

Modernization and Popular Movements in Modern Japan

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MODERNIZATION AND POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN MODERN JAPAN

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Preface : This note is based on the lecture titled *Modernization and Popular Movements* that I gave at Delhi University of India in 1993 and Y.Hayashi, Minzokukaihō to Sabetsu teppai no Ugoki ⁽¹⁾ (Movements for National Independence and Against Discriminations within the Imperial Japan)

Introduction

What is modernization in history? This is an extremely difficult question to answer. To the students of different nationalities I have sometimes put the following question; "What do you understand from the word, Modernization? " Their replies have been so various; privatization and liberalization, industrialization, the development of communication, the diffusion of education, democratization including the establishment of the fundamental human rights and the constitutional government, and so on. I found their responses interesting as they reflected the situation of their respective countries. However, the definitions of modernization have been different even within the same country.

In the case of Japan, "Kojien", the representative Japanese dictionary published by Iwanami shoten, defines modernization as follows :

Kindaika (Modernization) ; To shift to modern situations. Industrialization, capitalism, democratization and etc. There exists various viewpoints according to how to grasp the objects.

"To shift to modern situations", is a definition without the contents of modernization. If we are trying to define the contents of modernization, we would have to face different definitions. Then, let me try to classify the meaning of modernization into some patterns.

1. A way of definition by focusing on industrialization, mechanization, automation, urbanization (as result of industrialization).

2. To understand 'Modernization' as a synonym of 'Capitalism' or 'Liberalization' and 'Privatization'.

3. To replace 'Modernization' by 'Westernization' or 'Civilization'.

4. To understand 'Modernization' with relation to democratization, and the establishment of civil society (or the individual value system).

Thus like the elephant, modernization can be defined differently according to its parts or by several classifying terms. At the same time, the ways of the definition of modernization is also affected by each historical condition. For example in the case of Japan, just after the end of the world war II the fourth pattern was influential among many intellectuals, because they learned a lesson how modernization without 'democratization' led to a catastrophe. But, as the Japanese economy recovered and developed in the 1960s, in place of this pattern, the new theoretical approach of modernization in Japan emerged and became gradually influential among the Japanese intellectuals. Scholars such as prof. E. O. Reishauer, the former ambassador to Japan, prof. J. W. Hall and prof. Takeo Kuwahara represented this theory. To give the conclusion in brief, by the examination of comparative tables such as literacy rates, life expectancy, urban population, GNP per capita, calories consumed per capita, utilization of electricity, circulation of newspapers and the like they gave a successful model on the whole to the history of modern Japan. Anyway it may safely be said that as far as modernization of Japan is concerned the conceptual framework was diverted from some negative to a positive aspect in the 1960s.

In this way the problem of definition of the word "modernization" has a fairly lengthy history⁽²⁾. But it is beside the purpose of this note to refer it. This note lays stress on the development of popular movements in relation to modernization rather than modernization itself.

Starting with my conclusion first, whatever the definition of modernization might be, it is decisively important for "popularization in modernization" (or "modernization from below") to understand how popular movements and modernization relate to each other. Let me explain "popularization in modernization" by taking education as an example.

In a pre-modern society, regardless of how powerful the rulers may be, it is virtually impossible for the ruling class to control and to indoctrinate the entire populace, because the requisite means of communication do not exist in a premodern society. Consequently the means to rule the people in such a society, follow coercion more or less by violence inevitably. In a modern society a ruling elite needs a modern school system to get its message across. Modern Japan accomplished a vast quantitative increase in the citizenry's intellectual education, by increasing the compulsory school period from four to six years, and attaining an enrolment rate of more than 90 percent by shortly after 1900. As a result, nearly every child became to obtain basic reading and writing skills.

On the one hand, the standardized educational context made a uniform outlook on most Japanese minds and thought control possible. The diversity in the various levels of knowledge of the citizens was replaced by the conformity of state approved knowledge. An impressionable young child often retains his early education through adulthood despite later experience.

In short, the diffusion of education in all parts of the country made

thought control and indoctrination of state approved knowledge possible. In this sense the uniformity of Japanese mind, which has often been marked as a characteristic of Japanese, was a product of the diffusion of the public education rather than a traditional Japanese character.

