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DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/mni.2015.0006

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ZORA URL: https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-113983
Journal Article
Published Version

Originally published at:
Müller, Simone (2015). Public Opinion, Propaganda, Ideology: Theories on the Press and Its Social Function in Interwar Japan, 1918–1937 by Fabian Schäfer (review). Monumenta Nipponica, 70(1):175-183.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/mni.2015.0006

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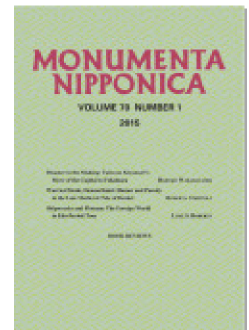
Monumenta Nipponica, Volume 70, Number 1, 2015, pp. 175-183 (Review)

Published by Sophia University
DOI: 10.1353/mni.2015.0006



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that “Shiga was searching for a visual image that could represent Kensaku’s state of mind toward the end of the dark night” and drew on Izumo mythology to enhance this effect (p. 55). Perhaps there is more to be said about the interplay between Shiga’s impressions of nature and his reminiscences of literature, Buddhism, and folklore (especially concerning dreams and the supernatural), and about his affinity with Hearn in this regard.

At a time when the delicate art of literary criticism is out of favor, and when even studies of Wordsworth and Shelley are dominated by ideological discussions that have little concern with inherent literary power and illumination, it seems unlikely that Shiga’s oeuvre will be granted the comprehensive and penetrating literary-critical reception that it undoubtedly merits. But Guo’s study will remain a crucial contribution to such reception as exists by its focus on Shiga’s deep love of nature.

Public Opinion, Propaganda, Ideology: Theories on the Press and Its Social Function in Interwar Japan, 1918–1937. By Fabian Schäfer. Leiden: Brill, 2012. 200 pages. Hardcover €99.00/$132.00.

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What is the social function of the press and of mass communication? Is it to transmit propaganda and ideology, or to foster knowledge and critical thinking? These are among the core questions addressed by traditional media studies, and they also lie at the heart of general discussions in society at large regarding the press. Western scholars of critical media theory tend to divide into two camps: those who follow the “mass manipulation paradigm”—including Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and Jürgen Habermas—and adherents of the “emancipatory paradigm”—including Bertolt Brecht, Walter Benjamin, and Hans Magnus Enzensberger (p. 122).

Public Opinion, Propaganda, Ideology—based heavily on author Fabian Schäfer’s Ph.D. thesis—is the first comprehensive monograph in Japanese or English to deal with discourse in Japan about the press and its social function during the interwar years. Schäfer not only offers readers a comprehensive “Disziplingeschichte” describing “the . . . *accumulation of knowledge* within the borders of the discipline” (italics his), but also incorporates “non-academic, or academically marginalized, approaches” (p. 157). His methodology involves a focus on so-called entangled histories (see below), which Schäfer combines in his conclusion with approaches drawn from discourse analysis.

In an introduction followed by six main chapters, the book covers a variety of subjects, including the formation of the modern press in Japan; the foundation and development of newspaper studies; and case studies of media scholars and theorists with a special interest in the press. These latter include journalist and media historian

Ono Hideo (chapter 3); Ono's protégé Koyama Eizō; sociologists Takebe Tongo and Yoneda Shōtarō (chapter 4); Marxist philosopher Tosaka Jun (chapter 5); and social scientists Sugiyama Sakae and Shimizu Ikutarō (chapter 6). Through a detailed discussion of these East Asian commentators and the ways in which they paralleled, differed from, and were influenced by Western scholars in the field, Schäfer shows that in the mid-1920s both public opinion and intellectual debate on the press shifted away from the idea of the press as a means of "enlightenment, education or modernization" (p. 158) to a reconsideration of its social function and impact. Accompanying this shift were a generational change and also a move toward a notion of public opinion that was based on a plurality of sociological, sociopsychological, and Marxist perspectives rather than on crowd psychology and educational factors.

