

In discussions of pre-war architectural trend in Japan, the major consensus is that Modern Architecture in Japan was established around 1940, as an outcome of the struggle and experimentation of the modernists throughout the 30s in an attempt to create a Japanese

Modern Architecture. This style was eventually de-popularized with the predominance of ultra-nationalism and militarism - the trend returning to the incorporation of iconographic Japanese elements. After 1945, the necessity for post-war reconstruction called for the functionalist qualities of modern architecture.[58] What actually took place was not as simple, and the following section does not attempt to give a historical summary. It introduces the complexity faced by the Japanese architects in the creation of a modern style which they could call as their own - out of something which did not originate in their country.

Imperial Style

The physical qualities of the Imperial Style can be characterized structurally as: fire-resistant, reinforced concrete structures; and stylistically as: design based upon European classicism, but ornamented with details derived from traditional Japanese architecture to enable a harmonious relationship with its Japanese style roof. As the term "Imperial" suggests, this style was mainly employed for large-scaled structures usually associated with the Imperial government. This eclectic style was an outcome of the long struggle of Japanese architects, which started with the introduction of architecture itself, as a practice separated from builders, from Europe with the Meiji Restoration in 1868.[59]

Meiji Restoration was fundamentally a political reform. A transformation of the country into a nation with new political and social systems was deemed necessary, and architecture played a significant role - to signify a modern nation, to house the new institutions which emerged along with the creation of the modern nation, and as a catalyst for the advancement of technology. Hence the simultaneous introduction of architectural style, building type and construction technology. The initial introduction was undertaken by European engineers and architects, and the style of architecture was mainly based on European classicism.[60] The Japanese carpenters (and later, architects) obtained stylistic as

well as structural characteristics of these structures, initially through experience and later, education, with which they endeavored in the creation of their own style.

The proliferation of the Imperial Style was strongly related to the architectural competitions of the pre-war period. These competitions usually called for a design which was based on "the national character with noble qualities (competition for Meiji Shrine Museum; 1915 [figure 3.4])"[61] or "Oriental Style with Japanese qualities (competition for Tokyo Imperial Museum; 1931 [figure 3.5]),"[62] most of which did not give a clear definition for the kind of Japanese-ness they were seeking. A survey of the winning selections reveals that a number of entries designed in Imperial Style were selected especially in the early 1930s, followed by a brief interruption by the International Style advocated by modernists such as Maekawa.[63] In the 1940s however, designs with qualities similar to the Imperial Style are again welcomed for monumental structures mainly to be built in other East Asian countries.

Japanese Modern

A notable factor concerning the introduction of modernism into the architectural design of Japan was the ideological difference between the "modern" design of Japan and that of Europe, where it originated. By the 1930s, various trends of European and American influence were observed in the buildings designed and constructed in Japan. For example, strong influence of expressionism was already evident in the 1920s. [figure 3.6] Architects who had practiced under European or American architects were starting their own practice. Buildings strongly influenced by the design of architects such as F. L. Wright and Walter Gropius were emerging in various cities of Japan [figures 3.7, 3.8]. The functional and rational qualities of modern architecture was celebrated particularly by government authorities and architects of the younger generation. Similar as the designs may be

however, the basis upon which it was founded was not similar to that of the European countries.

The architecture of modernism was introduced into Japan by several paths. Surprisingly, one was through the Ministry of Construction of the Japanese government. Concurrently with the rationalization movement in industry, the promotion of the Modern Style in Japan was undertaken by the Building and Maintenance section of the Ministry of Construction. The rationalistic qualities of the design were celebrated by the government authorities as the most appropriate for facilities such as postal and telephone offices [figure 3.9], elementary schools [figure 3.10] and apartment buildings, most of which, at the time, were constructed by the government. The basis of their design policy was the pursuit of rationalism, which was realized through functional and economical improvements, and also by modularization of the building elements. The size and nature of the organization made possible many reformations on a large-scale, resulting in radical changes in the process of planning, the floor plan, and the architectural forms of these institutional structures. As such, the Building and Maintenance section clearly played a significant role in the establishment of the style in Japan. However, it must not be forgotten that the original modernist movement in Europe was not the product of government technocrats. It had been based upon the will for reformation in both lifestyle and space, based upon the modern art movement of 1910s and 1920s. The seemingly similar style which popularized in Japan, on the other hand, was an outcome of the functionalist and rationalist thinking of technocrats aiming at economical efficiency. It was not interested in the creation of an ideal space.

Distortions can also be observed in an other process of transition of the Modern Style from Europe to Japan. This was undertaken by the new generation of architects[64] who had

aspired to introduce the "style" as the means to signify "ideology." An example of this attempt may be observed in residential architecture often referred to as "*Shiroi Ie* (White House)," a series of flat-roofed white mortar houses designed in the 1930s. [figure 3.11] Although the design of these houses were strikingly similar to that of the International Style, their structure was totally different from the European models, since the Japanese buildings were constructed using traditional timber structure. This design was not the outcome of the qualities of the building material or the characteristics of the construction method. Nor was it the outcome of the pursuit for a design most appropriate for the lifestyle of the users. What can be observed here is an inversion of ideology and style. Whereas the Modern Style in Europe was created as the outcome of an ideology, the similar style in Japan was introduced as a result of a necessity for an ideology: that is, a modern ideology for the modern nation. Out of the necessity for an architectural style for a modern Japan, these architects employed the only "modern style" that they were familiar with: the styles imported from the West.

Such appropriation of design did result in structural difficulties. Most criticized was the structure of the roof: a flat roof was clearly not appropriate for timber structures, especially in the wet climate of Japan. When criticized over this choice of roof form, Sutemi Horiguchi, the central figure in the creation of the "White House" style, responded that he must "design flat roofs if considered necessary, even if they are not structurally reasonable," since he believed that "this will, in turn, promote the progress of architecture."[65] Another architect contemporary to Horiguchi noted that, in order to create a new style, he felt the necessity to "go out of [his] way to incorporating a pitched roof in his design."[66] For these architects, Modern Style was symbolized by the flatness of the roof. In order to make "progress" in architecture, they banished the pitched roof from their houses built with timber material, and created flat-roofed houses which had a visual effect

of reinforced concrete or steel structures. This insistence on the flat roof is a contrasting feature when compared with the "traditional" pitched roof of the Imperial Style.

Fascist Imperial

Although the style of the 40s is usually designated as Imperial, its underlying intention was different from that of the 30s, which was merely seeking a formal presentation of Japanese qualities. Under the influence of the fascist climate of the country, many architects who had previously been discouraged from participating in political activities, gradually became re-engaged in politics. For architects, political engagement did not occur in the form of activities and demonstrations but rather, were formulated in their designs. Attempts were made at the exploration of a style capable of rightly representing the new position of their nation: a position as the leader of East Asia. A comment made by Sutemi Horiguchi in a conference held by the Japan Arts and Crafts Association in 1939 portrays the interests of the architects of the period:

> We must consider alternative styles for the roof. Although a comment had been made earlier that it is appropriate for monumental buildings such as the Museum of National History and other museums to employ old-fashioned roof styles, I cannot agree on the use of such design even for monumental structures in the present day context. Why should the monuments of contemporary Japan be modeled after the architecture of the period during which the country was under the influence of China? We have absorbed Chinese culture in the past. Furthermore, we have become universalized by digesting American and European culture. Present day Japan, in preparation for the day of the holy war to reorganize the Orient by banishing the Western forces in China, is no longer an island country of the Far East, but a country of the world possessing universality. Obviously, the monuments of contemporary Japan must represent universality.[67]

Horiguchi was suggesting the necessity for an architectural style to represent the country without using the design vocabulary which had originated in China. The rejection of the

"traditional" roof consistent throughout the series of White Houses, was not a mere celebration of the International Style imported from Europe, but also a rejection of the Chinese influence which had already been incorporated into the "traditional" style of Japan. It is not clear from this statement whether Horiguchi was in agreement with the political ideology whose ultimate goal was not only the leadership position of East Asia, but also to be in a position equal to the West. Nevertheless, expressions such as "holy war" and "reorganize the Orient by banishing the Western forces in China" clearly indicates the influence of pan-Asian ideology.

Cultural use of Pan-Asianism

If the comment made by Horiguchi in 1939 was grounded in pan-Asianism, it is not until the 1940s that the ideology started to crystallize as architectural design. Some architects in the late 30s may have been thinking about their nation in a way similar to that of political leaders, but if so, they had not yet come up with an appropriate design to express their ideology. Particularly for the modernist architects in the 1930s, the design solution that would position their nation in the international context - especially in relation to other East Asian countries - was not to be modeled after a shrine. Thus their extreme contempt towards the pavilion at New York. Indeed, the solution of a shrine as a way to present Japan as the leader of East Asia may have been an overtly straightforward attempt by people not trained in architectural design. Ironically, however, the resolution reached by the modernists in the end had exceedingly similar formal qualities to that of the shrine-like pavilion.

The popularization of the Fascist Imperial Style was closely related to monumental architecture, especially in the "colonies" of East Asia such as "Manchukuo" (Manchuria) and "Formosa" (Taiwan). Although the Japanese Modern, particularly smaller-scale

buildings and residences exemplified by the "White House," was considered to be a style unique to Japan, it was still based on a design vocabulary imported from Europe. The Fascist Imperial Style, on the other hand, was the first attempt by Japanese architects to free themselves from constantly following the footsteps of the Western countries - a step in the direction of nationalism demonstrated through architectural design. After this period, until the end of World War II in 1945, the central theme of architectural culture in Japan became the search for a *true* Japanese-ness.

In the beginning of the 40s, a few competitions were held calling for designs for new projects in East Asian countries. Architects showed a strong enthusiasm for these competitions since, at the time, the Japanese army was making considerable progress invading East Asia. For architects, the resulting expansion of national territory meant the chance for the acquisition of large-scale work. Around this time, the thoughts of many modernist architects who had not been completely in agreement with the nationalist ideology, prevalent at the time in political climate, started to shift towards nationalism. News releases informing of the glorious results of the army further elevated the nationalist sentiments of architects.

The majority of new enterprises were monuments commemorating the war-dead. Although sometimes criticized as being "poor imitations of tombstones,"[68] imperialistic or fascistic qualities may be recognized in entries for the competitions of such monuments [figure 3.12]. Other projects were meant to signify the Japanese position in East Asia. Reconsideration of "things Oriental" can be clearly observed in the entries for these projects. The winning entry for *Daitoa Kinen Zoeibutsu* (Commemorative structure for Greater East Asia) of 1942, submitted by Kenzo Tange, depicts a shrine-like structure in front of Mt. Fuji, characteristics which had been severely criticized when presented at New York in the form of pavilion and display [figure 3.13]. Tange was also selected as the

winner in the competition for the *Nichiho Bunka Kaikan* (Japan Thailand Cultural Center) in 1944, for his *shinden*-style design entry [figure 3.14]. The runner-up entry for the same competition was submitted by Kunio Maekawa [figure 3.15]. Maekawa, the designer of the International Style pavilion which had been rejected for the Paris exposition of 1937, employed pitched roofs for structures surrounding a Japanese style garden. The site plan itself seems to have been in *shoin*-style modeled after a typical Japanese Style high class residence.

Such entries suggest that architects may have come to agree with the pan-Asian ideologies manifested by the government, and that the conclusion they reached in their search for an architectural form to represent their country was, in the end, the much-criticized shrine-like traditional design embodied years earlier in the pavilion at the New York World's Fair.[69] But other factors also need to be considered. One is the advanced age of the architects who comprised the jury for these competitions - it was often assumed that designs in the "traditional" rather than "modern" had better chances for selection. The design guidelines for the competition was another. In the case of the cultural center, the guideline called for a design "based on the traditional style unique to our country" using teakwood for structural components.[70] Thus it was more natural for architects to employ a traditional style design.

A closer comparison of the Fascist Imperial Style of the early 40s with the Imperial Style of the early 30s will reveal that, although topped with roof of a similar form, the styles themselves are quite different. Both were the result of a search for a Japanese style based upon architecture imported from the West. The earlier style originated from the many attempts of Japanese carpenters to imitate the Western architecture introduced to the country mainly by European architects hired by the government.[71] Through refinement and sophistication, as well as the incorporation of newly acquired technology, the oddly eclectic

style transformed gradually, albeit always maintaining one Japanese characteristic: the iconography of the roof. The Imperial Style of the early 30s may be described as an imitation of European classicism, constructed with steel and concrete - the products of industrialization - but always topped with the traditional Japanese roof.

Familiarity with the Modern Style from Europe gave a different characteristic to the Fascist Imperial Style of the 40s. This style, although extremely similar to that prevalent in the early 30s, was, according to some historians, based not upon European classicism but upon the Modern Style which they considered as their own architectural style. The most significant difference was the form of the roof. Whereas the earlier Imperial style was always topped with a roof designed with a temple as a model - slightly curved upward towards the eaves - the later version was modeled after a shrine - without the curve. This is because temples symbolized Buddhism, a religion imported from India via China. Shrines, on the other hand, house sects of Shinto, the national religion of Japan. Shintoism was particularly important during this period, since it was this religion which celebrated the Emperor as god and thus justified the purity of the Japanese people: beliefs which were extremely important for their pan-Asian ideologies. Buildings employing Shinto roofs could thus be considered "original" Japanese architecture.

The return to the traditional signified by the Fascist Imperial of the early 40s was not without political influence. But this does not necessarily mean that architects themselves all believed in the ideology. There were other reasons for their employment of this style, particularly in relation to the competitions popular at the time. The ambitions of the modernists to succeed in architectural competitions persuaded them to submit designs in a style which might better impress the juries composed of older architects, who were more inclined to favor the "traditional" way of expressing Japanese-ness.

This return to "tradition" was by no means unique to Japan. Similar phenomenon could be observed in the contemporary Soviet Union, Italy and Germany.[72] A predilection for neo-classicism can be observed in Germany during the same time period. This tendency was the outcome of the German desire to "become the ruler of the universe by claiming ownership to an eternal and universal form of art."[73] It was to be realized through the adoption of classicism, which had always been mainstream in the history of European architecture. As Kenneth Frampton had pointed out in the case of the aforementioned countries, "[the] modernist tendency to reduce all form to abstraction made it an unsatisfactory manner in which to represent the power and ideology of the state,"[74] Japan was also in need of a style capable of visually representing its "power and ideology." The "traditional" expressed in Shinto style architecture signified the original architecture of Japan.

Nevertheless, the Imperial Fascist style in Japan was not the result of direct actions by the state, as in the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany. The Japanese government never imposed any regulations restricting design - architects more or less willingly engaged in this project. The ultra-nationalistic and militarist regime in Japan did not exercise any direct control over cultural activities.

Pan-Asianism at the Fair

Comments critical of American liberalism and tainted by pan-Asianism can be observed in the remarks made by some Japanese Fair planners. Included in the suggestion made by the Japan International Press Photo Association is a denouncement of "an ideology of an eternal peace, a true peace, and a world peace established without armament" as "absurd, but foolishly supported by a wide population in a liberalist country such as the United States."[75]

Although it cannot be concluded that the Japanese exhibits for the Fair was an expression of pan-Asianism or ultra-nationalism, an examination of the German pavilion for the Paris International Exposition of 1937, created in the National Socialist agenda, reveals interesting similarities in concept and design strategy. The intention of the Third Reich in its presentation was to "market itself in Paris both as a technologically advanced nation and as a people rooted in timeless tradition."[76] The devoted participation to the exposition was a way of expressing its commitment to "world peace" and to the "reconstruction of a healthy and solid world economy." In the German pavilion, simultaneous references were made to a number of historical antecedents - a classical temple, a medieval church, and a huge ancient sarcophagus - in order to achieve the desired monumentality. The Japanese pavilion at the Fair had been modeled after the Ise shrine, the original shrine of the Shinto sect, but adapted the exterior wall from the Kyoto Imperial Palace in order to express "the most modernized form of linear beauty." The two pavilions were in agreement with the modernist aesthetic which rejected excessive ornament. Both employed steel for supporting structure, yet concealed it with a facade to give the desired impression - the German pavilion was finished with "native German limestone, with swastika-patterned gold and red mosaic tile" and the Japanese pavilion with white stucco with pilaster treatment. Further parallels can be drawn with reference to the material displayed inside. The German display consisted of "more static and traditional art forms for its visual propaganda [which] was intended to shift attention away from the militarism of National Socialism towards the cultural and scientific achievements of the regime."[77]

The Japanese pavilions presented at Paris and New York can both be interpreted as an attempt to demonstrate a modernized Japan, albeit in contrasting ways. If the pavilion at Paris had been an attempt to demonstrate modernity in a Japanese-like manner, the pavilion

for the New York World's Fair, an integration of modern qualities into a "traditional" design, may be analyzed as a politically sophisticated presentation of the Japanese situation. The outcome of the latter in terms of architectural design cannot be said to have been as "modern" as the former, but as for the underlying ideological concept, the New York pavilion seems to have been the more sophisticated and progressive. Its design expressed the desire of the Japanese to put an end to their dependence on the West. Can the New York pavilion, whose design was controlled by the many concerns of the government to present its national identity in uncertain times, be judged "progressive" in terms of expression of ideology? And how successful was this presentation of ideology? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to look into how the presentation was received in both countries, as well as how the received images were manipulated, especially in the United States, with the advent of the war.

---

[1]NYPL: Box: 352; File: PR2.01; Foreign Participation Advisory Committee, Governmental Groups, Public Relations. (date unknown)

[2]NYPL: Box: 17; File: A1.161; Government: Foreign Participation (date unknown).

[3]The Imperial reign started in 600 BC with the inauguration of the Jinmu Emperor, who is considered to be the "origin" of all Japanese.

[4]ODR: December 22, 1935.

