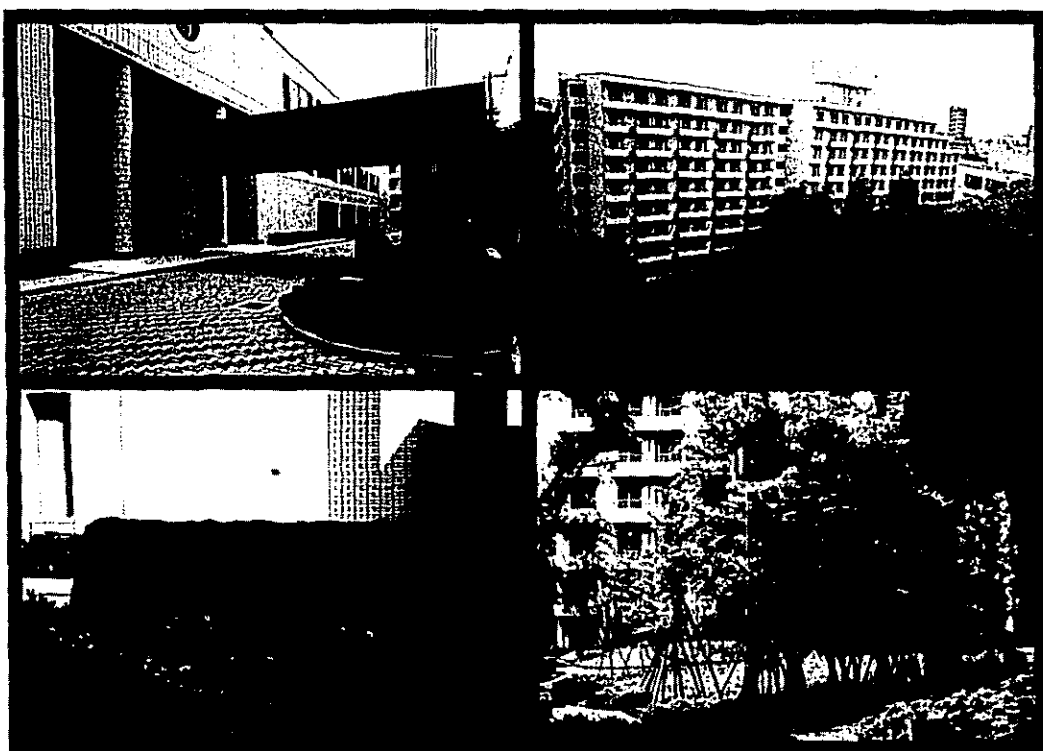

HANDBOOK FOR GENERAL ORIENTATION



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1. THE JAPANESE SOCIETY AND PEOPLE
2. HISTORY OF JAPANESE CULTURE
3. EDUCATION IN JAPAN
4. JAPANESE ECONOMY
5. READING GUIDE ON JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE

1. THE JAPANESE SOCIETY AND PEOPLE

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Chapter I. Sense of Values of the Japanese People and Characteristics of Japanese Culture

Preface

The sense of values of the Japanese people and the characteristics of Japanese culture have been developed in the long historical process extending over two thousand years in this island country

The discussions of these topics will necessarily cover a wide range of areas such as language, religion, arts, customs as well as socio-economic, political and industrial developments.

When we consider any of these important areas, we must not neglect the geographic and climatic influences that played a significant role in forming the traits and features unique to the Japanese mentality, traditions and culture.

The development of Japanese culture also owes a lot to the influence from the Asian Continent. For instance, Buddhism was born in India, developed in China, and was introduced to Japan through Korea. However, Japan later began to learn Buddhism directly from China by sending a large number of young students in what was known as KENTOSHI mission.

It is important to note that the observations in the subsequent sections were made in the context of influences from the Asian continent upon the indigenous Japanese culture.