In the introduction, Schäfer briefly outlines the formation and development of newspaper studies and the discourse on the social role of the press from the Meiji period until the second half of the 1930s, introducing the leading figures involved in these developments and discourse and calling attention to existing studies on the subject. Schäfer claims that newspaper coverage of the 1918 rice riots constituted a turning point in attitudes to the press. With regard to the interwar period more generally, he attributes the period's rapid intellectual development and introduction and adaptation of new theories to the global circulation of knowledge. This in turn was a consequence of factors such as the growth of global communication and transport infrastructure and the pluralist and democratic developments that marked the 1920s at both the political and social levels.

Chapter 1 gives an overview of how the modern mass press took shape in Japan, starting with the Meiji period. The author argues that most of the newspapers founded in Japan during the nineteenth century sought to support particular political organizations in a manner comparable to the German "Tendenzpresse." Schäfer charts the emergence of a wide variety of newspapers, most of them with political agendas, ranging from conservative and liberal-democratic newspapers to party papers and the mass press. He attributes the increasing popularity of newspapers, especially during the last years of the Meiji period, to a growing public interest in war reporting, the growth of commercial advertising campaigns, and the increasing appearance of short articles offering social and political commentary. These tendencies emerged in both the popular, entertainment-oriented newspapers known as *ko-shinbun* and the more intellectual, politically oriented newspapers known as *ō-shinbun*, resulting in a growing congruence between the two formerly distinct types of newspapers.

In chapter 2, Schäfer acknowledges his debt to Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann's *histoire croisée* (entangled histories), distinguishing that approach from comparative methodologies and from approaches based on reception theory, both of which Schäfer criticizes as limited either by their emphasis on cultural or national particularities or by their descriptions of universals. However, quoting Daniel T. Rodgers, Schäfer also warns against treating nation-states as "semi-permeable containers," as this approach conceals the fact that transnational entanglements are

often embedded into colonial or postcolonial power relations. Schäfer argues that Japanese intellectuals were affected by these complex entanglements in the 1920s and 1930s: "Western thought was accepted by intellectuals in the subaltern periphery in Japan." This occurred "not under the pressure of direct dominance," but rather by means of an "intellectual hegemony—or what Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci also described as 'spontaneous consent.'" Schäfer is thus in agreement with Rodgers in believing "that it is important to think of new ways of approaching the intellectual flows of the 1920s and 30s" (p. 18).

Schäfer seeks to grasp the global history of media and communication studies by examining three forms of entanglement: (1) appropriation, which conceives of the transferring and adopting of knowledge not as a receptive process, but as a selective, creative, and productive one in which borrowed elements are transformed into a new whole; (2) the intellectual and social reciprocities operating between different local intellectual formations and thinkers; and (3) the cognitive and epistemological parallels apparent between the approaches taken in different geographical regions. In order to avoid the problems inherent in comparative approaches, Schäfer interprets such parallels as "similar, local intellectual reflections of analogous global, social or cultural phenomena." His approach, he writes, "parallels Harry Harootunian's viewpoint that 'modernity' is in fact a 'co-existing' and 'co-eval' process triggered by the expansion of capitalism, and similar intellectual reflections of this process are in fact inflections of this singular, larger global process" (p. 29).

Schäfer goes on to present examples of these three forms of entanglement found in studies on the interwar press by Japanese scholars. He traces appropriations, reciprocities, and parallels operating between these scholars and European and American thinkers such as Karl Bücher, Karl d'Ester, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Gabriel Tarde, and Georg Simmel. After showing that prewar discourse on media and communication was influenced by the hegemony of German social sciences (especially *Zeitungswissenschaft*, i.e., journalism), Schäfer outlines how Japanese scholars' attitudes to the press were dependent in part on their utilization of specific European models. Schäfer suggests how Japanese scholars formed their views on the press and shows that they did not merely copy their models but developed and appropriated them into their own theories. However, Schäfer's treatment of this subject is not entirely satisfactory. On the one hand, his explorations in chapter 2 of various appropriation processes seem a little too extensive for a chapter on methodology. On the other hand, they are too brief to provide a complete picture, leaving readers to wonder whether these issues could have been more adequately addressed in concert with the case studies presented in later chapters.