[5]ODR: From the draft of the agenda for the Cabinet meeting dated April 24, 1937.

[6]The Manchurian Incident was a bomb attack on the Manchurian railways. This railway provided a crucial means of transportation for Japanese economic activities in Manchuria and was of great strategic importance to Japan. The Japanese Kwantung Army had used this bombing attack as an excuse to occupy all of Manchuria. The military officers who had made the decision to invade planted the bomb themselves, but blamed it on Chinese soldiers.

[7]All the quotations are taken from the August 22, 1937 issue of *The New York Times*, 1,4.

[8]The only regulations issued by the Board of Design in terms of pavilion design were as follows:

(1) The general height of a foreign building may not exceed the height of the US Government building. However, small features such as pylons, minarets, and the like may be built higher

subject to the approval of the Board of Design.
(2) Sculptural figures or groups which are architectural in character will be acceptable on the exteriors of buildings; provided, however, that they shall not be of such character, size, or height as to compete with the statue of George Washington which is the central figure of the Fair.
NYPL: Box 525; File: Board of Design, dated November 24, 1937.

[9]ODR: From Consul General Kaname Wakasugi in New York to Foreign Minister Hirota in Tokyo, dated February 19, 1938.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]From "Nihon to Bankokuhaku (Japan and international expositions)" in Ryuichi Hamaguchi and Hiroshi Yamaguchi, *Bankokuhaku Monogatari* (The story of international expositions), (Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyujo Shuppankai, 1966), 138-170.

[13]DRO: From Wakasugi to Hirota, dated May 16, 1938.

[14]NYPL: Box 101; File PR2.01. Japan, Foreign Participation. From a letter sent from Wharton Green to the General Manager of the fair, dated October 2, 1937. It informs the General Manger that, at the request of Matsui, Green had taken the architect to the Fair site on October 1.

[15]*Asahi Shinbun*, May 8, 1938.

[16]DRO: From President of the Japanese Association for the New York World's Fair, Shigekuro Monno, to Secretary of Commerce, Toshihiro Niikura, dated May 26, 1938.

[17]DRO: From Wakasugi to Foreign Minister Ugaki, dated June 13, 1938.

[18]DRO: this newspaper clipping was included among the files.

[19]DRO: The blue print was included in an envelope filed after a correspondence dated June 14, 1938. Although the date of drawing is not clear, it was probably completed before June 14, 1938.

[20]Diplomatic Room is the official English name used by the Japanese. The direct translation from Japanese would be "Reference Section for Japan-US International Relations."

[21]DRO: file dated June 24, 1938.

[22]NYPL: Box: 524; File: Government Participation. From an announcement made by the General Manager J.C. Holmes, dated May 12, 1938.

[23]NYPL: Box 524; File: Government Participation. Newspaper clipping (date unknown).

[24]A comparison of records from the same time period demonstrates how a single regulation could be interpreted in different ways. The statement made from Standley to Inoue, the Commercial Secretary of Japanese Embassy reads: "Special workmen may also be brought from Japan to work on the building. These may include artisans of various kinds - wood carvers, stonemasons, decorators, gardeners - in short, specialized Japanese workmen whose services would not be available in he United States..." (NYPL: Box: unknown; File: Japan, dated June 1, 1938). The correspondence from General Commissioner Wakasugi to Foreign Minister Ugaki, dated June 13 of the same year, states however that "it is not yet possible for

Japanese workers to participate in the construction of the pavilion, since the union side insists that the workers consist of 100% union members," and that "Japanese-like materials which can be obtained in the United States will be used as much as possible." (DRO) Although these two statements are not contradictory in their entirely, the difference in the impression each gives is revealing.

[25]Keiichi Eguchi, *Futatsu no Taisen*, (The two world wars), vol. 14 of *Taikei Nihon no Rekishi* (An outline of Japanese history) (Tokyo: Shogakkan Library, 1993), 170-171.

[26]Ibid., 315.

[27]Ibid., 327-329.
The abolition of this treaty meant the discontinuation of exports from the United States to Japan, starting January 1940, when the treaty was to expire.

[28]DRO: From a progress report of the Committee for the New York and San Francisco Fair. This Committee was established on November 16, 1937 with members from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Japan Cultural Society, The America-Japan Society, Inc., and the Association for the Japan International Exposition of the year 2600.

[29]DRO: From the minutes of a committee meeting on materials to display, dated June 25, 1938.

[30]DRO: Correspondence dated July 8, 1938.

[31]*The New York Times.* March 5,1939. World's Fair Section.
Also, *New York World-Telegram*, February 25, 1939. Souvenir edition.

[32]"Address by Mr. Kaname Wakasugi, Commissioner General for Japan's participation in the New York's World's Fair, 1939, at the official opening ceremony of the Japanese Pavilion on May 6, 1939." From the archives at the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[33]*The New York Times*, April 30, 1939.

[34]The information comes from *Japan in War and Peace* by John W. Dower (New York: New Press, 1995); Dower gives a detailed account of growth in pre-World War II Japan, arguing that Japan's position in the global economy today is not the result of the post-occupation period, but of the rapid growth of the country in the early 1930's.

[35]Restriction on the importation of raw materials (including steel) enforced in September 1937, resulted in decline in construction after 1937.

[36]Tenshin (or Kakuzo) Okakura (1862-1913) was sent to the United States and Europe in 1886 as a commissioner to report on Western art education. Upon return, he organized the Imperial Art School of Tokio (present day Tokyo University of Arts). Okakura was an active cultural spokesman for Japan, publishing books on the country, not as translations from Japanese to English, written by him in English. Okakura's major works include *The Book of Tea* (New York: Duffield, 1919), and *The Awakening of Japan* (New York: The Century Co., 1904).

[37]Unlike the field of architecture, in which little written by Japanese historians or theorists has been introduced in the English language, many Japanese scholars of political history (Japanese-American relationship in particular) had the fruits of their study published in English. For detailed discussions on how pan-Asian thinking was used strategically by the Japanese government as justification for its undertakings in China and Manchuria, see for example, Shunsuke Tsurumi, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan*

1931-1941 (London, New York, Sydney and Henley: Routeledge & Kegan Paul, 1986) (especially Chapter 5 "Greater Asia" 33-41), and Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: the Japanese-American War, 1941-1945*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981). Both texts have been written in English by the Japanese authors.

[38]Yosuke Matsuoka, "The New Order in East Asia" in *Contemporary Japan*, vol. VIII, No. 1, March, 1939, 1-9.

[39]Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: the Japanese-American War, 1941-1945*, (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 5.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]China declined to participate deciding "not to be represented at any Word's Fair or expositions for a period of five years." (NYPL: Box: 352; File: PR2.01. Far East Advisory Sub-Committee; Foreign Participation Advisory Committee; Public Relations, dated November 12, 1937)

[43]NYPL: Box: 352; File: PR2.01. Far East Advisory Sub-Committee; Foreign Participation Advisory Committee; Public Relations. Minute of the meeting of the Advisory Sub-Committee on the Far East held in the Board of Directors Room, dated February 4, 1937.

[44]NYPL: Box: unknown; File: Japan. Correspondence from J.C. Holmes, acting chief division of international conference to Admiral Standley.

[45]Koji Ikeda, *Yami no Bunka-shi: montage 1920 nen-dai* (The cultural history of the dark: montage of the 1920s). Emphasis original.

[46]Walter Benjamin warns of the fascist aesthetization of politics and its outcome in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*: "All efforts to render politics aesthetic culminate in one thing: war." in Illuminations (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

[47]Although the three Axis countries: Germany, Italy and Japan, are often grouped together as having similar ideological or political interests, this is an oversimplification, especially when cultural aspects are concerned. Even when we limit the discussion to architecture, distinct difference is present among the characteristics of the three. Neo-classical architecture was the formal expression of German fascism. Italy, on the other hand, preferred the rational architecture of futurism. "Imperialist" architecture re-emerged in Japan, which can be described as Japanese style eclecticism.

[48]The quotations are taken from "Bunri-ha Kenchikukai no Shiteki Igi (the historical significance of the Bunri-ha group)" by architectural historian Hiroyasu Fujioka. In the article, Fujioka argues that the members of the group were not the first in the modernist movement of Japan, citing precedents for rejection of historicism and advocation of architecture as art prior to the activities of the group. From *Gendai Kenchiku no Kiseki* (The locus of contemporary architecture) , Special Issue of *Shinkenchiku*, December 1995, 16-17.

[49]Published in 1920 by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo.

[50]From the writings of two members, Kikuji Ishimoto and Sutemi Horiguchi respectively, in *Bunri-ha Kenchiku-kai no Sakuhin (the works of Bunriha-group)*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1920). Cited by Fujioka in "Bunri-ha Kenchikukai no Shiteki Igi (the historical significance of the Bunri-ha group)."

[51]Although this group was established under the influence of the International Style, the architecture of modernism was yet to be built in Japan. In spite of the interest and enthusiasm of the younger generation of architects, the buildings actually built in the country were usually designed in the Imperial Style, based on classical architecture.

[52]The manifesto composed by the group is as follows:

> We join together on the basis of a scientific social consciousness to achieve an architecture in a logical and technical manner.
>
> We will put this into practice for the sake of the generation of an architecture of the future which is righteous and powerful, and in order to release architecture from the fetters of social productive relations which are at a deadlock today. We will do this by conducting scientific research into today's reality, grasping the inexorable laws of historical development.
>
> We will, by means of our internal organization and distribution of power, overthrow all reactionary trends in the world of modern architecture.

Translation by Jonathan M. Reynolds, *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Modernism in Japanese Architecture*, 136.

[53]For example, Riki Sano, a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, warned his colleague Hideto Kishida and others that they would not be allowed to remain in their positions if they continued to be involved in the organization.

[54]"Kenchiku de 'Aka' no Sengen (A 'Red' Manifesto for Architecture)," *Yomiuri Shinbun*, November 12, 1930. The article suggested that the group was proletarian in its character and was "connected with Moscow." The article is indicative of the intolerance of the authorities towards individuals or groups with seemingly leftist sympathies.

[55]The group is chaired by Kiyoshi Kuroda, with Hideto Kishida (who oversaw the pavilion competition for the Paris exposition) as the director, and members such as Sutemi Horiguchi, Kamejo Tsuchiura, Kunio Maekawa (who had designed the first proposal for the Paris competition), who had been the central advocates of the modernist style. Interestingly, the design by the members of the group during their period of activity (1936-40) was still strongly influenced by the International Style.

[56]Cited by Yasushi Miyauchi in "Fascism to Kukan (Fascism and space)" in *Hikigeki: 1930 nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka* (Comedy and tragedy: architecture and culture of 1930s) (Tokyo: Gendai Kikakushitsu, 1981), 57.

[57]Among these three terms, the only one properly coined in the history of Japanese architecture is the Imperial Style. "Japanese Modern" is usually referred to simply as "Modern," and "Fascist Imperial" as "Imperial," although the terms I use in the text occur in some writings. I use these terms for the purpose of clarification.

[58]From a comment made by Arata Isozaki in a symposium "30 nen-dai wo do miruka (how to perceive the 30s)" in which Isozaki describes the decade as one which saw the intermixing of the Western and the Japanese. Isozaki is critical of the generalization usually offered to explain historical trend of this decade, suggesting the presence of more complex factors. In Dojidai Kenchiku Kenkyu-kai, ed., *Hikigeki: 1930 nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka*, 76-86.

[59]The emergence and the process of transformation of the Imperial style is a much under-researched area even in Japan. Texts dealing with post-Restoration architectural history in Japan usually introduce this style, but not in detail. Much needs to be investigated, since this style was the direct outcome of the importation of architecture from the West, and the movements and styles which follow cannot be discussed without

relation to it. For English texts which deals with Japanese architecture of this period, see for example, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the Present* by David B. Stewart (Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1987), especially chapter 2: Tokyo and the "Problem" of Styles (33-62). Also, the article "Japan's Imperial Diet Building: Debate over Construction of a National Identity" by Jonathan Reynolds touches upon issues of national identity arising from the question of whether the Imperial Style was appropriate for a building to represent the nation (*Art Journal*, Fall 1996, vol. 55, No. 3, 38-47).

[60]Not all architects working in Japan during this time employed designs based on European classicism. Josiah Conder, for example, made an extensive use of Saracenic elements. This is likely due to the influence of Thomas Roger Smith, a practitioner of High Victorian ideology of British colonial architecture, under whom Conder worked prior to his arrival in Japan. The European influence as a result of Meiji Restoration is discussed by David Stewart in *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture.*

[61]Cited by Yasushi Miyauchi in "Fascism to Kukan (Fascism and space)" in *Hikigeki: 1930 nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka* (Comedy and tragedy: architecture and culture of 1930s) (Tokyo: Gendai Kikakushitsu, 1981), 52.

[62]Ibid.

[63]The winning selections of the pre-war competitions (designers and styles) are as follows:

Meiji Shrine Museum (1915) Keiji Goto and Shintaro Oe - Imperial Style
Nisshin Seimei Insurance Company (1916) Shunsuke Hashimoto and Koichi Sato - Imperial Style
Imperial Diet Building (1918) Fukuzo Watanabe and the Building Department of the Ministry of Finance - Neo-Classical Style
Kanagawa Prefectural Office (1928) Yoshiro Koo and Toshiki Sano - Imperial Style
Nagoya City Office (1930) Nagoya City Public Works Section, Department of Architecture - Imperial Style
Nihon Seimei Building (1930) Sadataro Takahashi and others - Imperial Style
Dairei Memorial Kyoto Museum (1930) Kenjiro Maeda - Imperial Style
Gunjin Kaikan (Military Building) (1930) Ryoichi Kawamoto - Imperial Style
Tokyo Imperial Museum (1931) Hitoshi Watanabe - Imperial Style
Tokyo City Office (1934) Jiro Miyaji - International Style and Neo-Classical Style
Showa Seiko (steel manufacturer) (1937) Kunio Maekawa - International Style
Nihon Banpaku Kinen Kaikan (Japan International Exposition Commemorative Building) (1937) Katsushige Takanashi - Imperial Style
Dairen-shi Kokaido (City Hall in Dairen) (1938) Kunio Maekawa - International Style
Churei-to (Monument for the war dead in China) (1940) Masanori Kashihara, Bunji Takesaki, Shoichi Hoshino and others - Japanese Fascism?
Daitoa Kinen Zoeibutsu (Commemorative structure for Greater East Asia) (1942) Kenzo Tange - Imperial or fascist style
Nichiho Bunka Kaikan (Japan Thailand Cultural Center) (1943) Kenzo Tange - Imperial or fascist style

From *Hikigeki: 1930 Nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka*, 53-54.
(the classifications of the styles are also from the text)

[64]Most of these architects had studied or worked under European or American architects at some point in their academic or professional career. Some examples are: Maekawa and Sakakura, who had worked in Le Corbusier's office from 1926 to 1930 and 1931 to 1936 respectively; Kamejo Tsuchiura (1897-) who was with Frank Lloyd Wright from 1923 to 1925; and Bunzo Yamaguchi who worked with Walter Gropius from 1929 to 1930. The other popular way of "learning" Western style architecture during this period was

to travel for one or two years in Europe. Architects such as Sutemi Horiguchi and Togo Murano practiced this method from 1923 to 1924 and in 1930 respectively.

[65]From a statement made in a discussion titled "For the construction of the new Japanese art culture" sponsored by the Japan Arts and Culture Association. Cited in *Hikigeki: 1930 Nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka (Tragedy and Comedy: the Architecture and Culture of the 1930s)* edited by Dojidai Kenchiku Kenkyukai, 51.

[66]Statement made by Kamejo Tsuchiura in a discussion with Arata Isozaki. Cited in *Hikigeki: 1930 Nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka*, 51.

[67]From a statement made in a discussion titled "For the construction of the new Japanese art culture" sponsored by the Japan Arts and Culture Association. Cited in *Hikigeki: 1930 Nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka*, 57.

[68]This comment is made by architectural historian and critic Shoichi Inoue in *Senjika Nihon no Kenchikuka* (Architects in war-time Japan), in which Inoue is extremely critical of these competitions where the winning entry was selected by a jury consisting of the "older generation" who, from his point of view, impeded the efforts of the modernists.

[69]Although this may have been the reason for most cases, some historians argue that the reason that modernists such as Maekawa decided to convert to the Fascist Imperial Style was their attempting to avoid being regarded as an anti-nationalist. Ryuichi Hamaguchi, for example, suggests that "the international aspect of Modern architecture was suppressed as being 'anti-Japanese.' and therefore, not agreeing with Japanese style architecture was synonymous to advocating an anti-war movement." From *Humanism no Kenchiku: Nihon Kindai Kenchiku no Sansei to Tenbo* (The architecture of humanism: a reflection and observation of modern Japanese architecture), (Nagoya: Kenchiku Journal, 1995; originally published in 1947 from Ondori-sha), 9. Furthermore, architectural historian Eizo Inagaki suggests that the modernist architects were undergoing much struggle during this period, being forced to design nationalistic architecture in spite of their modernist sensibilities. He writes:

> Individually, architects struggled with themselves, and before architecture could be born, myriad words were expended in thought. These architects could not help but experience the pain over what must have seemed to be the minute by minute destruction of the modern age.

From *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku: Sono Seiritsu Katei* (The modern architecture of Japan: the process of creation) (Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai, 1979), 372. Translation taken from Jonathan Reynolds: *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Modernism in Japanese Architecture*, 192.
However, the analysis that the Fascist Imperialist Style underlined by nationalist ideology was a "minute by minute destruction of the modern age" seems to prove that the formalistic style of the Modern style architecture was coined as the expression of the "modern age" regardless of the ideologies behind the European style.

[70]Cited in Inoue, *Senjika Nihon no Kenchikuka* (Architects in war-time Japan), 258.