However on the other hand, the fact that every child received a universal compulsory education led to an important result. For instance, the ethics textbooks said all Japanese were equal subjects of the emperor. But this resulted in developing strains between the new principles of citizenship and the traditional ideals of status acceptance. "The bows and respect language did not come easily to the tenant who had been top of his class at the primary school while the landlord occupied only a middling class. The same can be said of a universal system of conscription in which there was no distinction between the children of landlords and the children of tenants. The respectful behavior did not come easily to the tenant who had been a sergent in the local regiment in which the landlord only achieved the rank of corporal. And a system by which he was, as one ex-tenant put it, 'allowed to remain alive by the grace of' the landlord began to seem increasingly irksome⁽³⁾."

To sum up, "popularization in modernization" as seen in the diffusion of education not only made the thought control of the authorities possible but also promoted the awakening of people and brought forth new social conflicts.

The development of popular movements after World War I was a product of modernization in this sense. Now I would mention the development of popular movements briefly.

The Development of Popular Movements

The Rice Riot in 1918

WWI transformed Japan's economy; during world war, Japan had the opportunity offered by the preoccupation of the Allied Powers of Europe with military expenditures and took over many of the Allied markets. By the resulting wartime boom, first, industrial production rose and exports soared. Many industries dependent on exports increased the profit. Industries that showed marked growth included shipping, ship building, iron and steel, cotton spinning, silk reeling textiles, and electric power. Secondly, Japan became a creditor nation through the war. In 1914, Japan had a balance of payment crisis and was a debtor nation of 1.1 billion yen, but in 1920 was a creditor of 2.7 billion yen. Thirdly, employment opportunities increased especially for working class in secondary industries which was to have far reaching political implications in the post war period. With a working class increasingly establishing a base in urban areas, policy favouring landlords was no longer feasible. This coupled with the widening income disparity between low paid workers and farmers and the high income of merchant and industrialists resulted in the nationwide Rice Riots of 1918.

In this situation, although the socialist movement had been driven underground after the trials and execution following the high treason incident (Taigyaku Jiken, 1910), a liberal democratic movement was emerging among the urban bourgeoisie, medium and small traders and manufacturers, journalists, intellectuals and so on. Based essentially on the idea of government *for* the people (rather than *of* or *by* the people), they campaigned against the clan-domination and urged the adoption of a more democratic approach to constitutional government, suggesting the adoption of universal suffrage. Those who supported these liberal

ideas in newspapers and magazines voiced their opposition to the old morality of the state and family, opposed aristocracy and were in favor of more individualistic morality. The development of widespread literacy as a consequence of compulsory education meant that dissenting opinions could spread rapidly to the remotest villages.

Although industrial production almost doubled in 1919 from that of 1914 and the average rate of profit rapidly increased, there was a drop in real wage because of galloping inflation. Nor did the boom in agriculture sector benefit the whole farming population. Those who did not possess enough land to produce all the rice they needed (Hanmai Kōnyū Nōka), who worked as day labourers (Hiyatōi) in the fields or who produced cash crops other than rice found themselves becoming at least *relatively* poorer as the increase in the price of rice outstripped the general increase in commodity prices.

In the first six months of 1918, the price of rice more than doubled and continued to increase at a rapid pace during July and August. In late July in a small fishing town in Toyama prefecture, the peaceful demonstration of housewives protesting these high prices soon developed into violent attacks on the shops of rice merchants or local government officers. With this as a start the rioting like wildfire spread rapidly across the country. During the period from July to September, 42 of Japan's 47 prefectures reported incident of varying degrees of severity reliable estimates indicate that protests occurred in 49 cities, 217 towns, and 231 villages, with the total number of rioters ranging from a low figure of 700,000 to a high of 1 million having participated in these demonstrations of popular discontents movements⁽⁴⁾.

The Rice Riot had a tremendous contribution to the popular movement in modern Japan. Involvement in the violence which occurred in summer in 1918, or awareness of the nature of the rioting, reduced the reluctance of the agitators to challenge established authority.

