

would agree with the dichotomy presented by Hatsuse, but it does provoke thinking.

The strength of this collection of essays—the nuanced readings of what elites claimed about pan-Asianism—is also its weakness. There is little in the essays linking the public statements of elite thinkers and leaders with any concrete practices of empire building deeply embedded in the everyday. The same can be said about the Japanese notions of supremacy inherent in pan-Asianism: How did ideas of Japanese exceptionalism metamorphose into institutionalized racial hierarchies that kill again and again without remorse and in the name of a higher cause?

Another concern is that in all of the essays dealing with Japanese pan-Asianism before World War II, the unit of analysis by which to gauge the evolution of pan-Asianism is the history of the Japanese nation, defined by the rise and fall of the Japanese imperial state. Yet as many of the authors point out, pan-Asianism emerged in the 1920s as one version of a cosmopolitan ideal within the international flows of ideas concerning the building of transnational world communities. The question begging to be asked is whether Japanese pan-Asianism can be situated along acknowledged international axes of learning and exchange of ideas. For example, what is the relation of 1920s Japan pan-Asianism to Wilsonian ideas of self-determination? Is there any bleeding of ideas between the two?

These reservations, however, do not invalidate this book's merits. This collection of essays is brimming full of ideas that cannot fail to provoke and questions that will become future research topics. Although some of the essays are too densely written for most undergraduates, this collection should be required reading for graduate students and scholars of Japan who are interested in the complex and often contradictory relationship between the holy trinity of modern Japanese history—empire, nation, and state.

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War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005. By FRANZISKA SERAPHIM. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006. 409 pp. \$49.95 (cloth); \$22.95.

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Franziska Seraphim's *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005*, examines how civic organizations in postwar Japan shaped, and were shaped by, the process of constructing public memories of World War II. The first half of Seraphim's study illustrates the multicenteredness of public memory by situating her case studies within the broad trajectory of five decades of civic activism. The second half deftly relates the institutional origins of these tropes to the broader question of their impact on national and international politics.

Seraphim's first five chapters establish the case study framework upon which the whole of the book is built. The first chapter, "The Politics of Essentialism,"

examines how, despite the postwar constitutional separation of state and religion, the Association of Shinto Shrines effectively used shrine publications such as the *Jinja shinpō* to invent a postwar notion of “Shrine Shinto” that bifurcated the practices of individual shrines from those that characterized the State Shinto of wartime Japan. The second chapter, “Fashioning National Heroes,” examines how the Japan Association of War-Bereaved Families (Izokukai), which did not labor under the constitutional constraints experienced by the Association of Shinto Shrines, was able to leverage the continued importance of the nation-state in public life to further its assertions that the state was a “concrete political formation, which alone was capable of expressing national interests and for which their relatives had sacrificed their lives heroically” (p. 85). Taken together, the first and second chapters offer a fascinating demonstration of how silence, obfuscation, and denial were integral to the process of remaking war memories.

Seraphim’s third chapter, “Forging Political Subjectivity,” narrates how the Japan Teachers’ Union (JTU) asserted educators’ special role in postwar democracy. Beginning in the late 1940s, the JTU advocated an antimilitarist educational campaign on war responsibility that significantly influenced the writing of the Peace Principles, which were central to the political platform of the Japan Socialist Party. Seraphim argues that unlike the Association of War-Bereaved Families, which articulated an “organic relationship between the state and its citizens,” the JTU sought to rescue the nation from its wartime past by blaming the state for ruling “*over* the people instead of *through* the people” (p. 107). While Seraphim’s analysis of the JTU does not dig as deeply into the available materials as does her case study of the Association of War-Bereaved Families, these chapters nicely demonstrate the range of political positions advocated by interest groups deeply invested in the process of making and remaking public memory of the war.

Seraphim continues to build her case studies in her fourth and fifth chapters, “People’s Diplomacy” and “Commemorative Pacifism,” which examine the lesser known machinations of the Japan-China Friendship Association and the Japan Memorial Society for the Students Killed in the War. In these chapters, Seraphim observes how the inevitable politicization of war memory influenced both domestic and international frameworks for political discourse. In chapter 4, Seraphim argues that the Japan-China Friendship Association differentiated its commemorations of the war by focusing on Japanese war crimes abroad. More significantly, it interpreted the political context of the Cold War in Asia as “reproducing a deeper and longer split separating Japan and China throughout modern history” (p. 132). Friendship Association leaders sought to use their commemorations of the war to persuade the government to normalize relations with China, in part by acknowledging Japan’s history of aggression in East Asia. The fifth chapter caps Seraphim’s five case studies with an astute analysis of the political context of war commemorations organized by the Japan Memorial Society for the Students Killed in the War (Wadatsumikai). While the Wadatsumikai claimed a central role in the formation of Japan’s postwar peace movement, Seraphim argues that in their effort to recover a history of pacifist resistance to the war, the intellectuals at the core of the Wadatsumikai also “circumvented their own war responsibility,” in part by constructing a history

of wartime pacifism at the cost of missing “an interpretive opportunity to critically consider nationalism, ethnic inequalities, and gender differences” (p. 154).

By offering a unique view of the way civic organizations in postwar Japan have sought to shape public memory of the war, the second half of the book locates topical questions concerning war memory and commemoration within recent debates over whether the government has extended an adequate apology for the war and the extent to which commemorations at Yasukuni Shrine exaggerate or reflect public opinion on the war. Indeed, Seraphim’s final chapter adds a fascinating, albeit underdeveloped, comparative analysis of civic efforts in Germany to reconcile war responsibility with public memory.

I found the sixth chapter, “Memory and Generational Change,” to be of particular interest because of the way Seraphim is able to shift the discussion from specific organizations to the broader social forces that their interest politics attempted to influence. She argues that the growing dissonance between generations during the 1960s did not allow for the emergence of an explicitly “‘postwar’ conceptualization of memory independent of direct war experience” (p. 188).

Seraphim’s study might have benefited from an examination of the way fringe religious organizations also used collective memories of World War II to construct their political agendas. Christian groups such as the Society of Friends and the Japan Christian Women’s Organization, for example, used a collective *private* memory of not having resisted the war to motivate adherents to loudly proclaim their opposition to war of all kinds after 1945. Many Buddhist organizations have downplayed the extent to which they collaborated with the wartime state, and it would have been interesting to learn something of how the Nichiren sect, for example, reconciled its wartime activities with the sect’s vociferous support for the antinuclear movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, Seraphim constructs a compelling view of the relationship between civic politics and public memory, and this book adds a much-needed historical perspective to contemporary discussions of the ways in which war memory has influenced national politics in postwar Japan.

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KOREA

Land and Life: A Historical Geographical Exploration of Korea. By CHOE YEONG-JUN. Translated by SARA KIM. Fremont, Calif.: Jain Publishing, 2005. xx, 332 pp. \$80.00 (cloth).

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On first removing Choe Yeong-jun’s *Land and Life* from its mailing envelope, I recognized some obvious earmarks of a “custom” publication, and so I half-suspected this book might be a clunker. Once reading, I soon happily realized