[71]These architects came to Japan as a part of the governmental policy conceived at the time of the Meiji Restoration (1868). The focus of the restoration was on foreign policy with an attempt at the establishment of a modern nation capable of international recognition. The main points of this policy were the abolition of trade exclusionism and the adoption of life-styles and technology from the West. Transfer of technology was realized through hiring professionals in diverse academic or practical fields from Europe. Among the 2300 European experts who came to Japan, it is recorded that 146 people were in the building trade.

[72]In *Modern Architecture: a Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992), Frampton notes that the first wave of the return to tradition emerged in Europe, but the "historicist buildings" which were

designed as a part of this wave "were far from being historically determined in their overall conception." Then, Frampton naturally includes architecture of the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy and the Third Reich as the pre-World War II architecture of ideology. Japanese architecture, is, of course, not included in this West-centered trajectory, perhaps because little was realized. Other reasons for the under-representation can be found on the Japanese side, however. Since the Fascist architecture of Japan was designed mostly in relation to its colonies, little effort was made (if any) to introduce them to a non-Japanese audience. Even in Japan, it is only in the past few years that the "colonial" architecture of Manchuria, for example, has become a topic of scholarly research.

[73]Shunta Sugimoto, "Fascism to Nazism no Kukan (The space of Fascism and Nazism)" in *Hikigeki: 1930 nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka* (Tragedy and comedy: architecture and culture of the 1930s), 232.

[74]Frampton, *Modern Architecture: a Critical History*, (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992), 210.

[75]DRO: Correspondence dated July 8, 1938.

[76]Karen A. Fiss, "The German Pavilion," in *Art and Power: Europe under the dictators 1930-45*, 108-110. The striking similarities in both concept and design strategies of the two pavilions inspired me to speculate on the possibility that the Japanese pavilion at the New York World's Fair was also an example of fascist architecture.

[77]Ibid., 109.

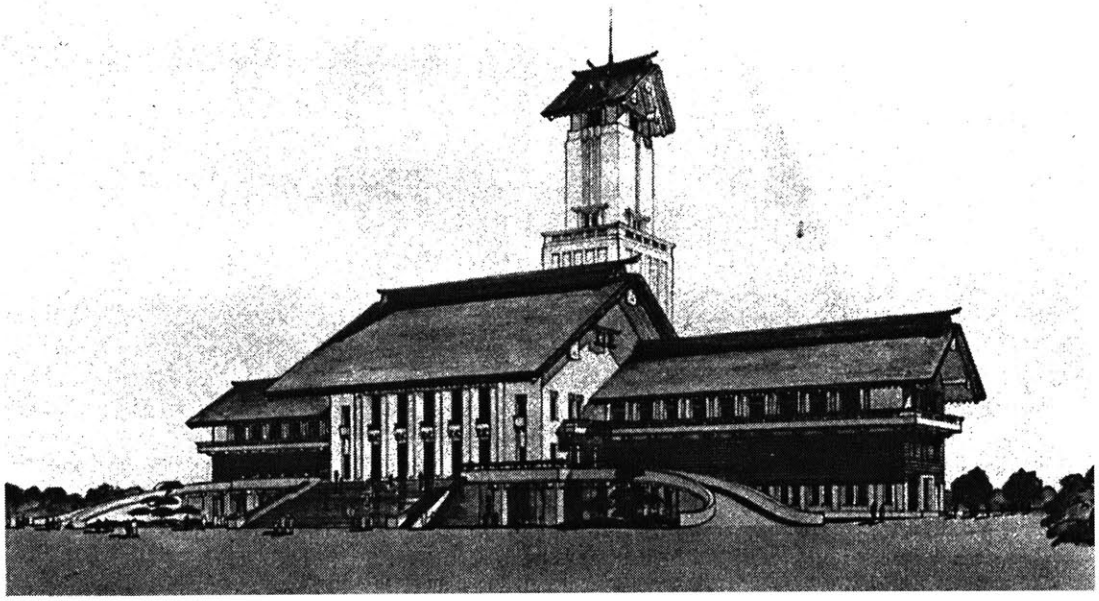


Figure 3.1 *Kenkoku Kinen-kan* - winning entry for competition, 1937
National Foundation Memorial
Architect: Shigenori Takanashi

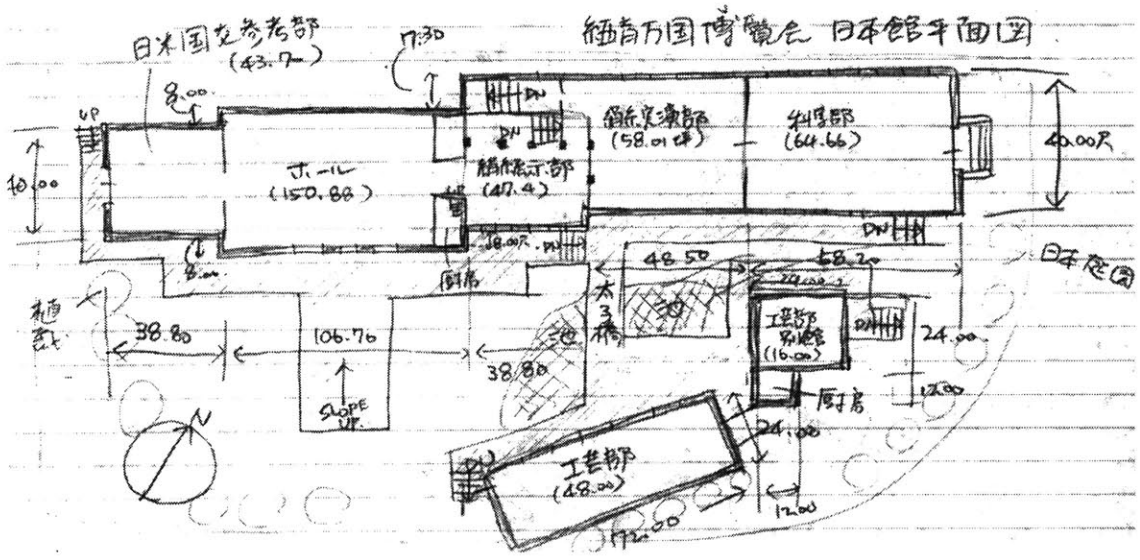


Figure 3.2 Japanese pavilion -preliminary plan (unrealized)
New York World's Fair - New York 1939/40
Architect: Hideto Kishida, Yasuo Matsui

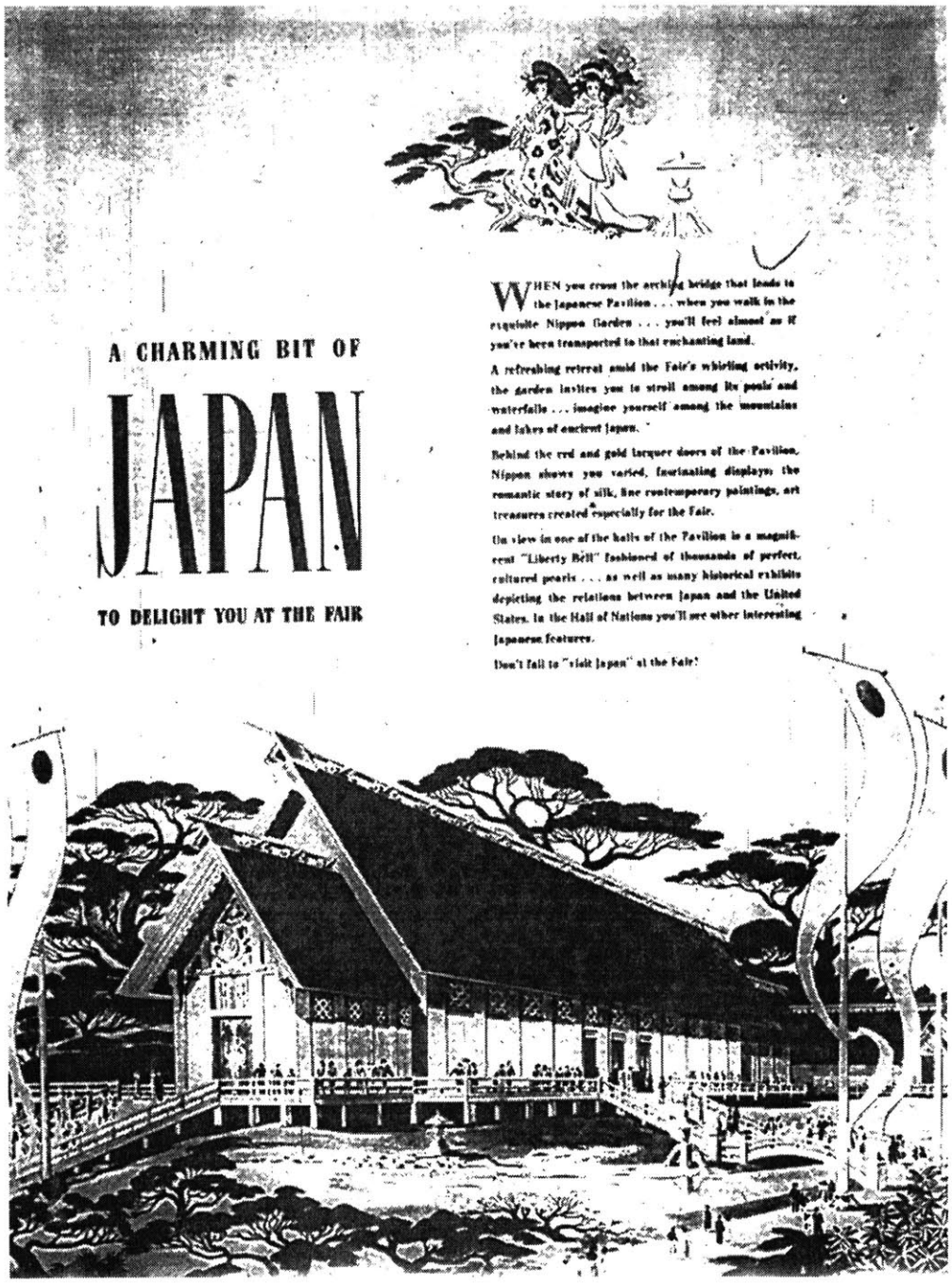


Figure 3.3 Newspaper advertisement of Japanese exhibits
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40

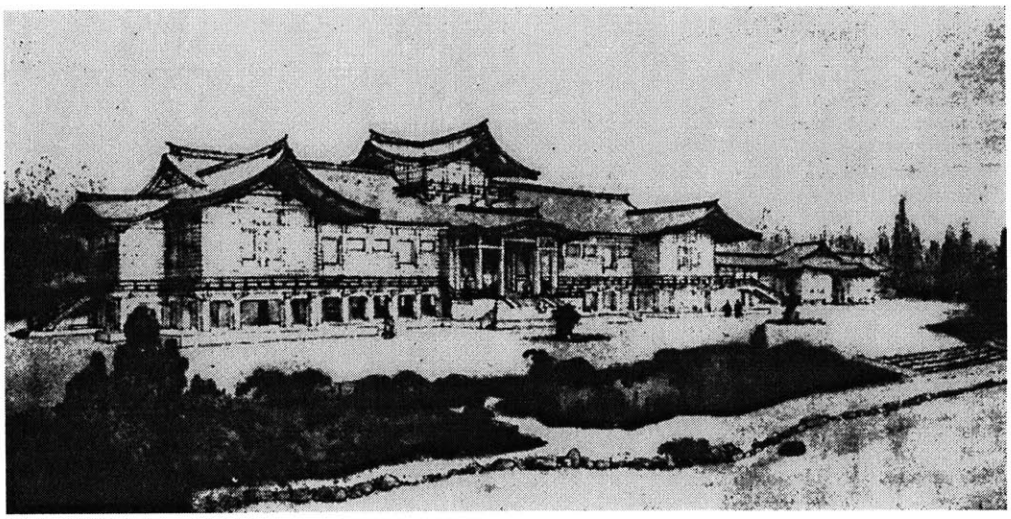


Figure 3.4 Meiji Shrine Museum - third place entry for competition, 1915
Architect: Keiji Goto

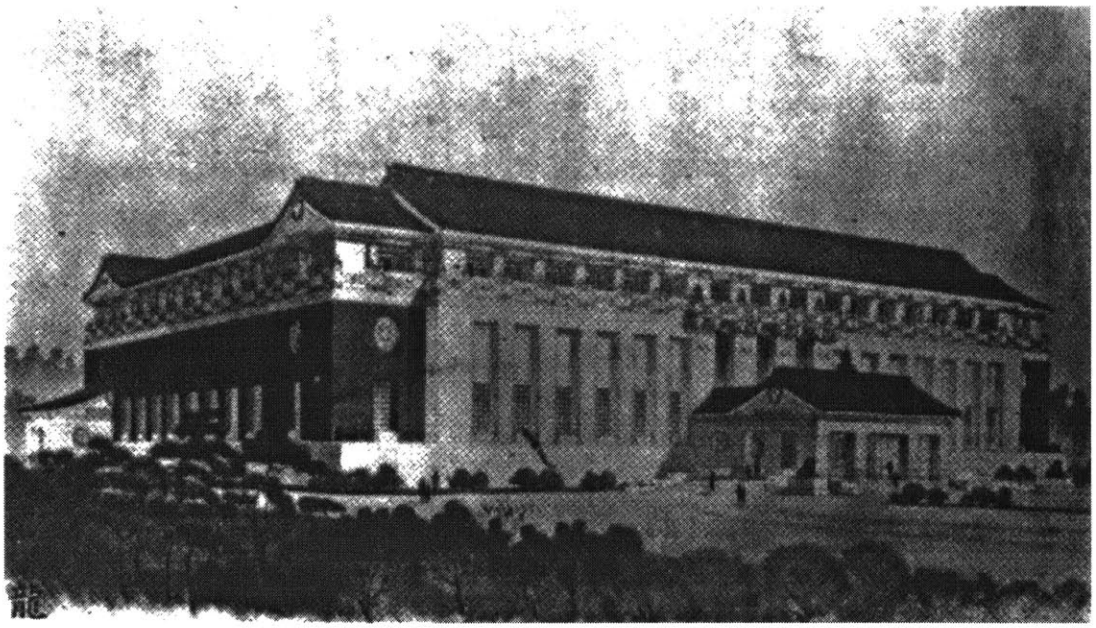


Figure 3.5 *Tokyo Teikoku Hakubutsu-kan* - winning entry for competition, 1931
Tokyo Imperial Museum
Architect: Hitoshi Watanabe

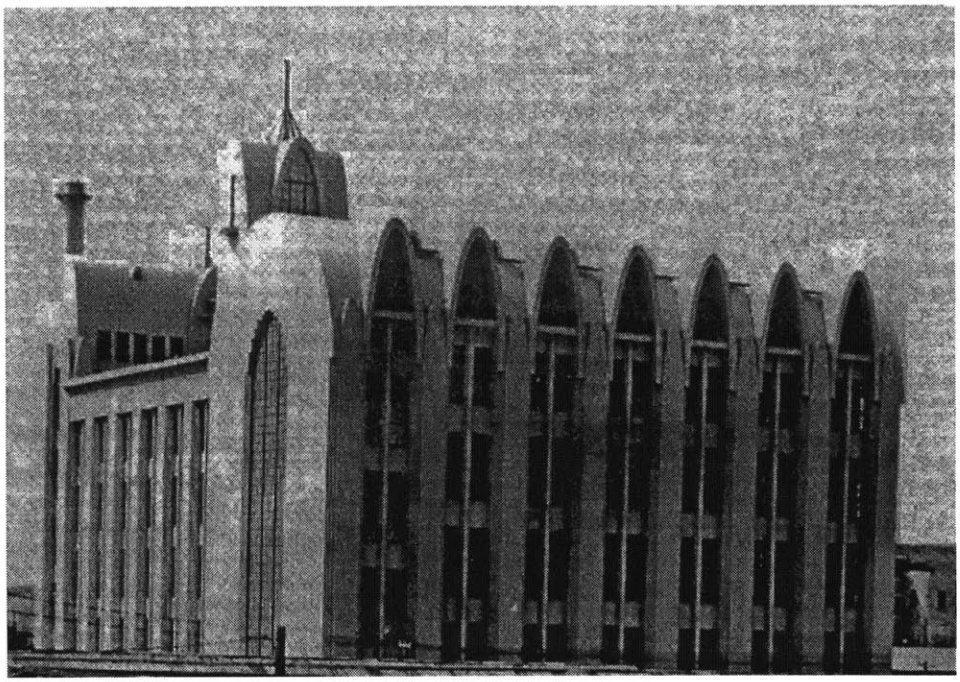


Figure 3.6 *Tokyo Chuo Denshin Kyoku*, 1927
Tokyo Central Telegraph Office
Architect: Mamoru Yamada