Furthermore, knowledge of the Russian Revolution and observation of the Rice Riots brought about profound changes in the thinking of many intellectuals. At the very least, the Rice Riots were a product of and contributed to the general atmosphere of uncertainty and loss of confidence in traditional social institutions and value system. This stimulated both intellectuals and social movement activists to take a fresh interest in alternative systems and organizations.

The Universal Suffrage Movement

The Rice Riots gave added force to the arguments of the liberal democrats who were demanding that the government should take measures to expand the franchise to enable the ordinary citizen to play some part in the process of government. The political elitism, which was maintained by a suffrage that was limited by a economic basis, was much criticized. The Russian Revolution and the Rice Riots demonstrated what could occur when protest was allowed to take the form of direct action instead of being channelled through a system of representative government.

Much of the support for universal suffrage came from those members of the middle class who regarded it as the best way to insure against violent outbreaks of direct action. Nevertheless, the campaigns for universal suffrage commanded much popular support. Mass demonstrations supporting these demands took place in 1919 and 1920, climaxing with rallies of scores of thousands of people held in Tokyo on February 1920.

In this stage popular pressure had gradually diminished. Labour support temporarily declined due to the domination of anarcho-syndicalism in the labour movement, but there was a resurgence in the campaign after 1923. Kenseikai and Seiyūkai came together in the movement for the protection of constitutional government and openly

supported universal manhood suffrage.

When the universal manhood suffrage act was finally passed in 1925, the twenty-five-year and male qualifications remained, but the removal of the tax requirement increased the voting population from 3 million to almost 14 million (of a total population of 59 million). A women's suffrage movement continued after this, but it was only after the WW II that women achieved the right to vote. Although the suffrage was limited to men, the fact that "massification" of the electorate was realized in 1925 was a crucially important step to political modernization, and this was produced as a result of the popular movements over a long period of years⁽⁵⁾.

Labour Movement

Initially let me quote a Nagai Kafu's story describing the underside of Tokyo's "Low City" (Shitamachi) in Asakusa district. This offers an outsider's lyrical perception of the grimy landscape of the working class ward in 1909.

"They walked toward the Ryūganji [Temple] along the Oshiage Canal. In the low noonday tide, the muddy bottom of the canal lay bare to the April sun, and gave off a considerable odor. Industrial soot floated down from somewhere, and from somewhere came the noise of industrial machinery. The houses along the way were on a lower level than the road. Housewives in the dark interiors, busy at piecework of various sorts to round out family budgets, and indifferent to the warmth of the spring day, were quite exposed to the passing eye. On dirty boards at the corners of houses were pasted advertisements for medicine and fortune tellers, and scattered among them were notices that factory girls were needed.....

.....The earth was dark and damp, the streets were narrow, and so twisted that he expected to find himself up a blind alley. Mossy

shingled roofs, rotting foundations, leaning pillars, dirty planks, drying rags and diapers, pots and cheap sweets for sale—the dreary little houses went on in endless disorder, and when on occasion he would be surprised by an imposing gate, it would always be a factory⁽⁶⁾.”

Until the late Meiji era almost all Japanese workers, called as lower strata of the society (Kasō Shakai) had lived in such wards (resembling the slum), and the worker's character as a human being had not been recognized.

During the Meiji period, although there were some attempts to organize the workers, there was little organized protest over matters affecting many workers despite poor working conditions.

In 1912 Suzuki Bunji founded Yūaikai (Friendly Society) in a church basement in central Tokyo with only thirteen artisans and factory workers, and by 1915 he had built an organization of some fifteen thousand dues-paying members. Yūaikai was renamed Dainihon Rōdō Sōdōmei (The Greater Japan General Federation of Labour) in 1919, and became the main voice of organized labour and became increasingly militant. In the post upsurge of labour disputes it changed its name to Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei (Japan Federation of Labour) and played a major role in the strikes and disturbance of 1920s.

How can we account for the rapid and radical development of labour movement? It is needless to say that the economic and political transformation played a significant role in the labour movement. I will stress here that both quantitative and qualitative transformation in Japanese working class society had occurred. The rapid spread among the workers and the urban poor of education, literacy, and the habit of newspaper reading was a product of nation and empire building policies that allowed the Yūaikai leaders to communicate with the members more effectively than their predecessors.

