1^N »*-u

-Tonn W. Dower

-^ ,.-A "

. \ '•- r \ 7 ' -^ _ · ->•

۲ ~--v

EMBRACIKIG DEFEAT

?",..,"•»-

Japan in the ^kke of ^brla ^(/ar II

C, W. W. Norton & Company / Tne New Press



CONTENTS

| | ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | /j |
|----|--------------------------------------|----|
| | INTRODUCTION | ig |
| | Part I. VICTOR and VANQUISHED | |
| 1. | SHATTERED LIVES | 33 |
| | Euphemistic Surrender | 34 |
| | Unconditional Surrender | 3g |
| | Quantifying Defeat | 45 |
| | Coming Home Perhaps | 48 |
| | Displaced Persons | .e |
| | Despised Veterans | 55 |
| | Stigmatized Victims | 61 |
| 2. | GIFTS FROM HEAVEN | 65 |
| | "Revolution from Above" | 6g |
| | Demilitarization and Democratization | 73 |
| | Imposing Reform | 80 |

Part II. TRANSCENDING DESPAIR

| 3. | KYODATSU: EXHAUSTION AND DESPAIR | 87 |
|----|--|-----|
| | Hunger and the Bamboo-Shoot Existence | 8g |
| | Enduring the Unendurable | 97 |
| | Sociologies of Despair | 104 |
| | Child's Play | no |
| | Inflation and Economic Sabotage ~> | 112 |
| 4. | CULTURES OF DEFEAT | 121 |
| | Servicing the Conquerors | 123 |
| | "Butterflies," "Onlys," and Subversive Women | 132 |
| | Black-Market Entrepreneurship | i3g |
| | "Kasutori Culture" | 148 |
| | Decadence and Authenticity | 154 |
| | "Married Life" | 762 |
| 5. | BRIDGES OF LANGUAGE | 168 |
| | Mocking Defeat | 170 |
| | Brightness, Apples, and English | 172 |
| | The Familiarity of the New | 177 |
| | Rushing into Print | 180 |
| | Bestsellers and Posthumous Heroes | 187 |
| | Heroines and Victims | 795 |
| | Part III. REVOLUTIONS | |
| 6. | NEOCOLONIAL REVOLUTION | 203 |
| | Victors as Viceroys | 204 |
| | Reevaluating the Monkey-Men | 213 |
| | The Experts and the Obedient Herd | 277 |

| 7. EMBRACING REVOLUTION | 225 |
|--|-----|
| Embracing the Commander | 226 |
| Intellectuals and the Community of Remorse | 233 |
| Grass-Roots Engagements | 239 |

| | Institutionalizing Reform | 244 |
|-----|---|------------|
| | Democratizing Everyday Language | 257 |
| | | |
| 8. | MAKING REVOLUTION | 254 |
| | Lovable Communists and Radicalized Workers | 255 |
| | "A Sea of Red Flags" | 2sg |
| | Unmaking the Revolution from Below | 267 |
| | | |
| | | |
| | Part IV. DEMOCRACIES | |
| 9 | IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY: | |
| 7. | DRIVING THE WEDGE | 277 |
| | | |
| | Psychological Warfare and the Son of Heaven | 280 |
| | Purifying the Sovereign | 287 |
| | The Letter, the Photograph, and the Memorandum | 28g |
| 10 | IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY: | |
| 10. | DESCENDING PARTWAY FROM HEAVEN | 302 |
| | | |
| | Becoming Bystanders | 302 |
| | Becoming Human | 308 |
| | Cutting Smoke with Scissors | 314 |
| 11 | IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY: | |
| 11. | EVADING RESPONSIBILITY | J79 |
| | | |
| | Confronting Abdication | 320 |
| | Imperial Tours and the Manifest Human | 330 |
| | One Man's Shattered God | 339 |
| 12 | CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY: | |
| 12. | GHQ. WRITES A NEW NATIONAL CHARTER | 346 |
| | | |
| | Regendering a Hermaphroditic Creature | 347 |
| | Conundrums for the Men of Meiji Popular Initiatives for a New National Charter | 357 355 |
| | SCAP Takes Over | 355 360 |
| | GHOJs "Constitutional Convention" | 364 |
| | Thinking about Idealism and Cultural Imperialism | 370 |
| | minimung uoour roomoni una Canarar imperiationi | 570 |