Compared with his discussion of appropriation, his treatment of reciprocities is remarkably short. Schäfer gives only a single example of reciprocal exchanges—that between Ono and German advocates of newspaper studies in the 1920s, a time when intellectuals across the globe were striving to internationalize their disciplines in order to establish them on a sound academic footing. Schäfer discusses how such

endeavors led to social contacts between Ono and d'Ester, with, for example, Ono having been a delegate to the first international congress of newspaper studies in Cologne in 1928 and d'Ester having visited Japan in 1929. The fact that Schäfer gives no further examples suggests that, in reality, reciprocal ties between Western and Japanese scholars of the press were not particularly strong in the interwar period.

In his slightly more extensive remarks on the parallels between studies of the press, Schäfer again gives only a single example. By examining the cases of L.A. Bysow, Jamuna Prasad, and Shimizu Ikutarō, he shows how scholars in Russia, India, and Japan arrived somewhat independently at the conclusion that rumors gain traction when conventional forms of mass communication collapse as the result of natural disasters or political and social unrest; rumors must therefore be seen as integral to the formation of public opinion inasmuch as they supply information relevant to everyday life, albeit on a level subordinated to mass communication.

Schäfer's methodology is both interesting and refreshing. He emphasizes appropriation processes, reciprocities, and parallels, as opposed to reception mechanisms. Yet, from the perspective of Japanese intellectual discourse, the entanglements connecting Western countries and interwar Japan tended to be unilateral in character and often failed to result in genuine appropriation by the Japanese party involved. In the context of postwar intellectual discourse, this lack of reflective adaptation of Western theories to the Japanese situation was seen as a major reason why Japanese intellectuals failed to thoroughly internalize Western concepts such as Marxism, leading to the extensive ideological conversions (*tenkō*) of Marxists in the 1930s. Schäfer's dearth of examples of reciprocities and parallels seems to bolster this claim of a more unilateral relationship. Moreover, in my opinion, the emergence of new concepts such as "entangled histories" has given the term "reception" an unfairly negative image. The latter is not necessarily a national concept, and reception processes are not always transnational and hegemonic but also occur within countries. And the concept of reception does not necessarily imply a one-sided adoption process, but rather the adaptation of concepts and content to another context, where they are transformed into something new. Thus, reception processes are universal in character, and indeed form the foundation of all development and communication—at least according to the interpretation of communication offered in current approaches to intertextuality.

Chapters 3–6 comprise the main part of the book and explore the emergence, development, challenges, problems, and institutionalization of newspaper studies (*shinbungaku*) in interwar Japan. Schäfer focuses on important figures in the field, including Ono, who is considered the father of Japanese press studies, again tracing appropriations of Western theories as well as parallels and reciprocities with them. Following an extensive exploration of Ono's achievement in establishing *shinbungaku* as an academic discipline—by having acknowledged the importance of studying the press in relation to its readership and thus having begun to incorporate psychological and sociological elements—Schäfer shifts direction.

At this point, he turns his attention to the more advanced social-scientific approaches of scholars who have examined the press's social function and its role in forming public opinion. Here, he discusses Takebe, whose organic view of society was inspired by Comte and Spencer, and Yoneda, who was influenced by the sociopsychological approaches of Tarde and Simmel. Schäfer shows how sociology changed as a discipline from around 1910, culminating in a wide range of new theoretical positions, mostly influenced by German thought and by a shift in interest toward formal sociology in the 1920s and then toward synthetic sociology in the 1930s and later. Schäfer describes the efforts in the 1920s to forge interdisciplinary connections between the then-separate disciplines of sociology and *shinbungaku*. As examples of this endeavor, he discusses scholars such as Fujiwara Kanji, who saw the press as a means of education and an instrument of social control and who understood the relationship between newspapers and their readership as one of reciprocal social exchange. He also takes up the contributions of Muneo Matsuji, who believed that pure and applied newspaper studies could happily coexist and saw the press as a means of social unification through so-called spiritual exchange (*shinteki kōtsū*), and of Koyama Eizō, for whom *shinbungaku* and the press itself were arenas for the interplay of spiritual, economic, and technical forces as well as tools that could be used to create a shared social reality. Schäfer considers Koyama's perspective to have been at the "vanguard of later social-constructivist approaches to the mass media" (p. 88), and he points out parallels between Koyama's understanding and that inherent in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. However, Schäfer also identifies paradoxes in Koyama's thought that laid the groundwork for his later studies of propaganda and the techniques it employs.