Numerous letters from the Yūaikai members to the Yūaikai magazine

(Yūai Shimpō) show that they were able to read and write ⁽⁷⁾. These letters attest to the importance of respect to and recognition and community feeling of the unions' active members. Their claim was simple; workers are human beings and deserve the respect due to dignified members of society.

Thus, one member in 1914 wrote that "society treats (workers) as diseased, pitiful slaves of money, lacking in self-respect, learning, or common sense", while another expressed his outrage at the arrogance and cruelty of supervisor who (without notice) lengthened the work day, thus making it impossible for him to attend his night school class. He lamented that "if Japanese industry does not respect the character of its workers, it will not progress. Treated as beasts, we will become beasts. Treated as gentleman we will become gentleman. So long as supervisors or capitalists look at workers as dumb puppets, as living machines, will any man of spirit or courage long remain a worker? ⁽⁸⁾".

These letters expressed forcefully the desire for social respect and dignity. However the idea that the Japanese workers deserve the respect due to dignified members of society was strongly linked with the idea that all Japanese people were members of a special polity, and equal before the emperor. This matter is very important to understand the Japanese labour movement thereafter. Anyway, the development of the modern labour movement simultaneously had a weak point from the view point of the struggle against the national control and the chauvinism. Actually, labour movements in prewar Japan could hardly build up the resistance to the wars which was brought about in the name of the emperor in the 1930s.

Peasant Movements

Farmers of middle and lower status became most visible and vocal through their participation in the tenancy disputes (Kosaku Sōgi) that

rapidly increased in late 1910s. Until then their situation was very much as what Giichi Mori described it in his "Kosaku Sōgi Senjutsu" (The Strategy and Tactics of Tenancy Disputes). Next is a quotation from Mori. "Back when tenant rents were called 'tribute rice' and demands for rent reduction were called 'request for relief' that was granted was meagre at best. When crops were poor owing to storms or drought or insect damage, tenant farmers would meet in secret just before the harvest and discuss how much relief to request. On the basis of the amount they agreed to, each tenant would then go off separately to negotiate with his landlords. To put it more accurately, he would set out to appeal to them"⁽⁹⁾.

Until roughly 1917-18, conditions of peasants had indeed been as what Mori described them. If tenant farmers met with one another at all, they did so furtively, later on moonless nights in the hamlet forest or some other secluded place. To be seen together was considered illicit, an offence against their community as well as against their landlords. With the latter they behaved with the utmost deference, appearing alone at the side entrance to their houses whenever they had an appeal to make and using humble language. Only a dire emergency justified such a visit, and tenants counted on their landlords benevolence to rescue them from it. When rebuffed consistently by any one landlord, they were likely to conclude that he lacked "humanity" and so would join in such emotionally charged acts of revenge against him as not participating in the parade, to send his son off to the conscription physical or behaving "unpleasantly" at weddings or funerals in his family.

However, by the mid-1920s both the form and the underlying ideology of collective action among tenant farmers had been dramatically transformed. Tenant farmers met openly as members of formally constituted tenant union. They insisted on collective bargaining with

local landlords and presented demands, not appeals. Instead of expressive act of revenge, they engaged in a wide range of goal-oriented activities designed to improve their lives and livelihoods.

Let us point the matter in a less abstract way. The number of disputes rose from 84 in 1917 to 256 in the following year, to 408 in 1920 and leaping to 1680 in 1921. At the same time local tenant unions appeared first in several prefectures and soon spread to the rest of the country. The outstanding event in the history of the Japanese peasant movement was the founding in 1922 of Nihon Nōmin Kumiai (The Japan Farmers Union) as the first such national body. The numerous tenant unions formed the backbone of the new organization. From that day on the movement ceased to be purely a tenant movement and became part of a large effort designed to improve the lot of the entire peasant class. Measures advocated included the socialization of land, laws to protect farm tenants, a legal minimum wage for agricultural labour, universal suffrage, revision of the notorious Chian Keisatsu Hō (the Police Order Law), etc. The peasants responded to the programme; Nihon Nōmin Kumiai, starting with 14 branches and 253 members, had 957 branches with a total membership of 73,000 by the end of 1926, and took the lead in many disputes, including the famous Kizakimura disputes in Niigata prefecture, Fujita Nōjō disputes in Okayama prefecture and so on. In a number of cases it succeeded in abolishing surcharges on rents: in many cases rent rates were reduced permanently or temporarily. The Union also participated actively in local political campaigns: in 1925, the rate of the tenant farmers occupying in local assemblies (villages and towns) reached upward of twenty per cent.

