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*The Wages of Affluence: Labor and Management in Postwar Japan*, by Andrew Gordon

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development, standard works are cited, but this reviewer was somewhat surprised that the author did not incorporate Kazushi Ohkawa and Henry Rosovsky's *Japanese Economic Growth: Trend Acceleration in the Twentieth Century* (1973) in his account.

Part two consists of chapters on "The Road to Catastrophe, 1900–1945." The focus is on international relations that led to Pearl Harbor and Hiroshima. Tsuzuki covers the rise of ethnocentric sentiments and nationalistic groups. He points out the growing alliance between the army and navy, and the ideology of the emperor system. Next, the author discusses the Russo-Japanese War and the eventual annexation of Korea. In the following chapter, he deals with politics in the Taisho years. He concludes that World War I resulted in the growth of Japanese economy but did not benefit the workers. He then examines the condition of women workers in the textile factories. Tsuzuki next discusses the rice riots that resulted from inflated rice prices. The riots, he concludes, contributed to mass awakening. The most significant event of the Taisho years was, of course, the enactment of universal male suffrage in 1925. At the same time, the Public Order Preservation Act was adopted to keep radicals and subversives under control. This act, the author concludes, sounded the death knell of Taisho democracy.

Tsuzuki devotes some space to Taisho literary developments, a topic he has not noted in the Meiji or Showa eras, probably because his focus is political history. But he states that Taisho literature remained basically nonpolitical.

In chapter two the author discusses the economic crises of 1927. The Taiwan Bank crisis is covered in detail. It buoyed those who proposed solving the economic crisis by advancing Japanese interests in China. Big business interests—specifically Mitsui, with its links to the Rikken Seiyukai—are seen to have supported this policy. The onset of the world depression resulted in lower wages and a reduction of the work force. Agrarian depression compelled many impoverished peasants to sell their daughters to brothels. The depression fostered concentration of business and financial control by newly rising big business groups, what the author calls the "new *zaibatsu*," like Nissan, which cooperated with the military in its expansionist policy in Manchuria.

In the chapter on "Fascism, Militarism and Thought Control," the author provides a perceptive analysis of the nature of Japanese fascism. He then discusses the growing militancy of the young army officers that culminated in the February 26, 1936 incident. The next topic is the undeclared war against China, starting with the 1931 Manchurian incident. Tsuzuki discusses Japanese atrocities like the Nanjing massacre, but he does not refer to Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking* (1997). The chapter "From Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima" deals with well-known events such as U.S.-Japanese negotiations, the numerous land and sea battles, and the Hiroshima atomic bomb attack.

Part three deals with the postwar years of "reconstruction and reorganization." Accounts of the revolutionary changes and reforms introduced by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) are well known to students of Japanese history. One work that the author does not refer to is the study of the language differentials in the American version of the constitution and the Japanese version discussed by Kyoko Inoue in *MacArthur's Japanese Constitution: A Linguistic and Cultural Study of Its Making* (1991). The remainder of part three deals with postwar political and economic developments. The author concludes that the bursting of the bubble economy led to Japan's current identity crisis.

Some readers may get bogged down in the details of some sections, and some, like this reviewer, may wish for more discussion of social and cultural issues. But, after all, this is a political history, and we will learn a great deal from its thorough coverage of what Tsuzuki calls the pursuit of power.

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ANDREW GORDON. *The Wages of Affluence: Labor and Management in Postwar Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 270.

Modern Japan's industrial workplace is a topic about which Andrew Gordon has written often and well. His earlier books on *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan: Heavy Industry, 1853–1955* (1985) and *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Pre-War Japan* (1991) analyzed labor and society in the years before World War II. Despite the common image of Japan's cooperative industrial relations and happy consensus, these prize-winning studies highlighted the contested nature of the workplace and the active and creative role of workers in shaping the form of workplace life and the character of industrial relations. Gordon's new book extends that analysis into the postwar years.

His focus is on workers in the steel industry. As in his previous studies, Gordon, relying on a wide range of written and oral sources, tells a compelling, thickly textured story of the complex relationship between managers and workers. The first six chapters illuminate what he calls the "contest for the workplace" that dominated the first two decades following the war. Energetic workers and activist unions confronted managers over a wide range of issues including wage-setting procedures, work conditions, and technology organization. Despite efforts to restore or enhance managerial authority, managers remained embattled throughout this period. The commonly discussed cooperativist industrial order was nowhere visible in these tumultuous decades.

By the 1960s, however, the tide had begun to turn. The remaining chapters chronicle the emergence of managerial hegemony and the ascendance of Japan's corporate-centered society. In the wake of the great steel strikes of the late 1950s, Gordon says, managers

began to have success in their efforts to assert control over the workplace. The creation of compliant, cooperative unions, the embrace of industrial engineering (IE), and the growth of quality control circles (QC) all played critical roles in socializing workers to make corporate goals their own. The result, he argues, is the creation by the 1970s of a corporate hegemony that required workers to accept a narrowed concept of democracy and limitations in personal liberty in exchange for a measure of affluence and workplace security. In the following decades, this corporate dominance was sustained by managers continuing to adroitly "appropriate opposition positions and incorporating them safely" (p. 202).

This new book is the first sustained, authoritative history of contemporary Japan's employment system. It does not, however, focus exclusively on the workplace. Chapter nine, titled "Managing Society for Business," makes it clear that Gordon sees the movement toward managerial dominance as part of a larger shift toward the creation of a corporate-centered society and the enshrinement of business-oriented social values. Throughout the text he examines company efforts to anchor corporate hegemony in traditionalistic and complementary (if inherently unequal) male and female social and economic roles. Steel companies joined with broad national campaigns to reify and entrench a clear gendered division of labor in which women managed "efficient," well-run homes that allowed men to be "efficient" and "productive" at work. He also situates the "contest for the workplace" and the resultant labor relations system within a comparative, international context. Despite borrowing ideas and technologies from abroad, Japan's workers and managers fashioned an industrial system that sharply varied from other capitalist countries.

This book is a compelling and thoroughly grounded tale of the development and maintenance of Japan's distinctive industrial relations system with its mix of weak unions, relative job security, and coercive management behavior. Gordon's balanced evaluation of the benefits and the burdens of the country's pattern of labor relations should be read by all who have ever wondered about the divergent claims in support of or against Japan's economic industrial organization and by all those with even a passing interest in comparative industrial development. This is an important book that deserves a wide audience.

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GI-WOOK SHIN and MICHAEL ROBINSON, editors. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 184; Harvard-Hallym Series on Korean Studies.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1999. Pp. xiii, 466.

The contest for legitimacy between socialist and capitalist regimes on the Korean peninsula has left a legacy

of discrepant nationalist histories north and south. Compounding the politicized local accounts is a further "master narrative" of the Cold War era in Korea legitimating the U.S. struggle against communism. What is termed "the unitary focus, artificial unity, and tendency to dichotomize in nationalist historiography" provides the foil for this set of essays on the structures and ideologies of the Korean colonial experience. An "interactive approach" to colonial history provides a frame or "historical field" looking to the interplay of colonialism, nationalism, and modernity. The goal is to move beyond nationalist interpretations and their dichotomies of Asia and the West, Japan and Korea, rich but tainted collaborators versus pure, impoverished masses. Thus the volume opens with an ambitious agenda to reorient historiography on colonial Korea to new developments in the study of nationalism, modernity, and colonialism that emphasize interactions, dynamism, and multiple causality rather than a single, correct interpretation.

An initial set of six essays looks mainly to structures of peasant and labor, radio and telephone, law and development programs. Michael Schneider analyzes internationalism and identity in the Rice Production Promotion Campaign, outlining the opposition of a Japanese colonial scholar, Yanaihara Tadao. Chulwoo Lee probes the relation between legislation and legal rights in the early colonial years with concepts drawn from Michel Foucault. Daqing Yang limits his contribution mainly to a case study of the development of a telecommunications network, opening a new area in colonial studies. Michael Robinson, Gi-Wook Shin, and Do-Hyun Han, and Soon-Won Park return to their earlier scholarship to review and focus research. Robinson offers a synopsis of the effects of radio on Korean identity, and a brief review of the effect of pop music. Shin and Han extend Shin's earlier work on peasant organization, interpreting the Rural Revitalization Campaign from a corporatist perspective. Park provides a substantive overview of scholarship on colonial labor to extend her own recent volume on the subject.

Although the editors suggest the "ambiguous qualities" of modernity might provide a focus for this initial section, the reader will find considerable variety in concepts and indeed theoretical attention. The ambitious introductory essay raises the reader's expectations with attention to colonialism, modernity, and nationalism, but eschews definitions or even highlighting of significant dimensions to such an extent that the contributors have no common theoretical ground. The initial six essays provide interesting individual insights and often excellent reviews of existing scholarship but appear only weakly linked to the new methodology of the introduction. Some may be disappointed in the lack of much new evidence or data, or with the often discursive treatment of theoretical issues rather than efforts to develop concepts in light of the Korean experience. But others may find the variety appealing, with some essays more historical, others historiograph-