Chapter 5 focuses on Tosaka and is dedicated to Marxist theories—according to which the modern press was, on the basis of its capitalist character, an agent of the bourgeoisie in the way it molded public opinion. Here Schäfer draws on Adorno's critique of contemporary philosophy as having failed to engage with the real problems of modern society and on his claim that materialism is the only means by which philosophy can be translated into praxis. Schäfer draws parallels between these arguments and those of Tosaka, who, by criticizing the academic philosophy espoused by Heidegger's Japanese adherents, claimed that philosophy should focus on current, commonplace problems. Tosaka called for an authentic "everydayness" (*nichijō*) that would transcend the ordinary reality of the proletarian masses, thereby freeing the academic philosophy of the Kyoto school from its dependence on religion and otherworldliness. In keeping with this notion, he derived the two fundamental functions of journalism: (1) to act as an instrument of daily news coverage and (2) to provide political and social criticism. Schäfer compares Tosaka's views with Horkheimer's critical theory in terms of the importance both assign to the actual situation and the dialectic relationship between theory and praxis. He emphasizes that, like the proponents of the Frankfurt school, Tosaka understood materialism in terms of the orientation of theory toward revolutionary practice. Schäfer also draws parallels with Siegfried Kracauer's and Walter Benjamin's "understanding of the use of journalism . . . in its

proposed connectedness to the everyday, as a tool of social criticism based on dialectical/historical materialism and the opinion that journalism could be considered an instrument of social enlightenment and change" (p. 112).

He shows further that Tosaka's understanding of the press differed considerably from that implied by debates among Marxist factions over the role of the proletarian press in the 1920s. Such debates pitted the Bolshevist Rōnō-ha of Yamakawa Hitoshi, which encouraged the fostering of class consciousness through a proletarian press, against the Leninist Kōza-ha of Fukumoto Kazuo, which saw a proletarian press as the political organ of the Japanese Communist Party and as having a role in fostering a unified class struggle under party guidance. Tosaka overcame the underlying dichotomy between the intellectual elite and the unconscious masses. He combined the two major paradigms of critical media theory, the mass manipulation paradigm and the emancipatory paradigm, by adopting the premise that all people, regardless of class, have the ability to think critically as long as they are well informed. He incorporated the former by emphasizing the ideological character of bourgeois journalism, based as it was on the capitalist structure of the newspaper business; he acknowledged the latter by emphasizing the positive social functions derived from journalism as a result of its critical and informative capacity.

In chapter 6, Schäfer draws parallels with Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz's process oriented, sociological interpretation of communication in the Weimar period, discussing two Japanese sociologists with similar approaches—the renowned Shimizu and the less well-known Sugiyama. In formulating their analyses, both gave more weight to everyday experiences of communication than to empirical research, and both drew on a variety of disciplines including French mass psychology, experimental psychology, American social psychology/philosophy, and the formal sociology and behaviorism of the German school.

Schäfer outlines Sugiyama's understanding of communication in this context as a reciprocal, dialectical process between newspapers and their readers and also discusses his efforts to reconcile historical materialism with formal sociology. In addition, Schäfer emphasizes how Sugiyama distanced himself from Tarde's theory of imitation by warning against overestimating the press's role in the shaping of public opinion. Indeed, in Sugiyama's view, new opinions could not become "public" opinions unless and until the masses had accepted them as their own. At the same time, he admitted that class concerns restrict the relationship between journalists and the masses, leading to the formulation of bourgeois public opinion, on the one hand, and proletarian public opinion, on the other. Sugiyama also sought to throw light on the ways in which interpersonal mass communication impacts individuals psychologically. While conceding that Sugiyama's psychological approach did little more than provide a blueprint for further research, Schäfer sees his attempt to apply the findings of contemporary psychology to journalism and the communication process as unique, even arguing that Sugiyama anticipated the work of the postwar communication and media theorist Jay Blumer and the sociologist Elihu Kat.