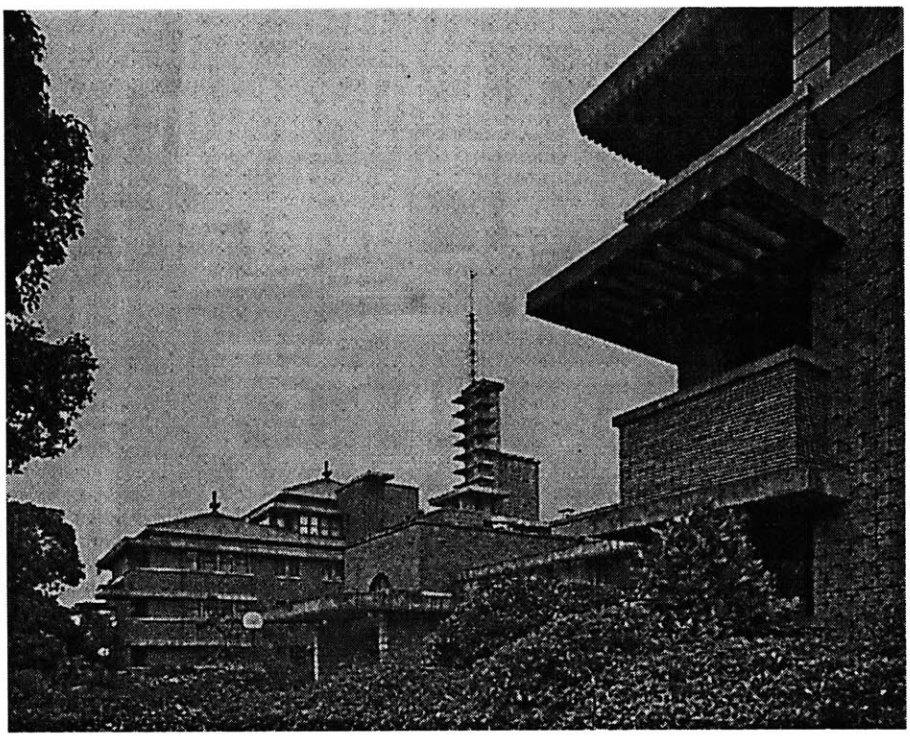


Figure 3.7 Koshien Hotel, 1930
Architect: Arata Endo

Figure 3.8 *Nihon Shika-Igaku Senmon Gakko*, 1934
Japan Dental- Medical School
Architect: Bunzo Yamaguchi

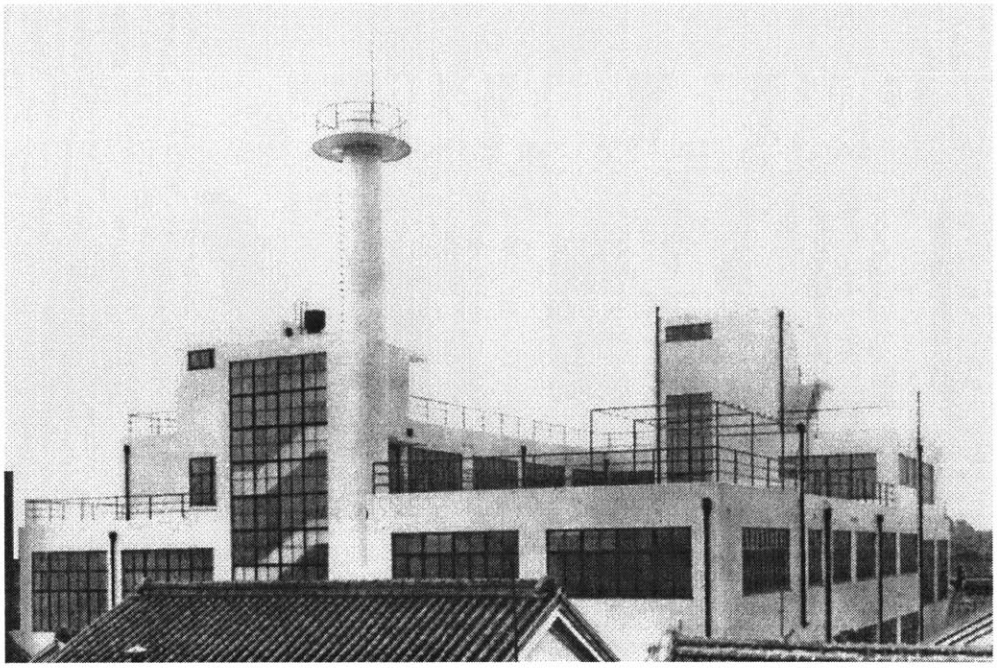


Figure 3.9 Osaka Higashi Post Office, 1931
Architect: Tetsuro Yoshida

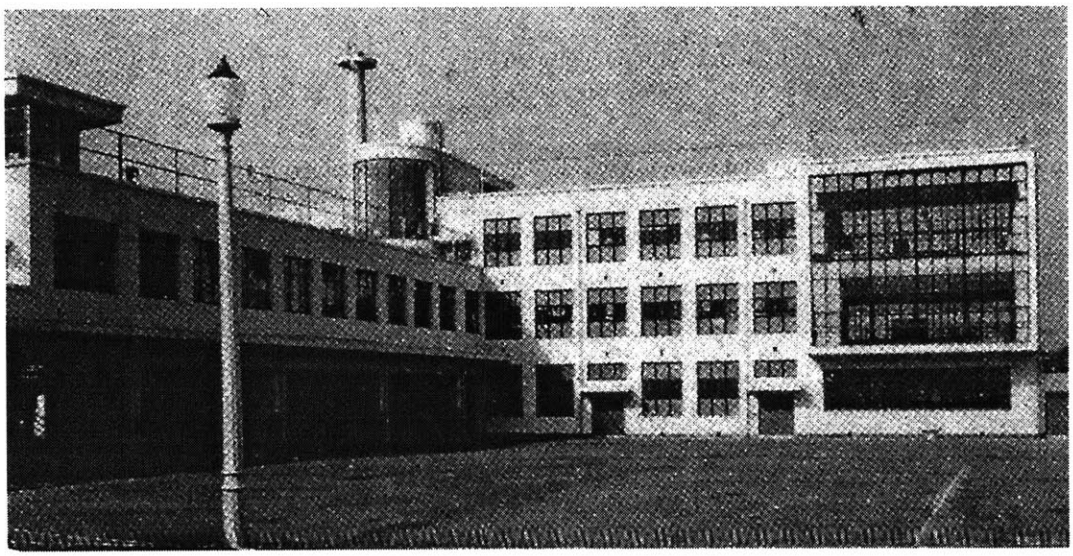


Figure 3.10 *Yotsuya Daigo Shogakko*, 1934
Yotsuya Elementary School no. 5
Architect: Ministry of Construction, city of Tokyo

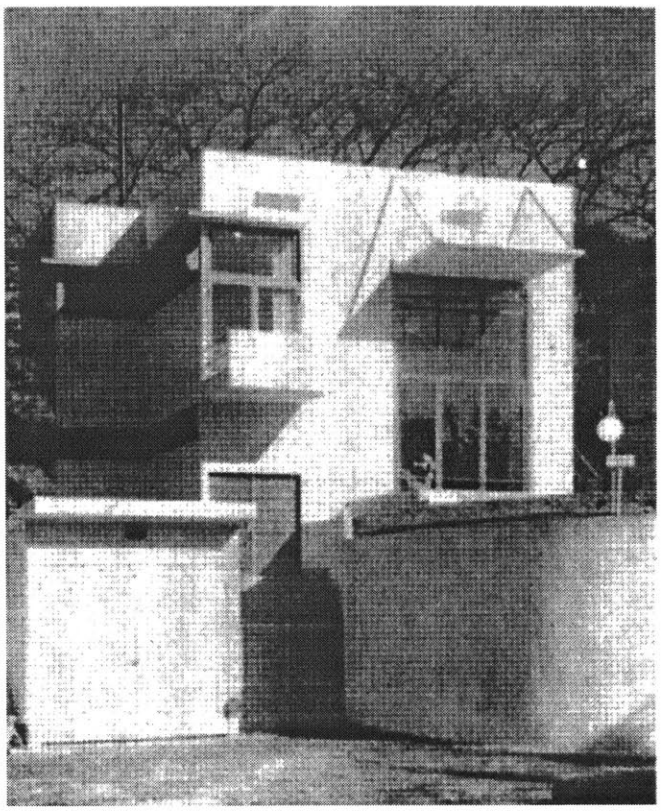


Figure 3.11 Tsuchiura Residence, 1935
Architect: Kamejo Tsuchiura

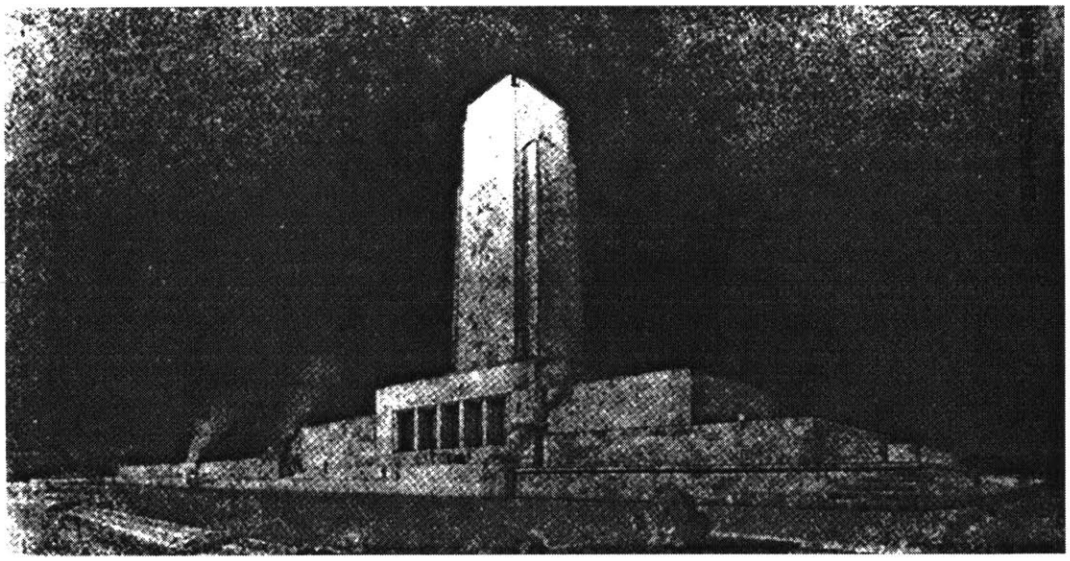


Figure 3.12 *Chureito* - winning entry for competition, 1939
Memorial for the war-dead - to be constructed in China
Architect: Masanori Kashihara

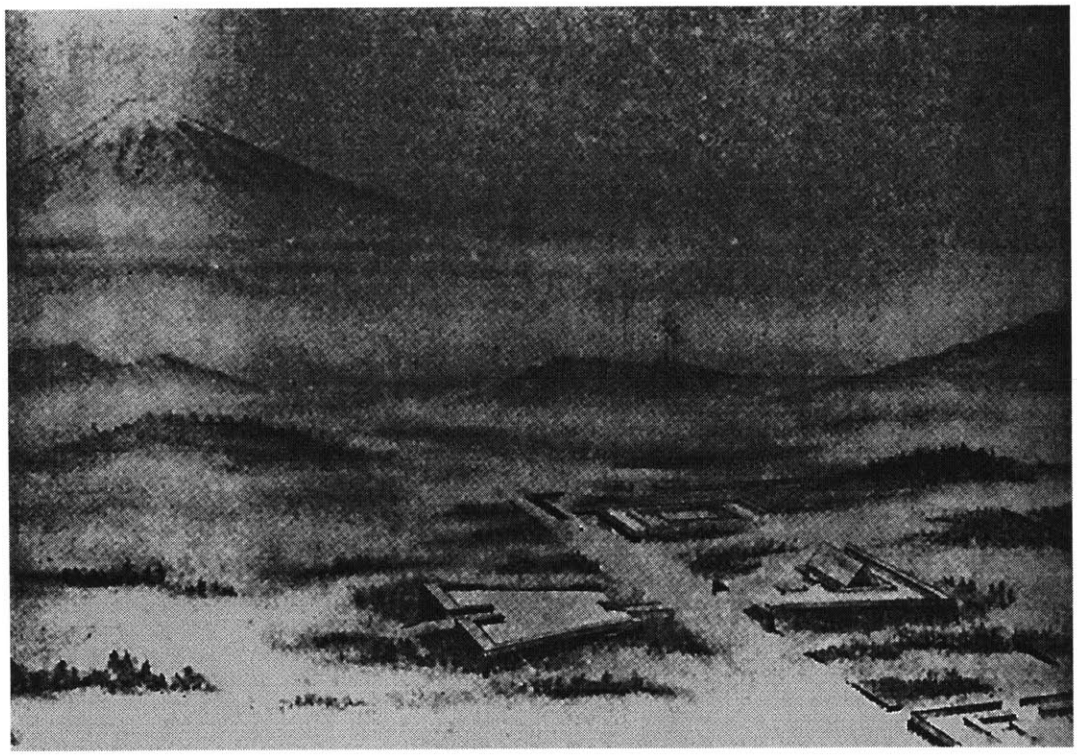


Figure 3.13 *Daito Kinen Zoeibutsu* - winning entry for competition, 1942
Commemorative Structure for Greater East Asia
Architect: Kenzo Tange

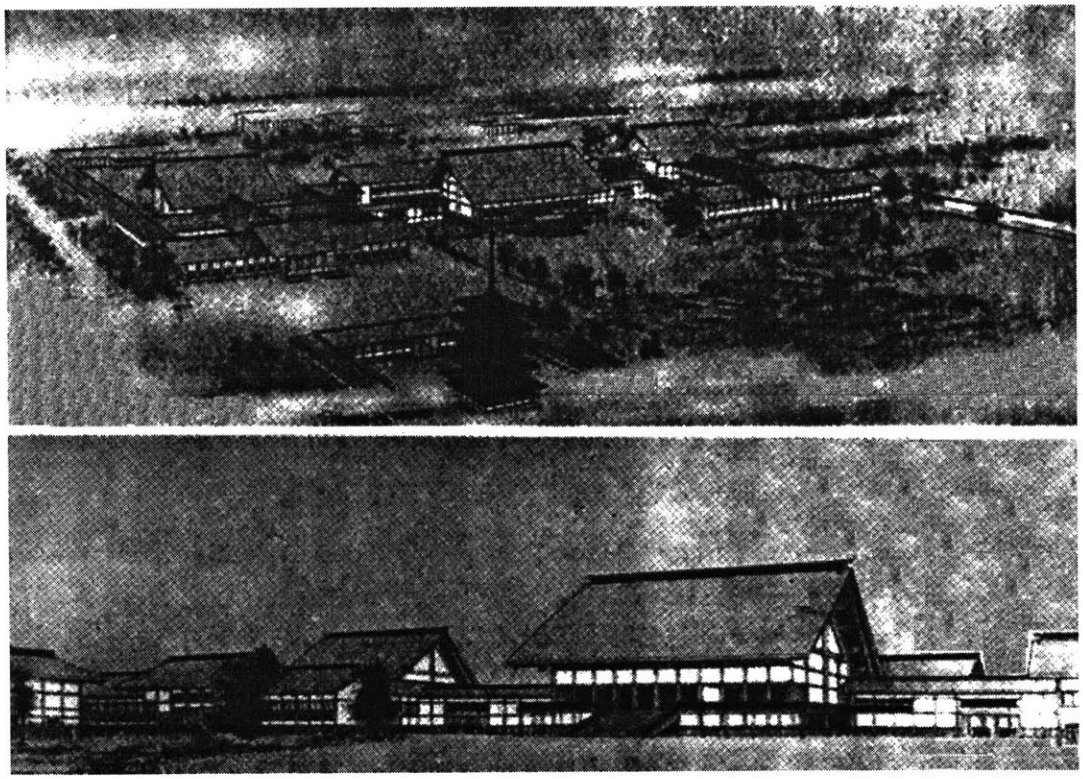


Figure 3.14 *Nichiho Bunka Kaikan* - winning entry for competition, 1944
Japan Thailand Cultural Center
Architect: Kenzo Tange

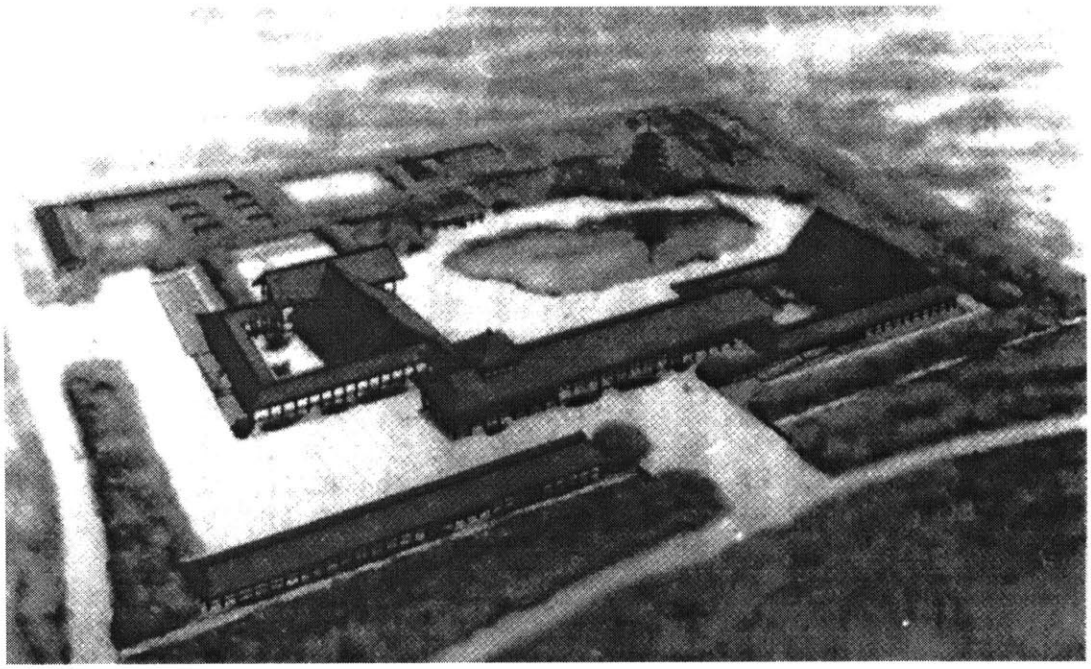


Figure 3.15 *Nichiho Bunka Kaikan* - runner up entry for the competition, 1944
Japan Thailand Cultural Center
Architect: Kunio Maekawa

IV The Construction of a War-Time National Identity

The Creation and Re-creation of image as war-time national propaganda

As we have seen, the process by which the Japanese pavilion for the New York World's Fair was created suggests the intention of the Japanese government to construct a certain image for their own country. Since Japan and the United States were not yet in an explicitly adversarial relationship, it might be audacious to assume that the pavilion and its displays were a deliberate and strategic attempt by the Japanese government to put the prospective enemy off guard. Yet, certain political intentions were more or less explicit. It is difficult to deny a deliberate intention for the presentation of exoticism behind the copy promoting a "changeless" and "timeless" Japan, given the knowledge of Japan's modern condition, or the presentation of a "fairy tale-like dream island," knowing the political situation. Yet, propaganda was most likely just one of the many reasons for the choice of the Shinto shrine as model for the pavilion, or the choice of material to display inside. Significant

attempts to present "progress" can also be perceived in the pavilion and its contents, although in a way different from the presentation in Paris. What then, was the image that Japan was trying to present to the United States? Did it want the American audience to perceive them as exotic and not-so-advanced people? Or, did it want the Americans to recognize the technological or industrial progress of the country? And how were the presentations ultimately received?

