Contents

Figures and Tables  xiv

Introduction  1
  Japan’s History of War Memory: A Framework  4
  The First Postwar Decade, 1945–1955  14
  Interest-based Struggles over Memory, 1950s–1970s  20
  Global Memory Cultures since the 1980s  25

Part I  War Memory and Democratic Rebuilding

1  The Politics of Essentialism: The Association of Shinto Shrines  35
  Discarding the State, Embracing the Emperor  38
  Shrines for the People  45
  Memory and Shinto Restorationism  50

2  Fashioning National Heroes: The Japan Association of War-bereaved Families  60
  Creating a Community of War-bereaved Families  63
  Gendered Memory: War Widows  71
  Social Welfare Measures  76
  Bereavement and Nationalism  81

3  Forging Political Subjectivity: The Japan Teachers’ Union  86
  Riding the Wave of Democratic Change  89
  The Struggle against State Coercion  95
  Never Send Our Students to the Battlefield Again!  102
## Contents

4 People's Diplomacy: The Japan-China Friendship Association
   - Responsibility Evaded: Reparations and an “Incomplete” Peace 113
   - Grassroots Diplomacy 119
   - Remembering Japanese Aggression 129

5 Commemorative Pacifism: The Japan Memorial Society for the Students Killed in the War
   - The Dead and the Living 139
   - Packaging the Wadatsumi Voices 145
   - The Politics of Pacifism 149

Part II The Political Dynamics of War Memory

6 War Memory and Generational Change: Refashioning Special Interests
   - The Changing Temporality of the Past 160
   - The Emergence of “Generational Memory” 167
   - The Anti–Security Treaty Crisis 174
   - Managing the Transmission of Memory 181

7 Memory between Special and National Interests: Japan and Asia
   - Framing National Memories of War 195
   - Postwar “Settlements” with South Korea 202
   - The Specter of Japanese Militarism 206
   - The Debate over Okinawa’s Reversion to Japan 214
   - Individual Action as Counter-memory 222

8 Patronizing the War Dead: The Contested Rites of Official Memory
   - Site of Memory, Symbol of Nation 230
   - The “Yasukuni Question” 235
   - The Contested Memory of the War Dead 246
   - Organizing Popular Nationalism 250

Part III Changing Geographies of Memory

9 The Politics of Apology
   - Comparing Postwar Responsibilities 263
   - The Apology Conundrum 270
   - Toward Reconciliation 276
Contents

10 Cultures of Commemoration at Century’s End 287
   Confronting Silences: The Devil’s Gluttony 288
   Galvanizing Popular Audiences: Last Friends 295
   The Izokukai’s Last Hurrah? The Shōwa-kan 300
   The Discourse about War Responsibility at the Turn of the Millennium 305

Conclusion 315

Reference Matter

Notes 327
Bibliography 357
Index 387