Schäfer contrasts Sugiyama's approach with Shimizu's understanding of communication, most famously explored in his book *Ryūgen higo* (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1937). Based on his experiences in the so-called 2-26 Incident (an abortive coup led by a group of young army officers on 26 February 1936), Shimizu argued that rumors, which he termed "latent public opinion," are profoundly relevant to the fundamental realities of everyday life and thus to the formation of manifest public opinion, so that in times of censorship people rely on rumors as the most fundamental form of communication to help them adapt to a changing and unknown environment. As Schäfer points out, Shimizu had recognized "that public opinion is neither simply the uniform 'will of the people,' nor an 'abstract idea,' nor a unitizing 'bourgeois ideology'" (p. 33), the arguments of scholars such as Ono, Koyama, and Tosaka notwithstanding. Schäfer stresses the uniqueness of Shimizu's understanding of communication within the 1930s discourse. In classifying rumors as a form of communication, Shimizu developed a nonhierarchical understanding of communication that enabled him to emphasize individuals' active participation in developing their opinions. In so doing, he effectively parted ways with an approach later known as the "hypodermic needle theory" (p. 145), according to which the mass media has a direct effect on the behavior of its audience. According to Schäfer, the validity of Shimizu's understanding of rumor depends on the level of social and political openness toward conflicting views evident in a given country. For Shimizu—and here he is implicitly criticizing the Japanese political system of his day—this understanding only holds true in the case of "countries with a developed democracy" (quoted on p. 151).

In Schäfer's conclusion, he invokes Michel Foucault to argue that in discourse on the Japanese press during the interwar period, a bewildering variety of roles were attributed to the press, on the one hand, and to public opinion, on the other. The press was regarded "as a 'means of spiritual exchange' . . . and 'educator of society' . . . (in the liberal perspective of Fukuzawa Yukichi or Ono Hideo), as the 'eye through which we see society' . . . (in the socio-constructivist perspective of Koyama Eizō), as an 'agent of ideology' . . . (in the Marxian perspective of Tosaka Jun), or as the 'extension of the sensory organs' . . . (in the socio-psychologically inspired perspective of Shimizu Ikutarō)" (p. 160). Public opinion was, in Ono's view, created through the press with the backing of the social and political elite, whereas Tosaka likened it to a force field that constrains people to follow certain norms. Shimizu, as mentioned above, distinguished between manifest and latent public opinion.

The conclusion also provides an overview of political developments between 1937 and 1945 and their impact on contemporaneous discourse on the role of the press and public opinion. Drawing on Foucault once again, Schäfer argues that starting in the second half of the 1930s, Japanese debate on mass media and public opinion—as in Germany—gradually became linked to (and animated by) state-driven ideological concepts. Applying Horst Pöttker's formulation of seven "ideal-typical" (p. 161) behavior patterns engaged in by German scholars under the Nazi regime, Schäfer classifies Koyama as a proponent of "ideological conformity" (p. 161), Ono as an example

of "opportunism" (p. 166), and Tosaka as a representative of the "opposition" (p. 168). Although intriguing, this new line of discussion sits awkwardly within a conclusion devoted chiefly to summarizing the book's core argument. Perhaps this subject might have been more adequately handled in a separate chapter. Schäfer's decision to include the wartime discourse here may relate to the last part of the conclusion, where he alleges that media studies of both prewar and wartime Japan have been neglected, not only in postwar mass communication journals, but also in books dealing with the history of Japanese mass media and communication studies. Taking note of Yoshimi Shun'ya's argument that after 1945 the dominance of positivistic American research on mass communication suppressed the theoretical and philosophical discussions that had characterized the prewar period, Schäfer posits the increasingly ideological nature of discourse on the press after 1937 as an additional explanation for why prewar approaches had vanished into oblivion.