In the years succeeding the Fair, Japan and United States both constructed images of themselves, as well as of the "other" as "enemy" through media such as propaganda films and slogans. The image of the "other" was constructed by drawing upon various sources, most of which already existed as a kind of stereotype. In the United States, derogatory images of the Japanese as barbarians were embellished. Reinforced by war-time incidents, so powerful were these images that they remained in the minds of the Americans - even in the minds of those who had never experienced the war - long after peace had resumed between the countries. The emphasis in Japan, on the other hand, was on constructing self-image. The result was a dual image for Japanese: one to be presented to the enemy, and a different one to their own people, to heighten war-time spirit. These images played upon the collective consciousness of the people of the two nations, resulting in an anomalous situation characterized by an overt feeling of mutual abhorrence. The battles fought between the two countries, originally motivated by politics, were extremely aggravated by racism.[1] In the following section, I examine images of self and other created by each country, prior to and during World War II. My focus is on the process of transformation: how seemingly innocent images were infused with political intentions. Although the pavilion at the New York World's Fair may not have had any decisive influence on the American impression of Japan in the succeeding years, I propose that it

was one of the earliest examples through which the re-creation of self-image was attempted by the Japanese.

Creation: Japanese "Cultural Activities" of the 30s

Japan's dualistic construction of self-image: one for its own people, and another for its enemy, was in part due to a strong sense of uniqueness maintained even today by many Japanese. There is a common discourse that Japanese cannot be truly understood by people of a different nationality. Several reasons account for this attitude. The most obvious is geographic. As residents of an island country, the Japanese did not have much chance to interact with people of other nationalities. This is unlike the situation in Europe where countries are situated contiguously to one another, or the United States, which consists of immigrants from various nations. Foreign relations prior to the Meiji Restoration, when Japan had practiced seclusion, may be another.

Most influential, however, is a "myth" which was rediscovered by the Meiji government with the initiation of modern nationhood. Japan had put an end to a long period of national isolation in 1868, officially opening its ports to the Western countries. Engulfed by the strong influence of Westernization, a new government was initiated in Japan to replace the existing feudal society, which had been characterized by cycles of one war-lord overturning the rule of another. As the structure of the modern nation was modeled after that of a European state, a "god" to parallel the Christian God was deemed necessary. The rulers focused on the emperor, who had been neglected in the feudal years, and the long forgotten myths relating the divine origins of the imperial family. The emperor came to be celebrated as the god, with the people as his descendants. This enabled Japanese to position themselves as "superior" to the people of other countries for reasons of cultural and racial homogeneity.[2] Thus, constant reference was made to the "Japanese spirit" as an exclusive

character of the Japanese people, resulting from the "purity" of the race. With the advancement in Westernization, the Japanese desired to differentiate themselves not only from the Western nations, but also from the rest of East Asia. Increased confidence as the result of successful modernization lead them to situate themselves in a position "different from the West," but also "better than the rest of Asia."

The Society for International Cultural Relations

Throughout the 1930s, various publications on Japanese culture written by Japanese in English, or written in Japanese and translated into English, were disseminated in the United States. The Society for International Cultural Relations, one of the participants in the Committee for the New York World's Fair, sponsored a variety of English-language publications, as well as lectures, films, exhibitions, demonstrations and performances of Japanese arts in the United States. One example of such publication is *Nippon*, a quarterly journal published with texts in English, German, French and Spanish which "represent[ed] actual life and events in modern Japan."[3] [figure 4.1] Printed in color on paper with exceptional quality for the time, and with a generous amount of photographic images, the journal started publication in the summer of 1934 with articles centered around cultural themes. The articles, mostly written by Japanese, were translated into one of the four languages. Thus, the table of contents of the first volume included titles such as "In the Feminine World," "Die Prosa-Literatur in Heutigen Japan," "Moderne Architectur in Japan," "Le beaux-arts Japonais D'Aujourdhui," "Japanische Fotografen," and "Das Musikleben im Modernen Japan."[4] The texts were accompanied by photographs, mostly of artworks, women and scenery. From the first few volumes, one might receive the impression that the publication was interested in the promotion of tourism. But its emphasis shifts gradually in later years. Although culture remained one of the themes throughout,

increasing emphasis was given to international relations. In 1936, the achievements of Japan in Manchuria were introduced in an article entitled "Growing Manchukuo." In commemoration of the fourth year of the "independence" of Manchukuo, which had been realized "by the will of its thirty million people," it described a place where "sinister rule and domination of the old war lords have entirely been eradicated from the land."[5] Pictures of the railways and other industrial structures realized with the "help" of Japan accompany the article. In 1938, the "Communist Movement in China" and "The China Incident and Peculiarity of Sino-Japanese Relations" were introduced, along with an article "For the Welfare of the Far East," chronicling the military accomplishments of Japan. Photographs and words portray young Japanese soldiers departing for the battlefield, surrounded by friends and relatives celebrating the occasion. Such articles were interwoven with a depiction of music and literature, as well as various images of a peaceful nation. In 1939, two special volumes were published: volume 18 on Korea [figure 4.2] and volume 19 on Manchukuo [figure 4.3]. Both presented the rapid progress of the country accompanied by stories of how Japan had been helping the countries "establish their independence." In the inside cover of volume 18 was an ad for the tourist bureau, with much emphasis on the exotic features of the country - strikingly similar to the poster and newspaper advertisement for the Japanese pavilion at the New York World's Fair [figure 4.4].

Another example is *Contemporary Japan: a Review of Far Eastern Affairs*, published by the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan from 1932. Whereas *Nippon* was visually oriented and meant for the general public, this series was geared towards a more intellectual readership. It addressed not only the cultural aspects of the country, but also placed a strong emphasis on current social issues and international political relations. For example, the abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce by the United States was analyzed in "Estranged Relations between Japan and America,"[6] and the method for the "Readjustment

of American-Japanese Relations"[7] was explored in the next issue. Other topics dealt with delicate issues such as "The Colonization of Manchukuo"[8] and "Anti-Japanism in the United States."[9] Although the articles, written by both Japanese and non-Japanese, make no apparent claims to support either side of the parties in conflict, there exists a subtle justification of the actions taken by the Japanese government. Throughout, the language is extremely soft-spoken and non-aggressive. The content however, is strategic. In "The Colonization of Manchukuo" for example, the Japanese aggression is justified for American readers with: "Japan is no longer likely to cause annoyance either to the United States or its neighbors with her surplus population owing to the new opening that has come through the construction of a new order in East Asia."[10] The attitude of "[a]nti-Japanism in the United States" is explained to be the outcome of "personal conduct of certain sections of the Japanese Army" and had nothing to do with Japanese foreign policy itself, or the ongoing immigration problems on the West coast.[11] Similarly to the case of *Nippon*, these articles are interspersed with topics such as "The Culinary Art in Japan,"[12] "Will the Kimono Stay?"[13] and "Japanese Poetry."[14]

These publications are just a small fraction of Japanese imagery being exported overseas at the time. All through the decade, various aspects of the civilizing tradition were being disseminated in the West through a variety of media. In the case of periodicals, subscription was usually available from many countries of Europe, Asia and also the United States. Interestingly, the United States disappears from the subscription list of *Contemporary Japan* in the early 40s. In these publications, the foreign policy and overseas achievements of the country was interspersed with texts introducing the cultural side of Japan. A similar strategy of presentation can be observed in the pavilion and its displays. Both the textual and architectural presentations conceal political reality within the veil of culture.

The Pavilion and displays

The pavilions at Paris and New York are both examples of the Japanese attempt to demonstrate a modernized Japan, albeit in contrasting ways. If the pavilion designed for the Paris exposition of 1937, which had combined Japanese elements with a "modern" design, can be interpreted as an attempt to demonstrate modernity in a Japanese-like manner, the pavilion for the New York World's Fair, an integration of modern qualities and "traditional" design, might be seen as a sophisticated presentation of the Japanese situation. In terms of architectural design, the outcome of the latter cannot be said to have been as successful as the former, but as for the underlying concept, the New York pavilion was arguably the more sophisticated and historically significant. Moreover, the presentation at New York can be interpreted in two contradicting ways. There had been an attempt at a presentation of dual images: one for the Western (or the American) audience, and the other for the rest of East Asia.

The Japanese presentation at the New York World's Fair, as a whole, expressed the country's desired situation in the international context. Japan had proposed the creation of pan-Asia, a group of nations capable of facing the Western countries in an equal relationship. At the same time however, it was also interested in becoming the leader of this pan-Asian unity, with the ultimate goal of situating itself as the ruler of both East and West. As such, it was necessary to present the position of the country as more advanced than the rest of Asia, but different from the West. The 1939 pavilion was to be "a style of architecture unique to Japan, yet modernized and complemented with dramatic linear and curvilinear forms," and its exterior walls were to be modeled after those of the Kyoto Imperial Palace, which signified the noble descent of the race, but also "expressed the most

modernized form of linear beauty."[15] The same analysis is possible for the material displayed inside. The demonstration of silk production, for example, showed the progress of the industry, not through futuristic machinery as was the case of the displays in many of the theme pavilions of the Fair, but through an improved method of production. Movies depicting the cultural, educational as well as touristic characteristics of Japan were shown in the Japanese garden with "a new type of movie projector assembled for this show," which was "the first daylight screen expected to be shown to the public."[16] The reproduction of the Liberty Bell in pearls, which "dramatizes the pearl culture industry which today employs 1,000 people in Japan and sets out annually about 3,000,000 oysters" was an attempt to illustrate the prospering industry of pearl culture.[17] This strategy might be described as "modern but also traditional," or "advanced but also backward."[18]

One of the ways in which the Japanese exhibits attempted the presentation of a peaceful nation was by placing emphasis upon feminine characteristics: demonstrations by women as well as displays which were meant to appeal to female visitors. As described in the following excerpt from the news release by the Japanese Commission to the New York World's Fair, much emphasis was placed on art, culture and domesticity:

> Japanese pavilion oasis in midst of World's Fair
> A quiet sanctuary of green shrubbery and rippling stream, shady verandah and cool quiet rooms, the Japanese Pavilion at the World's Fair, with its pretty tea ceremonies and artistic flower arrangements, presents a particular appeal to women fair visitors. Its exhibits, based mainly on the cultural and artistic, rather than the industrial side of Japanese life, the Pavilion is planned to introduce to American women the charming and traditional rites of the Japanese household. (April 5, 1939)[19]

Many demonstrations of cultural activities also took place in the Japanese pavilion. Following are some more excerpts from the same source, describing these events:

Forty girls in Japanese procession
Forty Japanese girls attired in vivid kimonos will march in the procession marking the opening of the Japanese Pavilion. The girls, all residents of New York City, will also participate in the ceremonies held in the Pavilion's garden. (April 27, 1939)

Sand portraiture demonstrated at New York World's Fair
One of Japan's oldest arts, sand portraiture or "Bonseki" will be demonstrated ... Upon glossy black lacquered trays and plaques covered with a thin layer of sand almost as fine as talcum ... Japanese scenes, with a few deft strokes of a feather brush. (July 14, 1939)

Scenic Japan represented in flower arrangement
(July 25, 1939)

Japanese pavilion's miniature silk factory manufactures more than fifty pounds of silk
The demonstrations ... are given in the Silk Room, a narrow section of the pavilion equipped as a miniature factory, with two reeling machines, a re-reeling machine and a boiling vat, in which cocoons are dipped to loosen the delicate filaments. Two girls, selected from thousand of expert silk operators in Japan, operate the machines and illustrate step by step, the methods by which cocoon fibers are converted into raw silk. (July 27, 1939)[20]

Some articles emphasize the "tradition" of "friendly relations" between the two countries, and the celebration of the United States as the guiding figure for the modernization of Japan:

Historic telegraph key to be shown for the first time at official opening of Japanese Pavilion at New York World's Fair
An original telegraph transmitting and recording instrument made by Samuel F.B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, and presented to Japan by Commodore Perry in 1854 as a gift from President Millard Fillmore, will be exhibited for the first time on Saturday (May 6) at the dedication of the Japanese Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. (May 4, 1939)[21]

The inclusion of materials related to Commodore Perry had initially raised controversial opinions in Japan. At a meeting for the discussion of the material to display at the fair, comments are made that it might be regarded as a "national disgrace."[22] Others observed to the contrary that such material might be considered "useful for the acknowledgment of the contributions made by the United States for the progress of our country."[23]

Also included were attempts to reconcile the harsh feelings which had previously emerged in the controversy over the importation of Japanese workers and construction materials:

> Japanese Pavilion ready for opening
> Speedy completion of the building and the classic Japanese garden, the [Japanese] officials said, was due to the splendid cooperation of the unions handling the work. Expressions of gratitude were being forwarded to the unions, the officials added. (April 27, 1939)[24]

Prior to the Fair, discussion on what should be the character of the Japanese exhibits had taken place in both countries. While the Plans for Participation in the New York World's Fair conceived by the Japanese government called for displays which "fully appeal to the qualities of 'scientific Japan' and 'modern Japan,'"[25] the Advisory Committee on the Far East in New York was suggesting that, since the scientific and industrial progress of Japan was "so far behind our own and that of European nations as to be wholly uninteresting and undramatic ... American interest in Far East industrial progress would be negligible." Thus the Americans concluded that "indigenous exhibits such as Chinese rugs and Japanese porcelain" would be more appropriate as the exhibits of the Far Eastern countries.[26]

A comparison between the suggestions made in the discussion on the American side and what was actually presented suggests, that in the eyes of the American visitors, the pavilion was not in any way more modern than those presented at previous fairs, and the

exhibits were received the same way in which the craft works of bamboo and lacquer were perceived when they were presented at expositions in the nineteenth century. The presentation may have merely reinforced the preconceived image held by the Americans.

In the framework of pan-Asian thinking, however, the traditional or "Oriental" presentation was progressive. Rather than imitating "things Western" as had always been the case, Japan attempted to supersede the West by promoting "things Oriental," by demonstrating the modern state of "things Oriental."

Nevertheless, it would not have sufficed to make a purely "Oriental" presentation based on traditional material. As the "leader" of the East Asian countries, Japan also had to demonstrate a modernized condition through progress in technology. Here was a dilemma. The country justified its leadership position through its advanced technological state when compared to the other East Asian countries. But its technology had been acquired from the Western countries. In its new contradictory position to the West, the country could not emphasize this newly acquired knowledge and skill. Thus the confusing presentation of both "traditional" and "modern." Desirable was a presentation of a modernity unique to Japan, and "tradition" was the key to the Japanese uniqueness. Throughout the course of modernization in Japan, constant reference to, or obsession with tradition can be seen in many cultural and academic fields, particularly associated with the discussion of national identity. Tradition, in the minds of Japanese thinkers, was a concept most easily accepted as the unique quality of their nation. A modernity unique to Japan could only be realized through the harmonious relationship between the seemingly contradictory notions of modernity and tradition. Architecturally, this was realized by the concealment of technology under "traditional" style.

The results of such endeavor could only be seen as "Oriental" or "exotic" in the eyes of the Western audience. The progress in technology which might have been involved in the construction of the pavilion did not make any difference in the Western context as long as its physical qualities took after a traditional structure. Similarly, the technological progress involved in the creation of photo montage or the presentation of films with projectors using the latest technology did not work in any way to alter the existing images held by the American people, as long as the content of the presentation was culturally oriented. If anything, it may have added grist to the Americans' mill for the reinforcement of their stereotypical images of the Japanese people. With the intensification of the international relationship between the two countries, these stereotypical images were eventually politically transformed. Thus the "Oriental" image was used and distorted by the Americans for the construction of the image of the "Japanese-as-enemy."

Re-creation: pre-war images

While the Japanese were creating their own images, the Americans were also endeavoring to create a Japanese image. This is not an exclusive war-time phenomenon, nor is it limited to the relationship between Japan and the United States. The classic example is the creation of the "Orient" in the Islamic countries by European Orientalist painters and writers.[27] Even in the absence of specific interests, it is natural for one to create an image of a far-away country from indirect knowledge. Images of the "other" country had existed in both America and Japan long before the outbreak of the war or the opening of this particular World's Fair.