Then, how can we account for the rapid growth of this peasant movement? let us mention some points here ⁽¹⁰⁾.

A. The assertiveness among tenants after WWI was not the product of desperate poverty. On the contrary, disputes in the 1920s generally

were more numerous where the economic conditions of tenancy, and of farming itself, were relatively good.

B. The six years schooling required of all Japanese had an impact on tenant farmers, making them less dependent on their social superiors for assistance in daily life and causing those among them who had excelled in the classroom to resent the status and power of "betters".

C. The rapid expansion of industry during WWI affected local tenant farmers in several ways. Most basically, increased job opportunities in factories attracted tenants, or their children, to the cities, reducing the competition for land among those who remained behind in the village. The latter could then demand lower rents or other improvements in tenancy conditions with little fear of reprisals; their landlords, unable to find tenants to replace them, would be constrained to agree to their demands.

D. The increases in urban job opportunities also reduced the tenants' economic dependence on farming. Believing that could find work in factories, they were less reluctant than they had been in the past to confront their landlords with demands.

E. Moreover, the experience of working as wage labourers affected tenants' attitudes towards farming in ways that contributed to landlord-tenant conflict.

After all these matters show clearly that the development of peasant movements after WWI was closely connected with "modernization" of education, industry and so on.

The Buraku Emancipation Movements

To the distant observer Japan presents an image of homogeneity and harmony. However on a closer examination of the historical social structure one will find many of the class and status barriers in Japan. Actually throughout the modern era, there has been a pattern of protest

against social injustice by many of the less advantaged sectors of society which was engineered by the elite. The sector of society which most conspicuously failed to receive its share of the increased economic activity has been those whose descendants were from outcaste communities of the pre-modern period, now referred to as the Burakumin⁽¹¹⁾.

Burakumin were given legal equality in 1871, but discrimination in work, place of residence, marriage and so on remained and continued.

At any rate discrimination against Burakumin was based on deeply rooted prejudices. One writer gives the following as example of popular notion about Burakumin current in the first decade of this century. "One rib is lacking, they have a dog's bone in them; they have distorted sexual organs, they have defective excretory system; if they walk in the moonlight their necks will not cast shadows, and they being animals, dirt does not stick to their feet when they walk bare foot⁽¹²⁾."

Most of these beliefs about Burakumin stressed that not only they were not entirely human but also that contact with them would pollute human beings. These prejudices were not confined to the largely uneducated mass of population but were to be found among the highest civil servants. A report issued in 1880, several years after the formal abolition of status distinction described Eta and Hinin as the lowliest of all the people, almost resembling the animals. Burakumin were believed to be the carriers of pollution; many practices had developed to minimise contact between them and the majority population. In most areas Burakumin were not permitted to cross the threshold of the house of the majority of Japanese. Shopkeepers would refuse to accept money directly from them and would insist that the coins be placed in a water filled box. Thus, the change of physical contact would be avoided and any dirt, washed off. Burakumin day labourers in rural areas were provided with separate and inferior eating utensils, and

toilet facilities. In towns, factory workers would avoid offering employment to Burakumin and only by concealing their origins was it possible for them to rent housing outside Buraku areas⁽¹³⁾.

However, it is important to understand for us that the spread of discrimination against Burakumin was also a product of modernization of social structure, although discrimination itself has its origins in the pre-modern age. That is to say:

A. The percentage of school attendance reached almost one hundred percent in late Meiji period. The system in which every child including Buraku area children went to school was founded. As a result Burakumins' children would be treated in a discriminatory way in the school. Burakumins' children would still be away from the others at the back or side of the classroom. Play groups would be arranged so that non-Buraku children did not come into physical contact with Burakumin pupils, and toilets and eating equipment were usually kept separate, and so on. All these discriminatory treatment was the results of the diffusion of universal compulsory education system.

