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The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan. by George O. Totten; Socialist Parties in Postwar Japan. by Allan B. Cole; George O. Totten; Cecil H. Uyehara

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One can, of course, ask questions about the PLA which these books do not answer. The PLA's role as a nation-building instrument in an under-developed country is of obvious interest from a comparative standpoint. In this connection it would be desirable to have a more definite estimate of the economic value of the PLA's non-military activities, of the role of demobilized soldiers in disseminating technical skills or exercising organizational leadership at local levels, or of the comparative roles of the army and other nation-wide organizations (party, government) in enhancing a sense of nationhood. Data are now becoming available from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, but these events are too recent for these books.

One could extend this list of questions, but the absence of fully satisfactory answers to them is the fault of the data rather than the analysts. For an overall view of the PLA, the broad scope of Gen. Griffith's book, joined to the quality of his judgment on military matters, will recommend it to the general reader. The more specialized reader—in particular, the specialist who knows from his own experience with Chinese published sources how much trash must be winnowed in recovering a few grains of useful information—will best appreciate what an unusual feat of scholarship Gettings has performed.

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The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan. By GEORGE O. TOTTEN III. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Pp. xii, 455. \$12.50.)

Socialist Parties in Postwar Japan. By ALLAN B. COLE, GEORGE O. TOTTEN, and CECIL H. UYEHARA. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Pp. xii, 490. \$12.50.)

These companion volumes contain the most competent treatment of the Japanese non-communist left yet to appear. The ideological and tactical concepts, policies, factional divisions, organizational and leadership characteristics, supporting groups, and environmental conditioners of prewar and postwar socialism are thoroughly examined. The authors also explain the extent and causes of prewar socialism's

gradual drift from radical beginnings to accommodation with ultranationalism; the factors that have prevented socialist forces from breaking the conservative hold on government; and the reasons why mainstream socialists cling to outworn radical slogans. Despite their justifiable skepticism about socialist chances of assuming power in the near future, they are careful to elaborate the functional contributions that have been or are being made by the socialist minority and its numerous sub-groups.

Noteworthy new materials presented include Totten's analysis of relations between prewar socialists and Japan's most significant "minorities" (Koreans and the "special community" outcastes) and the evaluation of postwar socialist economic policies and programs. The latter chapters are especially significant because it is on economic rather than ideological or political matters that the now divided socialists come closest to uniting and facing modern realities. Data on the internal organization and leadership of the socialist parties and their relations with outside supporting groups, especially organized labor, have appeared in works by Scalapino, Masumi, and others. Nevertheless, the authors have added substantial information of their own, including detailed biographical sketches by key leaders. Moreover, they have performed a valuable service by integrating previously scattered data into a coherent whole.

The second volume is richer in detail about the socialist parties' Diet activities, internal organization, and relations with outside pressure groups, but in other respects Totten's solo venture is slightly superior. He is more explicit about the question he seeks to answer and he is also more inclined to utilize functional analysis and to venture comparisons of Japanese and European socialist behavior. Furthermore, he appears to be more acutely aware of the vital role played by factionalism, and it is likely that the few efforts to relate factionalism to continuities and changes in *postwar* socialism are his as well.

This raises the obvious question whether the authors of the postwar volume have succeeded in coordinating their work. There are ample indications of close collaboration, and yet one wonders if there were not some disagreements, particularly regarding the extent to which left-wing socialist elements and their backers in Sōhyō, Japan's largest labor federation, are really radical. The first half of the volume contains numerous statements lumping together left-wing socialists, Sōhyō leaders, and communists. Only in later chapters

dealing with tactics, internal union power struggles, and factional divisions are the mainstream social democrats distinguished from the communists. And only in the concluding chapter are the factors pushing left-wingers into more moderate channels systematically described. Perhaps the authors have deliberately tried to make the point that the left-wing is more radical in its pronouncements than in its activities, or that moderate tendencies have appeared only recently. But there is a danger that the unwary reader will underestimate the forces for moderation within both Sōhyō and the Japan Socialist Party; the reader is also left to wonder whether the differences between the first and second portions of the postwar analysis reflect disagreements within the research group: if so, the reader should be made aware of them along with the arguments on both sides rather than left to guess whether they occurred and how they came out.

The authors suggest that there should be more research on the "interpretation of socialist thought." If such vague references include an examination of the relationship between theory and practice in the minds of prominent social democrats—which would cast much light on the exact extent of moderation within the movement—I would heartily endorse this recommendation; if not, then attention should be given to this relationship.

Failure to include a final chapter summarizing the continuities and changes in postwar as contrasted with prewar socialism and the slimness of the information provided on the period since 1961 are somewhat disappointing. But these are small objections to an extremely valuable work; these two volumes provide both the hard data and the analytical categories with which future researchers can readily compare their findings, thereby enabling them to assess the extent and nature of change within the postwar socialist movement. The authors must be credited with a most important pioneering study.

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Canada's Changing Defense Policy, 1957-63. By JON MCLIN. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967. Pp. xii, 251. \$8.50.)