| 13. - | CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY: JAPANIZING THE AMERICAN DRAFT | | 374 |
|----------|---|------|---|
| | "The Last Opportunity for the Conservative | | |
| | Group" | | 376 |
| | The Translation Marathon | | 37g |
| | Unveiling the Draft Constitution | | 383 |
| | Water Flows, the River Stays | | 387 |
| | "Japanizing" Democracy • | | 397 |
| | Renouncing War Perhaps | | |
| | Responding to, a Fait Accompli | | |
| 14. | CENSORED DEMOCRACY: | | |
| | POLICING THE NEW TABOOS | | 405 |
| | The Phantom Bureaucracy | | 406 |
| | Impermissible Discourse . | | 410 |
| | Purifying the Victors . | | • 479 |
| | Policing the Cinema | | 426 |
| | Curbing the Political Left | | 432 |
| | | | |
| 15 | Part V. GUILTS f | | 442 |
| 15 | <i>Part V.</i> GUILTS f VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE | | 443 |
| 15 | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice | | 444 |
| 15 | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal | | 444 44g |
| 15 | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg | | 444 44g 454 |
| 15 | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics | | 444 44g 454 461 |
| 15 | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness | | 444 44g 454 461 46g |
| 15 | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics | | 444 44g 454 461 |
| | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness Loser's Justice: Naming Names WHAT DO YOU TELL THE DEAD WHE | N YO | 444 44g 454 461 46g 474 |
| | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness Loser's Justice: Naming Names | N YO | 444 44g 454 461 46g 474 |
| | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness Loser's Justice: Naming Names WHAT DO YOU TELL THE DEAD WHE LOSE? A Requiem for Departed Heroes | N YO | 444 44g 454 461 46g 474 |
| | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness Loser's Justice: Naming Names WHAT DO YOU TELL THE DEAD WHE LOSE? | N YO | 444 44g 454 461 46g 474 OU 485 |
| | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness Loser's Justice: Naming Names WHAT DO YOU TELL THE DEAD WHEE LOSE? A Requiem for Departed Heroes Irrationality, Science, and "Responsibility for | N Y0 | 444 44g 454 461 46g 474 OU 485 486 |
| | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness Loser's Justice: Naming Names WHAT DO YOU TELL THE DEAD WHE LOSE? A Requiem for Departed Heroes Irrationality, Science, and "Responsibility for Defeat" | N YO | 444 44g 454 461 46g 474 OU 485 486 |
| | VICTOR'S JUSTICE, LOSER'S JUSTICE Stern Justice Showcase Justice: The Tokyo Tribunal Tokyo and Nuremberg Victor's Justice and Its Critics Race, Power, and Powerlessness Loser's Justice: Naming Names WHAT DO YOU TELL THE DEAD WHE LOSE? A Requiem for Departed Heroes Irrationality, Science, and "Responsibility for Defeat" Buddhism as Repentance and Repentance as | N YO | 444 44g 454 461 46g 474 OU 485 486 4go |

| Remembering the Criminals, Forgetting T Crimes | [°] heir 508 |
|---|--------------------------|
| Part VI. RECONSTRUCTIO | ONS ^_ |
| 17. ENGINEERING GROWTH | 525 |
| "Oh, Mistake!" | 526 |
| Visible (and Invisible) Hands | 528 |
| Planning a Cutting-Edge Economy | \$36 |
| Unplanned Developments and Gifts from | the Gods 540 |
| Epilogue: LEGACIES/FANTASIES/DR | EAMS 547 |
| NOTES | 565 |
| PHOTO AND ILLUSTRATION CREE | DITS 657 |
| INDEX | 653 |