B. The same can be said of a universal conscription. Japanese law required that all males upon reaching the age of twenty should serve a two-year period of military service. But the training process provided arenas in which discrimination could appear in its most overt form. Many Burakumin had their worst experiences of discrimination, while in the army. This kind of discrimination and incidents of protest were less recorded before 1920. But a government report shows that thereafter there was a steady increase in the number of protests made against discrimination in the army and they reached a peak in 1927.

C. With the establishment of the local administrative institutions, and as the organization of various inhabitant bodies such as fire protection organizations, sanitary organizations, youngmen (or women) associations, and so on advanced the discriminating incidents of

excluding Burakumin came frequently. These too were a product of modernization of the local administration.

D. With economic development, the mobilization of manpower would be promoted, and as a necessary consequence, the contact of Buraku areas and the non-Buraku would be strengthened. Until the late nineteenth century, status distinction, and communal separation kept Burakumin apart from the majority community. But migration to the urban areas and increased inter-communal contact resulting from changes in the rural social structure circumstances which crossed the caste barrier could take place. Under these conditions, the discrimination in employment, the discriminatory behaviour in the job place, and marriage discrimination would take place frequently.

It was after 1900s that such new discriminatory incidents came to the fore, and it was a result coming from the significant change of social structure in modern Japan. In this way the social modernization reproduced the social discrimination rather than decrease discrimination⁽¹⁴⁾.

Under these circumstances, an increasing awareness of this continuing social discrimination stimulated the formation of Burakumin organization advocating improvement of the conditions of life through self-help. In March 1922 Suiheisha (Levellers' Society) was formed; its first conference in Kyoto attracted some 3000 participants.

In the first conference three general principal were proposed as the basis for the movements development.

1. We the Tokushu Burakumin shall achieve total liberation by our own efforts.

2. We the Tokushu Burakumin demand complete liberty to choose our occupants as well as economic freedom and we are determined to obtain them.

3. We shall awaken to the fundamental principles of human nature and march towards the perfection of mankind.

These were approved unanimously. Next the movements' declaration was read out and adopted. It urged the rejection of the 'Philanthropic' movements which only degrade Burakumin and the formation of a movement in which they can regain their self-respect. That is to say :

"Brothers! Our ancestors sought after and practised liberty and equality. But they became the victim of a base, contemptible system developed by the ruling class. They became manly martyrs of industry. As a recompense for tearing out the hearts of animals, their own warm, human hearts were ripped out. They were spat upon with the spittle of ridicule. Yet all through these cursed nightmares, their blood, still proud to be human, did not dry up. Yes! Now we have come to the age when man, pulsing with this blood, is trying to become divine. The time has come for the victims of discrimination to hurl back labels of derision. The time has come when the martyr's crown of thorns will be blessed. The time has come when we can be proud of being Eta.

We must never again insult our ancestors and profane our humanity by slavish word and cowardly acts. Knowing well the coldness and contempt of ordinary human society, we seek and will be profoundly thankful for the warmth and light of true humanity.

From this the Lebellers' Society is born. Let there now be warmth and light among men! ⁽¹⁵⁾"

This statement has been valued as the declaration of Human Rights of Japanese people ⁽¹⁶⁾. The Buraku emancipation movement too performed a part role of modern popular movement together with labour movement, peasant movement and so on.

Conclusion

Hasegawa Nyozeikan, a famous thinker of the 1920s, while commenting

about the public consciousness in Japan after WWI, pointed out that a rise in the social worthiness of the subjects would have a strong tendency to raise the the ideals of the state⁽¹⁷⁾. The explosive rise in movements aimed at abolishing discriminations in various social spheres was certainly due to the spread of national consciousness among the masses and the discriminatory old order(which did not allow the social worthiness of people to rise) could no longer be tolerated.

Discrimination in Voting Rights: Only those citizens who paid above a specified level of tax could vote.

Discrimination in Local Governance: This was allowed only to the propertied classes.

Discrimination Against Women: Women not only did not have the right to vote, but they could not participate in political meetings, nor become members of political parties. Further even inside the household women were accorded a very low status compared to men.

