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**Mutsu Munemitsu: British Influence on Japanese State-Building in the Nineteenth Century**

The aim of my presentation is to analyse one aspect of Japan's nation building in the nineteenth century by examining the studies and activities of Mutsu Munemitsu before he moved to Europe in 1884.

The reason why I intend to focus on Mutsu is twofold. First, as one of the founders of the modern nation-state system in Japan, he made significant accomplishments and contributed greatly to various aspects of Japanese modernization. Moreover, he was able to do this despite the fact that he was a "second class" statesman in the oligarchic government, not from one of the four main clans, but an outsider from Kisyu, one of the Tokugawa clans.

Second, Mutsu participated in what can be distinguished as three stages in the modernization of the nation-state in Japan: the first being the initial conceptualization of the nation-state; the second being the period when Japanese government representatives went abroad to study various western political systems (1881-1889); the final stage being the implementation of the newly established modern political system in Japan (1890-1894). Thus, by examining Mutsu's activities, it is possible to trace the initial construction of the Japanese nation-state.

During the course of my presentation I will focus on a key dynamic overlooked in much of the existing literature, namely the relationship between political thought and practice. Mutsu's political activities during the Seinan War ended in failure. This failure, however, prompted him to turn to the study of English political theory, not only as a way of conceptualizing the kind of nation-state that Japan should become, but also as a means by which he might mediate between the government of which he was a part, and those affiliated with the Jiyu Minken movement, who it was clear would form a majority in the new parliament, whatever form that parliament might take. The intellectual construction of an ideal nation-state thus also made it possible for an outsider like Mutsu to conceive an effective mode of political practice.