The pre-war knowledge by Americans of Japanese was mostly cultural, and became popular through *Japonisme*. [28] International expositions played a major role in the

popularity of Japonisme in the European countries as well as the United States. As compared to European Japonisme, which was mainly limited to the fields of arts and crafts, the American counterpart extended into diverse fields such as literature, architecture, music and fashion. Whereas European familiarity with Japan was through two dimensional examples such as painting and prints, the American introduction to Japanese culture was three dimensional and domestic, mainly through world's fairs. There had been earlier contact with the material culture of Japan via American travelers. The earliest recorded was in the 1790s when the Americans attempted to replace the Dutch in trade relations with Japan. In 1854, Commodore Perry ventured out to Japan, again for trade reasons. This was followed by subsequent visits by Perry to Japan, and a visit of a Japanese mission to the United States in 1860. Perry, who was presented at the Fair as the father figure of Japanese modernization, is indeed often regarded as having introduced Western culture to Japan. Nevertheless, it is not until the Japanese participation in world's fairs that the culture was introduced according to a plan officially conceived by the Japanese.

The fairs played a particularly significant role in the introduction of Japanese architecture, gardening, and interior design into American culture.[29] At the Centennial International Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia, which was the occasion for the first well-rounded presentation of Japanese culture, the construction of the Japanese pavilion by carpenters sent from Japan captured the interest of the Americans.[30] The Japanese pavilion exhibited at the Worlds Columbian Exposition in Chicago of 1893 - the only pavilion, with the exception of the grand prix pavilion at Paris, to make a complementary appearance in Japanese architectural magazines - is said to have influenced American architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Greene & Greene.

Other influences may be observed in fields other than architecture. For example, kimono, the traditional costume of Japan, was commonly worn by upper class women as

salon outfits in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the same period, the story of Madame Butterfly, the romantic tragedy of a Japanese woman, was influential in evoking interest in Japanese culture in Europe and the United States.[31] However, both these examples were modified or altered to enable better reception in the Western context. In the case of the kimono, the design underwent many alterations to suit the physique and lifestyle of Western women, to a point where the term "kimono" was no longer associated with its original Japanese costume.[32] Madame Butterfly was also successively modified. Theatrical and opera versions were produced which emphasized the exotic characteristics, to better accordance with existing images of Japan. Together with the ornaments, fashion and music introduced on stage, the stereotypical image of the "exotic" Japan and the Japanese woman as "naive" "obedient" and "submissive," were created among the Western audience. These images, however, were by no means negative.

Alteration, Distortion, and Manipulation

The American view of Japan started to change in the late 1920s when troubling issues arose in the international relations between the two countries. The culture of Japan was no longer welcomed and celebrated as had been earlier. Rather, the image of Japan, present in the mind of Americans was gradually altered, distorted, and ultimately manipulated. The following section will examine some examples of how the original images were altered for various reasons: out of a lack of knowledge, to enable better reception, for practical purposes, and for political interests. It must be noted here that in some cases, the original image which was drawn upon as the base for such transformation was already been distorted to begin with. The self-image that the Japanese conveyed westward, particularly in the 1930s, was mostly a part of the cultural propaganda of the country.

For example, the "naive" and "submissive" image of Madame Butterfly was recreated into the image of the Japanese as "a people with a compulsive death wish." Various aspects of traditional culture, which the Japanese themselves had consciously introduced to the West as a way of promoting a non-aggressive image, were also subject to re-creation. That the cultural activities well-received by the West as "exotic" were usually feminine functioned as reinforcement of the kind of image Americans wished to create of the Japanese. Cultural activities seen at the Fair, such as flower arrangement and tea ceremony, as well as artworks, crafts such as porcelain and lacquer merely reinforced the stereotypical image of Japan as "a little country with a shallow cultural heritage."[33] That the architecture of Japan, as introduced in fairs, was mainly modeled after edifices from periods already past, conformed with the image of the country as one whose technology was not as advanced as the West, inviting Western focus on ornamental aspects. The selection of such building types was inevitable, for as capable as Japan was at construction with steel and concrete, a presentation without Western influence was more desirable. That the invasion by Japan took place not in the independent countries of South East Asia, but in areas already colonized under Western power, was interpreted as imitative of Western undertakings. The underlying ideology of pan-Asianism, supported by the Japanese aspiration to "salvage" the rest of Asia from Western imperialism, was taken with little seriousness by Americans.

Might the Japanese presentation at the New York World's Fair have been interpreted in a similar way by the American audience? The overall "traditional" characteristic may have been taken as old fashioned, backward, or less advanced. The Shinto shrine as the model of the pavilion, which, for the Japanese at the time, was a signification of the "purity of the race," their national religion, as well as the emperor-as-god, may have reinforced the impression of the Japanese as "ritualistic rather than rationalistic" - an inconsistent people,

ruled by an emperor who was a god and a military leader at the same time. The emphasis on the feminine, which was another characteristic of the display at the Fair, may have made Japanese appear to have childish, immature, and unsophisticated characteristics. Unlike the pavilion and most of the displays, which had been largely ignored by the Japanese architectural community, the photo montage, proudly displayed as a new technology in Japan, was introduced and reviewed in many Japanese architectural journals of the time. The repetitive presentation of the same image however, may have merely substantiated the Western image of "people devoid of individual identity" or "obedient subjects" who had been mass produced.[34]

Prior to and during the war, films for propagandistic purposes were created in many countries, at times to be distributed to the Army, and other times to be shown in public theaters. One such example was *Know Your Enemy - Japan*, a propaganda film produced by Frank Capra, a Hollywood director, on the order of Army Chief of Staff George C. Marshall. It was one in a series of orientation films for American troops. Although the film itself was not actually used in the way originally intended due to its late completion (August 9, 1945 - less than a week before the Japanese surrender), the script had been drafted in June 1942. This film is exceptionally evocative since it drew extensively on original Japanese sources, from conventional newsreels and captured Japanese propaganda films, to samurai movies and domestic dramas from the 1930s. From these disparate sources, images relevant to the message to be conveyed were picked out, juxtaposed, or presented in a sequence to create the desired impression. Taking place here was the abstraction from images representing historical incidents (newsreels) and fictional scenarios (films, movies, and dramas), combination of the abstracted images, resulting in the re-creation of images

into those capable of transmitting entirely different messages. The effect of the messages was enhanced by the visual as well as audio qualities of the medium.

A similar process of re-creation occurred in the creation and the reception of a national pavilion or display. National pavilions at international expositions can be considered concise presentation of national images, usually created in a style easily associated with the stereotypical image of the country. The resulting style, in the case of the Japanese pavilion at most fairs and expositions, was eclectic: drawing from various sources, architectural elements were chosen which would most effectively appeal to an audience looking to satisfy their already formulated idea of Japanese-ness. The image transmitted, in the case of a national pavilion, is all the more convincing since it is created by the people of the presenting country. The opportunity to observe the pavilion and its displays directly, and not as images in the form of photographs and films, adds authenticity to the experience.

Yet pavilions are, in reality, man-made images created in a way similar to the propaganda films. National pavilions are usually created to fulfill certain needs or accomplish certain interests: favorable reception; promotion of trade (selection of materials for display as commodities); manifestation of technological progress; and demonstration of power, to name a few examples. In the case of this particular fair, there were specific interests and intentions on the side of the presenter, especially the promotion of a peaceful, non-aggressive image. Also present were the intentions on the side of the receiver, which resulted in the re-creation of images into those which would conform to an already existing, and gradually worsening picture of Japan.

In national pavilions, the displays exist in a situation out of context (the home country) with no one to explain or justify them. Similar to the creation process of

propaganda films, which are the abstraction of historical facts and the addition of new layers of interpretation, actual objects and people in action (demonstrations) are displayed out of their original context in a foreign land. Thus all that is displayed is open to free interpretation. In this sense, the reception of the same material will totally differ according to the relationship between the observer and the observed (the hosting and the participating country).

Depending on the international situation, it is possible for a positive self-image created by one country to be "singled out for ridicule and condemnation by the other."[35] As such, the cultural propaganda by the Japanese was interpreted by the Americans in a way that only worsened the image of Japan. Under the influence of war time contention, the images transmitted westward from Japan were further distorted to create the Japanese as "subhuman," "primitive," "childish" people with "mental and emotional deficiency." This was cunningly undertaken visually by caricatures and propaganda films, verbally through expressions such as "yellow" and "Japs," and scientifically by "biological determinism" which supposedly proved the inherent inferiority of the non-white people. So effective were these re-creations that they even resulted in American underestimation of Japanese military power.[36]

The subtlety of the Japanese presentation of their desired situation, as a pavilion using Western technology but designed after traditional architecture, and as a series of displays presenting the "traditional" culture of Japan using the latest technology, was not recognized by either the Japanese modernist architects nor the American audience. Or, was chosen to be ignored. Perhaps the nature of the event, the World's Fair - which suggests the exhibition of commodities - had focused the viewers on *what* was presented rather than

how it was presented. Perhaps the theme pavilions, with streamlined form and fluorescent lighting, designed in compliance with the futuristic theme of the fair, had in turn put an emphasis on the old-fashioned features of the Japanese presentation. The presentation of a "fairy-tale-like dream island" could not enchant the visitors so much as the magical atmosphere of the fair produced by the dramatic lighting, ingenious color-patterns, and spectacular fireworks. Tea ceremonies and flower arrangements were not so entertaining as the various amusement attractions and shows performed every day at the Fair. The panorama of Mount Fuji or the jeweled replica of the Liberty Bell could not fascinate the fair goers so much as the "Democracity," the city of the future contained within the symbol of the Fair, the Perisphere. The Japanese pavilion at the New York World's Fair was severely criticized or ignored in Japan, and hardly made an appearance in the numerous publications on the Fair in the United States.

---

[1]My argument concerning the construction of various identities draws heavily on John W. Dower's *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), which terms the war in the Pacific a "race war," one in which racial discrimination played a large role in legitimizing violence.

[2]In reality, the Japanese are not a homogeneous race. Some examples of non-Japanese descent of the race are Koreans and Ainu, both of which, unfortunately, have been - and still are - the subjects of cruel discrimination.

[3]This journal was published from 1934 to 1941 by Nippon Kobo publishing department in Tokyo, Japan.

[4]From the table of contents of *Nippon*, vol. 1, summer 1934. "Moderne Architectur in Japan" was written by Ken Ichiura, the modernist architect who had been critical of the traditional proposal for the pavilion for the Paris Exposition of 1937. Other architectural contributions were often made by noted architects and historians of the time. Bruno Taut was among the contributors.
Most of the articles had summaries as translation in all four languages at the end of each issue.

[5]*Nippon*, vol. 8 summer 1936, 42-43.

[6]Article by Satoru Hasegawa in *Contemporary Japan: a Review of Far Eastern Affairs*, Vol. IX, No. 2, February 1940,149-159.

[7]Article by Katsuji Debuchi in *Contemporary Japan*, Vol. IX, No. 3, March 1940, 237-246.

[8]Article by Teiji Tsubokami in *Contemporary Japan*, Vol. VIII, No. 5, July 1939, 589-598.

[9]Article by Frank H. Hedges in *Contemporary Japan*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, June 1939, 494-503.

[10]*Contemporary Japan*, Vol. VIII, No. 5, July 1939, 590.

[11]*Contemporary Japan*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, June 1939, 502.

[12]Article by Kumpei Takeuchi in *Contemporary Japan*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, May 1939, 396-409.

[13]Article by Wajiro Kon in *Contemporary Japan*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, March 1939, 92-113.

[14]Article by Asataro Miyamori in *Contemporary Japan*, Vol. IX, No. 5, May 1940, 568-675.

[15]DRO: Correspondence from Wakasugi to Hirota, on the basic policy of the pavilion and garden design; dated February 19,1938.

[16]NYPL: Box 101; File P0.3. Japan, Foreign Participation. From the description of Japanese Pavilion and its displays formulated by the Department of Public Policy for New York World's Fair 1939.
The title of the movies shown are as follows:

"Glimpse of Japan" - travelogue
"Melodies of Japan" - travelogue
"School Days of Japan" - education
"Silk Worm of Japan" - educational
"Symphonic Sketch of Tokio" - travelogue

All were shown with sound in 35mm film, and were 35 minutes long.

[17]NYPL: Box 101; File P0.3. Japan, Foreign Participation. From the description of Japanese Pavilion and its displays formulated by the Department of Public Policy for New York World's Fair 1939.

[18]Cultural anthropologist Ruth Benedict made a similar observation about the Japanese people in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword.* The book was based on her research of Japanese people conducted in the United States in 1944 for the American government, and remained the canonical text for the study of Japanese people for a considerable length of time. She claimed that the Japanese "have been described in the most fantastic series of 'but also's' ever used for any nation of the world. (unprecedentedly polite, but also insolent and overbearing, for example)" She describes the Japanese as "to the highest degree, both aggressive and unaggressive, both militaristic and aesthetic, both insolent and polite, rigid and adaptable, submissive and resentful of being pushed around...." From Chapter 1, "Assignment: Japan" in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946).

[19]NYPL: Box 101; File P0.3 Japan, Foreign participation.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]From the minutes of the meeting on the displays for the New York World's Fair. Dated June 14, 1938.

[23]Ibid.

[24]NYPL: Box 101; File P0.3 Japan, Foreign participation.

[25]DRO: date unknown.
Filed chronologically between correspondences dated June 14, 1938 and June 22, 1938.

[26]NYPL: Box 352; File PR2.01. Far East Advisory Sub-Committee, Foreign Participation Advisory Committee, Public Relations. From the minutes of "Meeting of the Advisory Sub-Committee on the Far East" of February 4, 1937.

[27]The method in which Orientalist artists and writers had constructed the "exotic Oriental world" by the creation of temporal and spatial distance, is discussed in detail by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

[28]The origin of Japonisme dates to the year 1867, when *Exposition Universelle* was held in Paris. Arts and crafts exhibited by Japan stimulated the interest of the Parisians, who either collected the Japanese objects as connoisseurs, or integrated the characteristics into their own works as artists. The term itself was used for the first time in 1872 by the French art critic Philippe Burty to "designate a new field of study - artistic, historic, and ethnographic..." Artists such as James Whistler, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet and Vincent Van Gogh have expressed their admiration in their own artworks; Emile Zola, painted by Manet surrounded by Japanese objects, is well known to have been an avid collector of Japanese prints.
For the history of French Japonisme, see for example, *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910* by Gabriel P. Weisberg, Phillip Dennis Cafe and Gerald Needham (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975). American Japonisme is discussed in detail in *America no Japonisme: Bijutsu Kogei wo koeta Nihon Shiko* (Japonisme in America: Japanese influence beyond arts and crafts) by Sanehide Kodama (Tokyo: Chuko Shinsho, 1995). A text in English is written by Clay Lancaster titled *The Japanese Influence in America* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1983), although Lancaster's discussion is focused more on the field of architecture and interior design.

[29]The first fair in the United States that Japan participated in was the Industrial Exhibition of 1871 held in San Francisco. Merchants were called upon by the Japanese government to make contributions for the display. However, this fair was not officially recognized as an international exposition.

[30]Unlike the construction method typically used in the Western countries, where the framework of the building rests on masonry foundations, the Japanese pavilion was built by first driving posts into the earth with a heavy hammer mounted on a tripod. Although the construction method itself was never popularized in the United States, the formal and ornamental qualities such as the gabled roof, superimposed porches (verandah), use of posts, low ceilings and large windows appeared often, particularly in residential architecture. On the interior, ad-hoc introduction of Japanese-like decorations and extensive use of lacquered wood were popularly adopted. However, the elements introduced here were not necessarily Japanese. Anything which seemed exotic and related to Eastern culture was welcomed. It cannot be concluded that this style of residential architecture was a result of Japanese influence, for residences built around the same time in Japan with similar style, are often regarded as the outcome of Western influence.
For the influence of Japanese pavilions on American residences, see for example, Clay Lancaster, *The Japanese Influence in America.* The residences on the Japanese side which are said to have been the outcome of Western influence are discussed in detail by Terunobu Fujimori, in *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku vol. 1 (Meiji)* (Modern architecture in Japan) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993).

[31]Originally written as a novel by John Luther Long in 1898, it was transformed into a Broadway show in 1900 by a renowned playwright and producer, David Belasco, and then achieved world-wide fame through the opera created by Giacomo Puccini in 1904. The theatrical versions place an emphasis on the tragic death of Madame Butterfly and totally ignores the difficulties and misunderstanding arising between the couple due to cultural differences.

[32]The transformation of kimono is discussed in detail by Kodama in the chapter "America no fukushoku no naka no Japonisme (Japonisme in the American fashion)," *America no Japonisme*, 11-46.

[33]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 97.

[34]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 19-21.

[35]Dower, *War without Mercy*, 28.

[36]The recreation of image is discussed extensively by Dower in *War without Mercy*

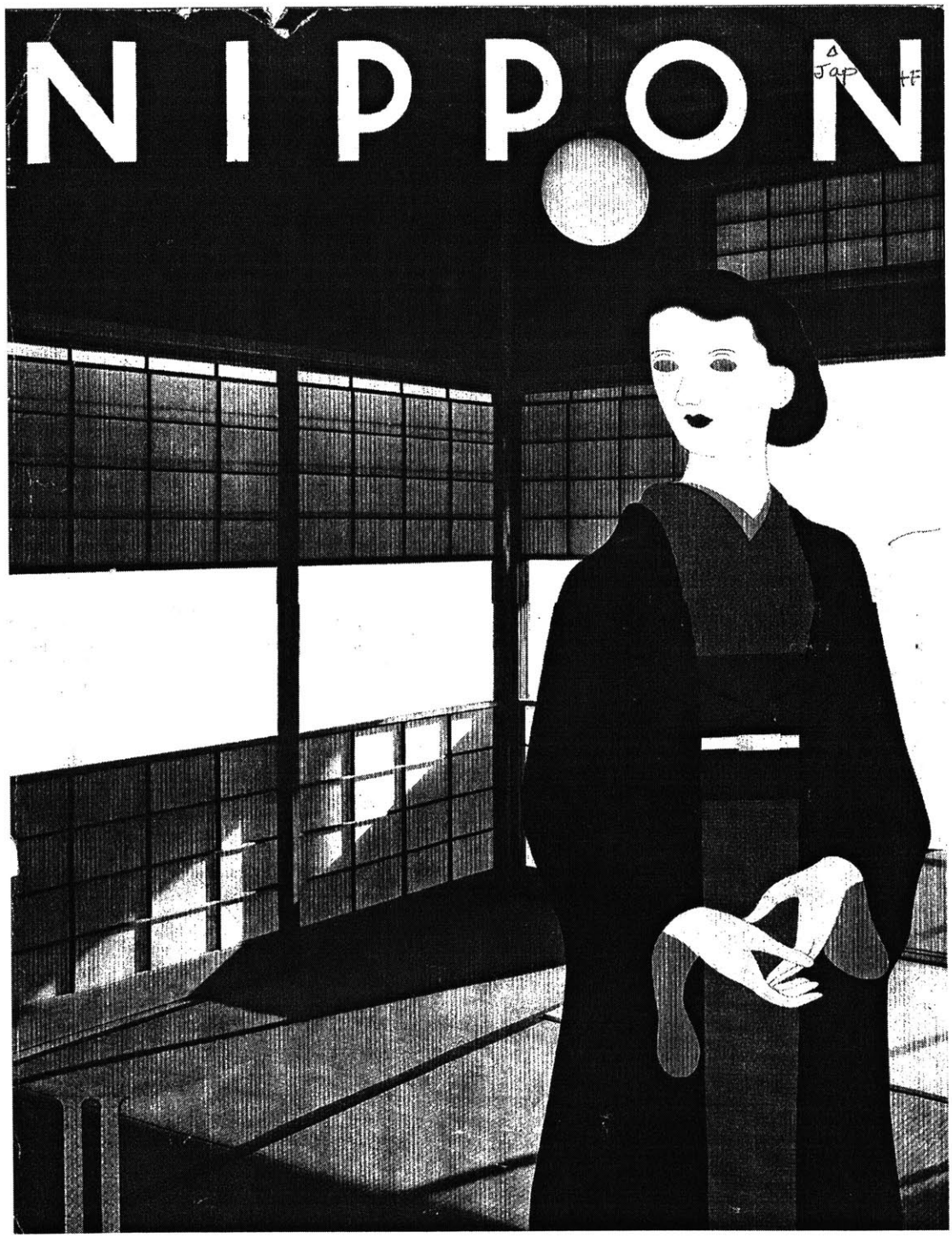


Figure 4.1 Cover of *Nippon*, vol. 2, fall -1934

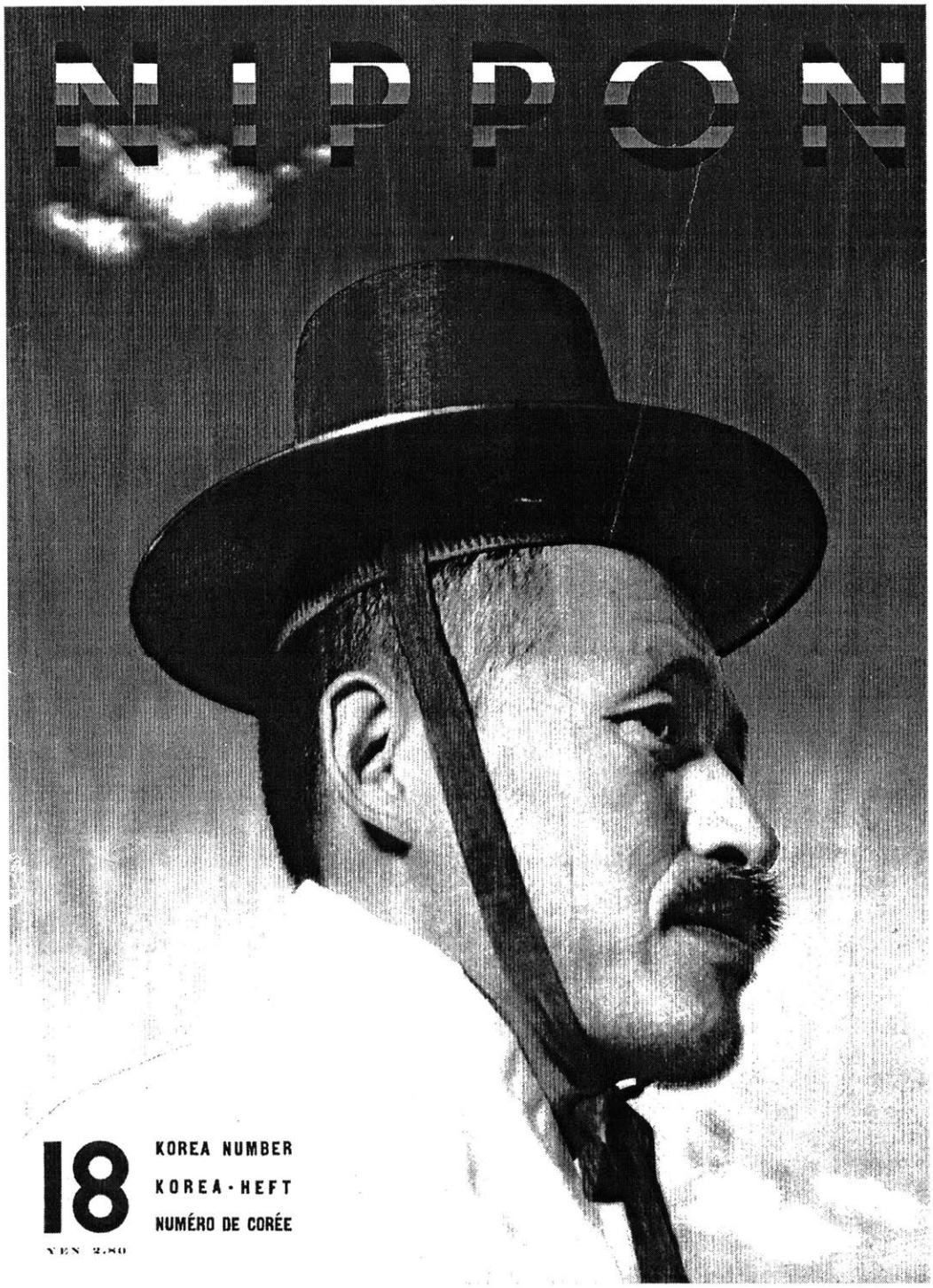


Figure 4.2 Cover of *Nippon*, vol. 18, fall - 1939

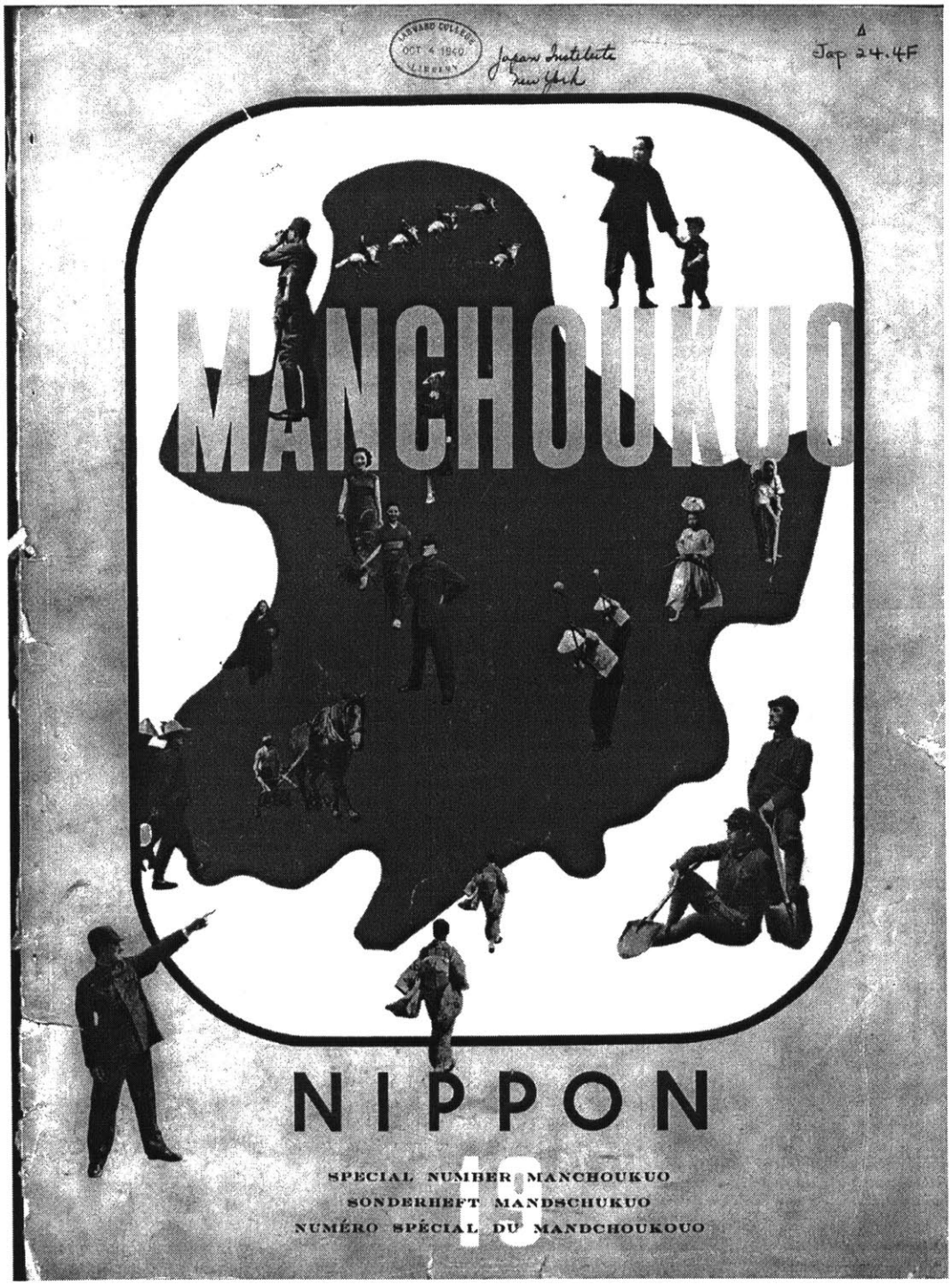


Figure 4.3 Cover of *Nippon*, vol. 19, winter - 1939

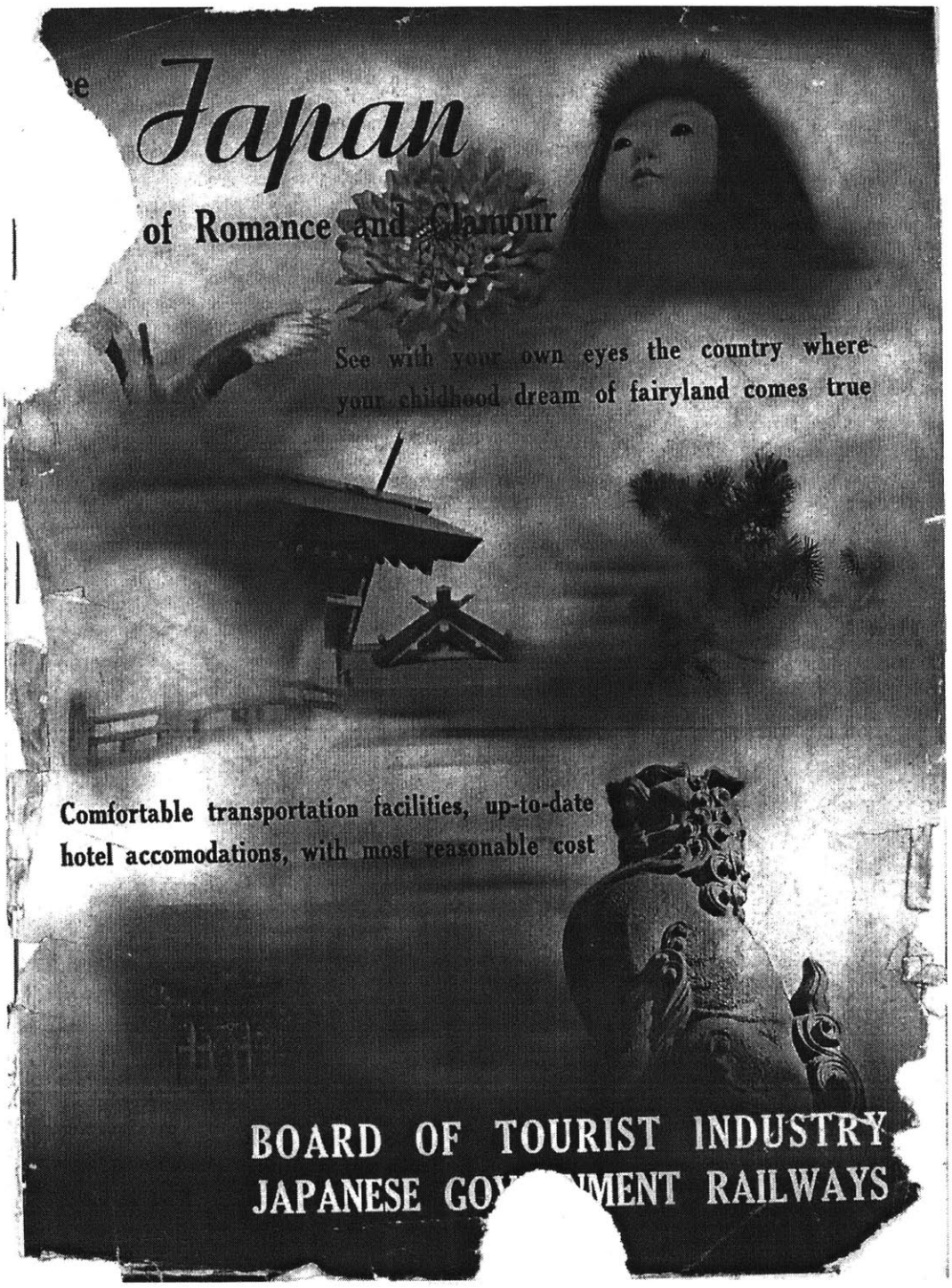


Figure 4.4 Advertisement in *Nippon*, vol. 18, fall - 1939

In Conclusion

Throughout the thesis, the Japanese pavilion at the New York World's Fair was used as a material example of Japanese national identity. As uninspiring a piece of architecture as it may have been, the pavilion was nonetheless important as a war-time governmental propaganda, and also forecast the ultra-nationalistic architectural trend to come. It aimed at the appropriate expression of a Japanese identity in uncertain times - an identity towards East Asia in keeping with pan-Asian ideologies, and a different identity - as a nation less-advanced and therefore not-so-dangerous - towards the United States.

This creation of a dual image was a new and extremely demanding endeavor for Japan in the 1930s. The country had already been in an incessant struggle to formulate a national identity. Architects, without exception, had long been involved in an ardent search for the architectural expression of a modern Japanese identity. Various efforts were made: ornamentation of Western style architecture with Japanese elements; reinterpretation of

Western architecture to claim as their own; and concealment of technology acquired from the West inside a traditional Japanese design. The pavilion was the third choice - it was constructed out of steel and concrete, albeit covered with stucco and topped with tiled roof. It was regarded obsolete by contemporary architects, who considered the style employed by the pavilion to be in keeping with the trend of the twenties. What the architects did not realize was the significance in its being modeled after a Shinto shrine (and Ise Shrine in particular), indicating the rejection of Chinese influence in favor of the "original" Japanese religion. Architects started to engage willingly in similar types of design a few years later, under the strong influence of ultra-nationalism. These architects were never able to come to terms however, with the problem of an architectural presentation of a desired national image - the outbreak of the war resulted in a complete change in the demand for building types.

Pan-Asianism which was intended to situate Japan above all other East Asian countries, as a nation comparable to those of the West, ultimately resulted in the isolation of the country. Oppressive behavior towards other Asians earned the Japanese feelings of hatred rather than support, and their aggressive endeavor towards the West was not successful. In the end, Japan acknowledged total surrender to the United States in the summer of 1945. As such, Japan became as isolated as ever, perhaps even more so than in the years before the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when the country was practicing seclusionism.

Something similar might be said of the Japanese pavilion at the Fair. Its original intent, as an expression of modern national identity as well as the indication of pan-Asian strategies, was never understood by architects in Japan. The previous triumph in Paris augmented the negative attitude towards the New York pavilion. Rather than being ignored as the pre-Paris pavilions had been, the New York pavilion drew severe criticism.

Moreover, the underlying intention behind its presentation to an American audience went unrecognized. The subtlety in the presentation was overlooked, all the more because American audience was only looking for what they already expected to find - qualities to meet their stereotypical images. These images may have been further distorted by reason of the unfavorable international situations.

In spite of the failure of the pavilion - as well as the Japanese diplomatic policy - to fulfill its original intentions, both were significant in that they served as a turning point in the Japanese attitude towards the construction of self-identity. Whereas the earlier focus had been upon the creation of an image for the purpose of a better reception, the new effort was the construction of an identity with underlying intentions. It may have been one of the earliest examples in which the Japanese were more concerned about the creation rather than the reception of their image.

Through multiple interpretations of a pavilion, I have attempted to weave together various phenomenon in the period of its creation to gain a better understanding of Japan in the 1930s and early 40s - particularly in reference to pre-war relations with the United States. To give a full picture of the situation to readers who may not be familiar with the architecture of the country at the time, let alone the cultural or political side, I have attempted to cover a number of themes - from movements and debates among architects, foreign policy, to trends in the intellectual climate. A number of loose ends still remain from this ambitious exposition But I believe that the pavilion - my original point of departure - has also served as a termination point where many ends tie together.

Illustration credits

Figure 1.1 "Japan Court"
International Exposition of 1862 - London, 1862
Mitsukuni Yoshida, ed. *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 145
(The illustrated history of international expositions)

Figure 1.2 Visiting scholars
International Exposition of 1862 - London, 1862
Mitsukuni Yoshida, ed. *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 145

Figure 1.3 Japanese carpenters constructing the pavilion
Centennial International Exposition - Philadelphia, 1876
Mitsukuni Yoshida, ed. *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 161

Figure 1.4 Japanese pavilion
Centennial International Exposition - Philadelphia, 1876
Mitsukuni Yoshida, ed. *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 161

Figure 1.5 Japanese pavilion
World's Columbian Exposition - Chicago, 1893
Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Bankokuhaku no Nihonkan* - 17
(Japanese pavilions at international expositions)

Figure 1.6 Japanese Village on Midway Plaisance
World's Columbian Exposition - Chicago, 1893
J.W. Buel, *The Magic City* (page number not given)

Figure 1.7 Japanese Garden
Louisiana Purchase International Exposition - St. Louis, 1904
Mitsukuni Yoshida, ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 166

Figure 1.8 Japanese pavilion
A Century of Progress Exposition - Chicago, 1933
Mitsukuni Yoshida, ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 171

Figure 2.1 Birds eye view of the Fair site
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40
Official Guidebook of the New York World's Fair, 1939

Figure 2.2 Plan of the Fair site
New York World's Fair - New York, 1939/40
Official Guidebook of the New York World's Fair, 1939

Figure 2.3 Japanese pavilion
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 173

Figure 2.4 Poster of Japanese exhibits
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 174

Figure 2.5 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations - plan
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
Kokusai Kenchiku, vol. 15, no. 5
(International architecture)

Figure 2.6 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations -entrance
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
Kokusai Kenchiku, vol. 15, no. 7

Figure 2.7 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations - interior - photo mural
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
Kokusai Kenchiku, vol. 15, no. 7

Figure 2.8 Japanese section in the Hall of Nations - interior - photo mural
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
Kokusai Kenchiku, vol. 15, no. 7

Figure 2.9 Proposal for the Japanese pavilion - perspective and facade
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 172

Figure 2.10 Proposal for the Japanese pavilion - interior
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 172

Figure 2.11 Japanese pavilion - view from the south-east
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, ed.,
Homage to Junzo Sakakura, Architect of the Museum - 29

Figure 2.12 Japanese pavilion - entrance hall
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, ed.,
Homage to Junzo Sakakura, Architect of the Museum - 32

Figure 2.13 Japanese pavilion - view from the west
Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie moderne - Paris, 1937
Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, ed.,
Homage to Junzo Sakakura, Architect of the Museum - 32

Figure 3.1 *Kenkoku Kinen-kan* - winning entry for the competition, 1937
(National Foundation Memorial)
Mitsukuni Yoshida ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi* - 183

Figure 3.2 Japanese pavilion - preliminary plan (unrealized)
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
Freehand copy by the author
From documents at the Diplomatic Records Office,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, Japan

Figure 3.3 Newspaper advertisement of Japanese exhibits
New York World's Fair - New York - 1939/40
The New York Times, April 30, 1939

Figure 3.4 Meiji Shrine Museum - third place entry for competition, 1915
Dojidai Kenchiku Kenkyu-kai, ed.,
Hikigeki: 1930 nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka, - 177
(Tragedy and comedy: the architecture and culture of the 1930s)

Figure 3.5 *Tokyo Teikoku Hakubutsu-kan* - winning entry for competition, 1931
(Tokyo Imperial Museum)
Shoichi Inoue, *Senjika Nihon no Kenchiku-ka* -15
(Architects in war-time Japan)

Figure 3.6 *Tokyo Chuo Denshin Kyoku*
(Tokyo Central Telegraph Office)
Terunobu Fujimori, *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku* vol. 2 - 175
(Modern architecture of Japan)

Figure 3.7 Koshien Hotel
Terunobu Fujimori, *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku* vol. 2 - 182

Figure 3.8 *Nihon Shika-Igaku Senmon Gakko*
(Japan Dental - Medical School)
Terunobu Fujimori, *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku* vol. 2 - 217

Figure 3.9 Osaka Higashi Post Office
David B. Stewart, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture* - 115

Figure 3.10 *Yotsuya Daigo Shogakko*
(Yotsuya Elementary School no.5)
Gendai Kenchiku no Kiseki - 68
(The locus of contemporary Japanese architecture)

Figure 3.11 Tsuchiura Residence
Terunobu Fujimori, *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku* vol. 2 - 223

Figure 3.12 *Chureito* - winning entry for competition, 1939
(Memorial for the war-dead)
Shoichi Inoue, *Senjika Nihon no Kenchiku-ka* - 147

Figure 3.13 Daito Kinen Zoeibutsu - winning entry for competition, 1942
(Commemorative Structure for Greater East Asia)
Shoichi Inoue, *Senjika Nihon no Kenchiku-ka* - 183

Figure 3.14 *Nichiho Bunka Kaikan* - winning entry for competition, 1944
(Japan Thailand Cultural Center)
Shoichi Inoue, *Senjika Nihon no Kenchiku-ka* - 255

Figure 3.15 *Nichiho Bunka Kaikan* - runner up entry for competition, 1944
(Japan Thailand Cultural Center)
Shoichi Inoue, *Senjika Nihon no Kenchiku-ka* - 255

Figure 4.1 *Nippon*, vol. 2, fall -1934 - cover

Figure 4.2 *Nippon*, vol. 18, fall - 1939 - cover

Figure 4.3 *Nippon*, vol. 19, winter - 1939 - cover

Figure 4.4 *Nippon*, vol. 18, fall - 1939 - inside cover

Bibliography

Official Records

Official Guidebook of the New York World's Fair, 1939. New York: Exposition Publications, 1939.

Official Guidebook : The World's Fair of 1940 in New York. New York: Rogers Kellogg Stillson, inc. 1940.

Records of the New York World's Fair 1939-40. Manuscripts and Archives Section, New York Public Library.

Records of Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la vie Moderne 1937. The Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Tokyo, Japan.

Records of the New York World's Fair and the Golden Gate Exposition. The Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Tokyo, Japan.

English Sources

Allwood, John. *The Great Exhibitions.* London: Studio Vista, 1977.

Baxandall, Michael. "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects," in *Exhibiting Cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display*, Ivan Carp and Steven D. Lavine ed. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Benedict, Ruth. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946.

Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations.* New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

Bletter, Rosemarie Haag. *Remembering the Future: the New York World's Fair from 1939 to 1964.* New York: Rizzoli, 1989.

Buel, James William. *The Magic City: a Massive Portfolio of Original Photographic Views of the Great World's Fair, and its Treasures of Art, Including a Vivid Representation of the Famous Midway Plaisance*. St. Louis, Missouri and Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Company, 1894. (Reprinted edition 1974 by Arnold Press Inc.)

Cohen, Barbara, Steven Heller and Seymour Chwast. *The New York World's Fair: Trylon and Perisphere*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, inc., 1989.

Cusker, Joseph Phillip. *The World of Tomorrow: The 1939 New York World's Fair*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New Brunswick, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey, 1990.

Dale, Peter N. *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*. London & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986.

Dower, John W. *Japan in War and Peace*. New York: New Press, 1995.

Dower, John W. *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

Findling, John E. and Kimberly D. Pelle, eds. *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

Fiss, Karen A. "The German Pavilion," in *Art and Power: Europe under the dictators 1930-45*. London: Hayward Gallery, 1995.

Frampton, Kenneth. *Modern Architecture: a Critical History*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1992.

Fujioka, Hiroyasu. "The Search for 'Japanese Architecture' in Modern Ages," in *The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, December 1987.

Greenhalgh, Paul. *Ephemeral Vistas: the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto and the State, 1868-1988*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Harris, Niel. "All the World's a Melting Pot? Japan at American Fairs, 1876-1904," in *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990, 29-55.

Harrison, Helen A. *Dawn of a New Day: the New York World's Fair, 1939/40*. New York and London: New York University Press, 1980.

Iriye, Akira. *Power and Culture: the Japanese-American War, 1941-1945*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Kihlstedt, Folke Tyko. *Formal and Structural Innovations in American Exposition Architecture: 1901-1939*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973.

Lancaster, Clay. *Japanese Influence in America*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1983.

Luckhurst, Kenneth W. *The Story of Exhibitions*. London: The Studio Publications, 1951.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Reynolds, Jonathan M. "Japan's Imperial Diet Building: Debate over Construction of a National Identity," in *Art Journal*, vol. 55, No. 3, (Fall, 1996), 38-47.

Reynolds, Jonathan M. *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Modernism in Japanese Architecture*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif., 1991.

Rydell, Robert W. *World of Fairs: the century of progress expositions*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Stewart, David B. *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the present*. Tokyo and New York: Kodansha International, 1987.

Tsurumi, Shunsuke. *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan 1931-1941*. London, New York, Sydney and Henley: Routeledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.

Weisberg, Gabriel P., Phillip Dennis Cafe and Gerald Needham. *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975.

Wurts, Richard. *The New York World's Fair 1939/40 in 155 photographs*. New York: Dover Publications, 1977.

Japanese Sources

Dojidai Kenchiku Kenkyu-kai, ed. *Hikigeki: 1930 nendai no Kenchiku to Bunka* (Tragedy and comedy: the architecture and culture of the 1930s). Tokyo: Gendai Kikaku-shitsu, 1981.

Eguchi, Kei'ichi. *Futatsu no Taisen* (The two world wars), vol. 14 of *Taikei Nihon no Rekishi* (An outline of Japanese history). Tokyo: Shogakkan Library, 1993.

Fujiki, Tadayoshi. *Okina-koe: Kenchikuka Sakakura Junzo no Shogai* (A loud voice: the life of architect Sakakura Junzo). Tokyo: Okina-koe Kankokai, 1975.

Fujimori, Terunobu. *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku vol.1, 2* (Modern architecture in Japan). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993.

Hamaguchi, Ryuichi. *Humanism no Kenchiku: Nihon Kindai Kenchiku no Hansei to Tenbo* (The architecture of humanism: a reflection and observation of modern Japanese architecture). Nagoya: Kenchiku Journal, 1995 (originally published in 1947 from Ondori-sha).

Hamaguchi, Ryuichi and Hiroshi Yamaguchi. *Bankokuhaku Monogatari* (The story of international expositions). Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyujo Shuppankai, 1966.

Hino, Ei'ichi. "Bankokuhakurankai to Nihon no 'Bijutsu-kogei' (International expositions and 'arts and crafts' of Japan," in *Bankokuhakurankai: Sono Rekishi to Yakuwari* (International expositions: their history and role), Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai ed. Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1985, 21-43.

Inagaki, Eizo. *Nihon no Kindai Kenchiku: Sono Seiritsu Katei* (Modern architecture of Japan: the process of creation). Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai, 1979.

Inoue, Shoichi. "Pari Hakurankai Nihonkan 1937 (The Japanese pavilion at Paris Exposition 1937)" in *Bankokuhakurankai: sono rekishi to yakuwari* (International expositions: their history and role), Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai ed. Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1985, 133-156.

Inoue, Shoichi. *Senjika Nihon no Kenchikuka: Art - Kitsch - Japanesque (*Architects in war-time Japan). Tokyo: Asahi sensho, 1995.

Kodama, Sanehide. *America no Japonisme: Bijutsu Kogei wo koeta Nihon Shiko* (Japonisme in America: Japanese influence beyond arts and crafts).Tokyo: Chuko Shinsho, 1995.

Muramatsu, Teijiro. *Nihon Kindai Kenchiku no Rekishi* (The history of modern Japanese architecture). Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1977.

Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura, ed. *Sakakura Junzo no Shigoto* (Homage to Junzo Sakakura, architect of the museum). Kamakura, Kanagawa: The Museum of Modern Art, Kanagawa, 1997.

Yoshida, Mitsukuni, ed. *Bankokuhaku no Nihonkan* (Japanese pavilions at international expositions) , INAX Booklet vol. 10, no. 1. Tokyo: INAX co., 1990.

Yoshida, Mitsukuni, ed., *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankai-shi: 1851-1942* (The illustrated history of pavilion architecture: 1851-1942). Tokyo: Shimonkaku, 1985.

Periodicals - English

Celik, Zeynep and Leila Kinney. "Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles," in *Assemblage*, 13, (1990), 35-59.

Fujiki, Tadayoshi, "Tokyo - Paris 1936-37," in *Process Architecture: Sakakura Associates - Half a century in step with postwar Japanese modernism*, vol. 110, 1993, 31-38 (translated by Bill and Lou Tingey).

Haskell, Douglas, "To-morrow and the World's Fair," in *Architectural Record,* 88 (August, 1940), 65-72.

Hedges, Frank H. "Anti-Japanism in the United States," in *Contemporary Japan: a Review of Far Eastern Affairs*, vol. VIII, no. 4, (June, 1939), 494-503.

Hitchcock, Henry Russell Jr. "Paris 1937," in *Architectural Forum,* 67, (September, 1939), 158-174.

Matsuoka, Yosuke. "The New Order in East Asia," in *Contemporary Japan: a Review of Far Eastern Affairs*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (March, 1939), 1-9.

McCormack, Gavan. "Nineteen-Thirties Japan: Fascism?," in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 14, no. 2, (February, 1982), 20-32.

Mock, Elizabeth. "The Paris Exposition," in *Magazine of Art*, 30 (May, 1937), 269.

Tsubokami, Teiji. "The Colonization of Manchukuo," in *Contemporary Japan: a Review of Far Eastern Affairs*, vol. VIII, no. 5, (July 1939), 589-598.

"International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art at Paris France," in *Architectural Record,* 57 (April, 1925), 383-384.

"The 1937 International Exhibition, Paris," in *Architectural Record*, 82, (October 1937), 81-93.

Nippon. vol.1, (summer, 1934) to vol.27, (spring, 1941).Nippon Kobo Publishing Department.

Periodicals - Japanese

Fujioka, Hiroyasu and Yasuo Fukagai. "On the Japanese-Style Design of the Japanese Pavilions for the International Expositions before World War II," in *Journal of Archit. Plann. Environ. Engng.*, No. 419, Architectural Institute of Japan, January, 1991, 99-106.

Fujita, Kin'ichiro, ed. "Nihon Kenchiku no Yoshiki ni Kansuru Zadankai (A roundtable discussion on the styles of Japanese architecture)," in *Kenchiku Zasshi* (Architecture journal), vol. 50, no. 620, (November, 1936), 169-179.

Gendai Kenchiku no Kiseki (The locus of contemporary architecture), Special Issue of *Shinkenchiku*, December 1995.

Ikebe, Masaru. "Pari Hakurankai Tsushin (Paris Exposition Report)," in *Kenchiku Zasshi* (Architecture journal), vol. 51, no. 629, (August, 1937), 167-169.

Ikebe, Masaru. "Pari Hakurankai ni oite (At the Paris Exposition)," in *Kenchiku Zasshi* (Architecture journal), vol. 52, no. 637, (April, 1938), 14-26.

Itagaki, Takaho. "Hekimen Shashin no Hattatsu to Beikoku Banpaku (The development of photo mural)," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol.15, no.5, (May, 1939), 193-200.

Kirishiki, Shinjiro. "Kenchiku 100 nen to Gendai (100 years of architecture and the present)," in *Kenchiku Bunka* (Architecture and culture), (January, 1968), 53-58.

Koike, Shinji, Ken Ichiura, et. al. "Parihaku Shuppinten Hihan (A critique of the displays at Paris Exposition)," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol. 13, no. 3, (March, 1937), 14-23.

Maekawa, Kunio. "1937 nen Pari Bankokuhaku Nihonkan Keikaku Shokan (Some thoughts on the planning of the Japanese pavilion for the Paris International Exposition of 1937)," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol. 12, no. 9, (September, 1936), 16.

Sakakura, Junzo. "Pari Bankokuhaku Nihonkan (The Japanese pavilion at Paris Exposition)," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol. 15, no.6, (June 1939).

Suzuki, Mitizi. "Photo Mural of the Japanese Pavilion, New York and Golden World's Fair," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol. 15, no. 5, (May, 1939), 215-218.

Take, Norio. "New York Bankoku Hakurankai (New York World's Fair)," in *Kenchiku Zasshi* (Architecture journal), vol. 53, no. 656, (November, 1939), 252-255.

Yamawaki, Iwao. "Covered Space Japan, N. Y. World's Fair," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol. 15, no. 5, (May, 1939), 210-214.

Yamawaki, Iwao. "Covered Space Japan, N. Y. World's Fair," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol. 15, no. 7, (July, 1939), 187-191.

Yamawaki, Iwao. "The Japanese Section of Hall of Nations in N.Y. World's Fair 1940," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture), vol. 16, no.8, (August, 1940), 237-244.

"Pari-haku Nihonkan (The Japanese pavilion at Paris Exposition)," in *Kenchiku Sekai* (Architectural world), (September 1936), 35.

"Pari-kokusaihaku no Nihonkan no Mondai (The issue of the Japanese pavilion at Paris Exposition)," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International architecture) vol. 12, no. 6 (June, 1936), 38.

"Pari Nihonkan Kiko saru (Groundbreaking for the Japanese pavilion at Paris)," in *Kokusai Kenchiku* (International Architecture), vol. 13, no. 2 (February, 1937), 26.

Newspapers - English

The New York Times. August 22, 1937, 1,4.

The New York Times. March 5, 1939, World's Fair Section.

The New York Times Magazine. March 5, 1939.

The New York Times. April 30, 1939. VIII, X, World's Fair Supplement.

New York World-Telegram, February 25, 1939. Souvenir edition.

Newspapers - Japanese

Asahi Shinbun, May 8, 1938.

Tokyo Nichi-nichi Shinbun, September 22, 1936.