Discrimination Against Labour: Labourers were not treated as part of normal urban society but were given a low, sub-human status.

Discrimination in Villages: The discrimination embodied in the economic and social order which had its basis in the landlord-tenant relations in villages.

Discrimination Against Burakumin: Burakumin were treated with contempt and led a sub-human existence and were marginalized in society.

The various discriminations listed above cannot be treated together as they have different features. However, the popular movements which rose after WWI such as the movement for universal suffrage, the movement for women's emancipation, the labour movements, the peasant movements, the movement for the liberation of Burakumin etc, were more or less having the same ideal of creating an egalitarian society, by reconstructing the old discriminatory social order. In this sense the movements had a common feature.

Hence the modernization of Japan did not come about only due to the various government policies from above. The contributions of the common masses which fought for the abolition of various discriminations was not less important.

Notes

(1) Samon Kinbara ed., *Kindainihon no Kiseki* 4, Taishō Democracy (Tokyo, Yoshikawakōbunkan, 1994)

(2) For the controversies in the 1960s in regard to modernization, refer to Hokone Conference Paper (mimeo, 1960), M. B. Jansen ed., *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization* (Princeton UP, 1965), Samon Kinbara, *Nihon Kindaikaron no Reikishizō* (second ed. Chūō Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1974), and etc.

(3) R. P. Dore, *Land Reform in Japan*, (Oxford UP. 1959) pp54-55.

(4) Kiyoshi Inoue and Tōru Watanabe, eds. *Komesōdō no kenkyū*, 5vols (Tokyo, Yūhikau, 1959-62). Regarding the late English-language publication on Rice Riot, see Michael Lewis, *Rioters and Citizens; Mass Protest in Imperial Japan* (California UP, 1990)

(5) Regarding the most detailed research of the Universal Suffrage Movement, see Takayoshi Matsuo, *Futsūsenkyōseido Seiritsushi no Kenkyū* (Iwanamishoten, 1989).

(6) Translated by Edward Seidensticker, *Kafū the Scribbler: The Life and Writings of Nagai Kafū, 1879-1959* (Stanford UP, 1965).

(7) The fact that the working class of those days had an ability of reading and writing is so important for considering the popular movements and modernization in modern Japan. Poor peasants in rural area also acquired this ability. The following report that an Indian journalist wrote concerning "Oshin", a Japanese TV story of the subsistence peasant's child in 1910s, which became very famous through the worldwide TV network, is interesting; "No nation has more Oshin than

India. No nation thrusts toil and torment on children more than India.The name Oshin (endurance) may be imaginary but her story is real. Once Japan too had children coerced into hazardous labour. If this is true no longer, does the credit go to successive governments in Japan? To its social workers? Without discussing this question in any detail, we can consider one fact; Oshin learned to read.” (by Raj Mahan Gandhi, *The Economic Times*, 24th, March, 1993)

(8) Yūai shinpō, April 15, 1915, translated by Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*(University of California Press, 1991), p100.

(9) Giichi Mori, *Kosakusōgi Senjutsu*(Hakuyōsha, 1928). translated by Ann Waswo, *The Cambridge History of Japan vol.6* (Cambridge UP, 1988)

(10) For further particular, see Shūzō Teruoka ed., *Nihon nōgyo 100 nen no Ayumi* (Yūhikaku, 1996), Chapter 3.

(11) The name during the Tokugawa era was Eta and Hinin. In this paper I cannot help omitting the genesis of the Buraku communities and their history.

(12) Lan Neary, *Political Protest and Social Control in Prewar Japan : The Origins of Braku Liberation* (Manchester UP, 1989)

(13) The above description of the Buraku discrimination mainly depends on the translation by Lan Neary, *Political Protest and Social Control in Prewar Japan: The Origin of Buraku Liberation* (Manchester UP, 1989)

(14) In this sense the social modernization itself does not always promote the democratization and the establishment of the fundamental human rights.

(15) Translated by G. devos and H. Wagatsuma eds., *Japan's Invisible Race* (University of California Press, 1973, Second Edition).

(16) Takayoshi Matsuo, *Minponshugi no Chōryu* (Buneisha, 1970)