Schäfer holds that after the war, the leading figures in newspaper studies tacitly agreed on something like a new beginning for the discipline as a means of covering up their own involvement in organizations responsible for wartime propaganda. In support of this claim, he points to Koyama's appointment by the US GHQ as director of the National Opinion Research Institute, as well as his assumption of a leading role in establishing postwar public opinion research organizations in Japan, contrasting these developments with the fact that left-wing thinker Tosaka faded from public view after the war. The author argues that Tosaka's demotion is inseparable from Koyama's successful adaptation both to the political situation during the war and to postwar liberal democracy. Schäfer here states that the central aim of his book is "not only to criticize the proponents of *shinbungaku* for their successful ideological adaptations, but also [quoting Foucault] to 'restor[e] the power of speech' . . . of the 'subjugated knowledges' . . . of thinkers such as Tosaka, being suppressed by the fascist regime in the prewar time on the one hand, and the dominance of democratic liberalism and positivistic American communication research in the postwar period on the other" (p. 170). In closing, Schäfer states that Tosaka and, for the postwar period, Tsurumi Shunsuke may be considered exemplars of the historical formulation of cultural and media studies, providing future investigators in these fields with a toolbox of critical theories that constitute important reference points.

Schäfer's book offers an insightful and comprehensive overview of interwar discourse and theory on the Japanese press, in particular its social function, and is a welcome contribution to a field in which research has doubtless been lacking. The author fails, however, to mention the work of some investigators in these areas. Christiane Séguy, for example, has written extensively on the history of the Japanese press with an emphasis on the Meiji and early Taishō periods.[1] It is somewhat surprising that

[1] Christiane Séguy, *Histoire de la presse japonaise: Le développement de la presse à l'époque Meiji et son rôle dans la modernisation du Japon* (Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France, 1993); Christiane Séguy, "Rôle et transformations de la presse au début de l'ère Taishō: Du 'Premier mouvement pour la défense d'un gouvernement constitutionnel,' daiichiji kenseiyōgo undō, à 'l'affaire

in his discussion of Shimizu Ikutarō's theory of rumor, Schäfer stresses the 2-26 Incident as the origin of Shimizu's theory, but, despite mentioning natural disasters as one source of rumors, he fails to consider research examining the impact of the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923 on Shimizu's thinking.[2] It is also unclear why Schäfer jumps from the Meiji period almost directly into the 1920s and 1930s, failing to consider almost all studies of the press published during the 1910s.

Such minor shortcomings do not detract from the fact that Schäfer's book is well worth reading and makes an important contribution to existing studies on the Japanese press. The strength of the book lies in Schäfer's tracing of Japanese scholars' entanglements with Western theories of the press while at the same time drawing attention to significant differences, processes of appropriation, developments, and even critiques of both Western and Japanese sources. This is a groundbreaking work that will undoubtedly stimulate future research on the subject.

de l'arc-en-ciel blanc,' hakkō jiken," in *Actes du Premier colloque d'études japonaises de l'Université Marc Bloch*, ed. Sakae Murakami Giroux et Christiane Séguy, pp. 157–71 (Strasbourg: Université Marc Bloch, 2000).

[2] See, for example, Ogino Takeshi, "Shimizu Ikutarō ni okeru shizen to jin'i (1): Kantō daishinsai no keiken," in: *Kyōto kyōiku daigaku kiyō* 119 (Sept. 2011), pp. 123–38.

Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan. By William Marotti. Duke University Press, 2013. 464 pages. Hardcover $94.95; softcover $25.95.

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How does one write about art when the work of art is a political gesture? How does one write about a political act that is performed using the tools and techniques of an artist? William Marotti's *Money, Trains, and Guillotines: Art and Revolution in 1960s Japan* is a richly informed and intellectually provocative response to these two interrelated questions. As a text that deals with the Japanese avant-garde of the 1960s, this book joins a list of several English-language scholarly monographs published in the past five years on postwar Japanese experimental arts, including books by Bruce Baird, Miryam Sas, and Yuriko Furuhata. Museum publications and exhibition catalogues by the Museum of Modern Art, the Guggenheim Museum, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, have also left lasting marks on the field.[1]

[1] Bruce Baird, *Hijikata Tatsumi and Butoh: Dancing in a Pool of Gray Grits* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Miryam Sas, *Experimental Arts in Postwar Japan: Moments of Encounter, Engagement, and Imagined Return* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2011); Yuriko Furuhata, *Cinema of Actuality: Japanese Avant-Garde Filmmaking in the Season of Image Politics* (Duke University Press, 2013); Doryun Chong, ed., *Tokyo, 1955–1970: A New Avant-Garde* (New York: