

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
NOTES ON THE TEXT	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xii
MAP: JAPAN UNDER THE MEIJI	xiv-xv
INTRODUCTION by John W. Dower	xvii
1 THE MEIJI STATE	3
<i>Domestic Preconditions: Class Structure</i>	4
TOKUGAWA FEUDALISM	4
THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF TOKUGAWA JAPAN	5
THE ARISTOCRACY	
THE BOURGEOISIE	
THE PEASANTRY	
<i>The Dialectic of the Internal and the External</i>	14
THE IRRUPTION OF THE WEST	15
<i>Revolution and Counter-Revolution</i>	18
THE RESTORATION PROCESS, 1853-68	18
ROLLBACK AND PERIODICITY	22
<i>The Ruling Bloc and the New State</i>	23
POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND THE NEW ARMY	26
THE NEW INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STATE	28
A "LEFT" OPPOSITION?	
THE COMPONENTS OF THE NEW STATE APPARATUS	31
THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTION	
BUREAUCRACY, EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY	
<i>The State and Economic Policy</i>	42
MEIJI AGRARIAN POLICY	42
THE STATE AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY	46
THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT AND THE	
UNEQUAL TREATIES	
CAPITAL FORMATION AND ACCUMULATION	
EARLY INDUSTRY	

vi		
2	THE BEGINNINGS OF THE LEFT	62
	<i>Contestation</i>	67
	<i>The Components of the Left</i>	73
	<i>The Japanese Communist Party—and the Comintern</i>	74
	<i>Summary</i>	80
3	JAPANESE IMPERIALISM TO THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE OF 1921–22	82
	<i>“Seikan Ron”: The Debate over Invading Korea in 1873— and Its Prolongations</i>	83
	<i>The Sino-Japanese War and the Triple Intervention</i>	84
	<i>The Annexation of Taiwan</i>	86
	<i>American Expansion in the Pacific</i>	87
	<i>The Collective Imperialist Intervention in China (1900)</i>	89
	<i>The Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902)</i>	90
	<i>The Russo-Japanese War and the Portsmouth Settlement</i>	90
	<i>The Seizure of Korea</i>	92
	<i>World War I and the Twenty-one Demands</i>	94
	<i>The Intervention in Siberia</i>	96
	<i>The Versailles and Washington Conferences</i>	98
	<i>The Nature of Early Japanese Imperialism</i>	100
4	POLITICS FROM THE CONSTITUTION TO THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE (1890–1922)	103
	<i>The System Formalized by the Constitution</i>	103
	<i>The Process of Integration</i>	104
	THE PARTIES	104
	THE MILITARY	107
	<i>Integration Perfected: Bureaucracy, Ideology and Imperialism</i>	108
5	FROM THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE TO THE PACIFIC WAR (1922–41)	116
	<i>The Breakdown of the Washington Arrangement</i>	116
	<i>Domestic Political Changes After the First World War</i>	118
	<i>The Army and the Depression</i>	120
	<i>The Great Depression and Its Political Effects</i>	122
	<i>The Mukden Incident and the Attack on China</i>	123
	<i>Economic Factors</i>	127
	<i>From the Amur to Pearl Harbor</i>	131
	<i>The Question of Japanese “Fascism”</i>	133
6	THE PACIFIC WAR	141
	<i>The Events</i>	141
	<i>Japan and the National Liberation Movements in Asia: The Disintegration of the European Empires</i>	146
	<i>World War II and Guerrilla Warfare</i>	153

CONTENTS	vii
<i>The Politics of the War</i>	153
<i>Japan's Relationship with Germany</i>	155
<i>The Japanese Economy During the War</i>	156
7 JAPAN UNDER AMERICAN OCCUPATION	
(1945–52): "INTERLUDE" AND REORGANIZATION	160
<i>The Politics of Surrender</i>	162
<i>The Attempted U.S. Integration of Japan</i>	163
PERSONNEL AND POLICIES	164
U.S. MANOEUVRING TO MONOPOLIZE THE OCCUPATION	166
ENSURING JAPANESE COLLABORATION	167
THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE OCCUPATION	167
THE REFORM PROGRAMME	170
POLITICAL REFORM	
ECONOMIC POLICY AND REFORMS	
INDUSTRIAL POLICY	
Reparations	
Restructuring Japanese Industry	
The Zaibatsu Dissolution Programme	
The Rebuilding of Japanese Capitalism	
AGRICULTURAL POLICY	
Agrarian Reform	
Japan as the Principal Market for the U.S. Agricultural Surplus	
SUBORDINATE INDEPENDENCE, 1952	195
8 PROLETARIAT VERSUS CAPITAL SINCE 1945	204
<i>The Union Movement and the Organization of the Work Force</i>	205
THE POST-SURRENDER EXPLOSION	206
THE DENSAN WAGE SYSTEM	211
THE SOCIALISTS IN GOVERNMENT, 1947–48	213
THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SANBETSU KAIGI AND THE FORMATION OF SŌHYŌ	217
THE UNION MOVEMENT SINCE FORMAL INDEPENDENCE (1952)	220
THE WEAKNESS OF SŌHYŌ	223
<i>The Mechanisms of Capitalist Control</i>	224
THE EXPLOITATION OF WOMEN	224
GENERAL MECHANISMS FOR WEAKENING THE PROLETARIAT: THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK FORCE	225
THE CONTEXT OF OPPOSITION: THE DIVISION OF REPRESSION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS	228
<i>The Political Parties</i>	234
THE JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY (JSP)	234
THE JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY (JCP)	236
<i>Electoralism and the Class Struggle</i>	239

9 EDUCATION AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT	241
U.S. Reforms	241
EDUCATIONAL REFORM	241
OCCUPATION REPRESSION IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD	243
ASSESSMENT OF THE U.S. ROLE	244
<i>Japanese Repression and the "Reverse Course"</i>	245
<i>The Background to Radicalism</i>	247
<i>Nikkyōso</i>	249
<i>The Student Movement</i>	251
THE ZENGAKUREN	251
SOME IMPORTANT STRUGGLES	255
SASEBO, JANUARY 1968	
UNIVERSITY STRUGGLES	
THE ATTEMPTED OVERHAUL OF CAPITALIST EDUCATION	259
10 THE POLITICS OF JAPANESE CAPITALISM	262
<i>The Situation of the Japanese Bourgeoisie</i>	262
THE MACHINERY OF BOURGEOIS RULE	263
THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	265
<i>The Economy</i>	271
THE STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMY	273
ASPECTS OF THE CRISIS IN JAPANESE CAPITALISM	280
DOMESTIC FACTORS	
JAPAN IN THE WORLD ECONOMY	
<i>Imperialism, Militarism and Foreign Relations</i>	289
THE JAPAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONSHIP	289
THE JAPANESE MILITARY	291
JAPANESE IMPERIALISM AND EAST ASIA	293
Appendix I SOME STATISTICAL DATA ON HIGHER EDUCATION	301
Appendix II THE MULTI-MEMBER CONSTITUENCY SYSTEM AND LOADED VOTES	303
Appendix III FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN JAPAN	305
Appendix IV JAPAN'S OIL AND ENERGY SITUATION	307
Appendix V JAPANESE INVESTMENT ABROAD	309
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES	311
NOTES	313
GLOSSARY	433
INDEX	445
ABOUT THE AUTHOR	467