Section I Geography and Natural Surroundings

1-1 Location, Size and Population

As you can see on the world map, Japan is an island country located off the coast of the Asian continent to the east, and consists of four major islands plus numerous smaller islands and islets. Japan is surrounded by seas – with the Pacific on the south and the east, and the Sea of Japan on the north and the west. The northern island of Hokkaido has a population of 5 million people. Honshu, the largest island of Japan, has 95 million people, and Shikoku in the Inland Sea has a population of 4.5 million, against 13 million people living in the southern island of Kyushu facing the Chinese continent to the west and the Korea peninsula to the north. Further down in the south, there are Okinawa islands, which forms one of the 47 prefectures of Japan.

The four major islands shaped like an arch stretch from the north to the southwest. The Japanese archipelago is about 3,800 km long from the northern tip to the southern tip, which is almost same distance as from San Francisco to Honolulu, or from Bangkok to Karachi or from Beirut to London.

The land area of Japan is 378,000 km², which is about 1/25 the size of the U.S.A. and is smaller than the single state of California.

The Japanese islands are mostly mountainous and only about 1/4 of the total land area is available for habitation and industries, and wherever you may be in Japan you will be no more than 150 km away from the nearest coast.

In this small area there are over 120 million people or about one half of the population of the United States. Furthermore, we have few natural resources such as oil, coal, iron ore and even wood. Under these circumstances or natural environments we are forced to import a substantial quantity of food such as meat, fish and grain, apart from oil and industrial raw materials. For this we have to earn foreign exchange to survive by processing imported raw materials and exporting finished industrial products.

Seasonal changes and climatic conditions also have much to do with the life of the Japanese people. However, the Japanese people have learned in the long historical process to adapt themselves to and to live in harmony with these changes and climatic conditions.

1-2 Life in Harmony with Nature

In Japan there are four distinct seasons of *spring, summer, autumn and winter*. There is a rainy season lasting about a month before summer arrives, and from September to October Japan is often hit by typhoons accompanied by torrential rain and strong wind. Spring in Japan is featured by green leaves and blooming of many flowers, most famous of which is "Sakura" or cherry blossoms. The new school year begins in April while the school graduates newly employed by Japanese companies also start working in this season. Planting rice in the paddy is done from late spring to early summer. In Tokyo, TEN-NOH, His Majesty the Emperor, plants rice in early part of June every year. Ten-Noh was the supreme ruler of the nation since the days of mythology, and is a very unique existence in the sense that nobody else can take him over or he himself cannot give up the position at will. TEN-NOH of today is the 124th in succession of the imperial lineage, and the Crown Prince and his descendants will continue to hold this absolute position to serve the people in the Japanese history.

Summer is hot and humid, beginning in the middle of July following the rainy season. In autumn, the climate gets cooler and colder day by day toward winter, and autumnal tints are observed throughout the country with slight variations in timing from region to region. Rice harvest is done in October in Tokyo and Kanto district, and people enjoy local community festivals throughout the country to share the joy of rich harvest. Winter is mild with many sunny days except for the northern part of the country. The coastal areas facing the Sea of Japan are exposed to severely cold wind from Siberia. Snow falls and piles up as

deep as two meters, and winter lasts 4 to 5 months in those areas. Spring and autumn are the best seasons of the year in terms of climate. The Japanese people enjoy these changes in climate and natural scenery from season to season. They enjoy, for example, cherry-blossom viewing in spring and appreciation of autumnal tints in autumn, swimming in summer, and skiing in winter.

Seasonal fruits, vegetables and flowers tell people about the change of seasons. There are many seasonal words and expressions, which are essential in the composition of the traditional Japanese poems known as "Haiku."

Adapting to the change of seasons and living in harmony with nature are the part and parcel of Japanese culture. In this style of life people enjoy the singing of birds in spring and the sounds of crickets and other insects in autumn. The delicate ringing of wind bells makes us feel cooler in summer.

Section 2. Basic Mentality in the Sense of Value

2-1 Shintoism or Kan-nagarano-Michi and Life based on Rice Farming

There is a basic Japanese mentality deeply rooted in Shintoism in which people lived, keeping their minds straight in modesty. Shintoism is somewhat similar to what is called animism in Southeast Asia. However, Shintoism is not same as animism, although it has something in common with animism in the understanding of life and nature. In the old Yamato language in ancient Japan, Shintoism was called Kan-nagarano-Michi, and people believed that they were born "innocent and pure", and that anything wrong occurred after birth should be purified and corrected by "water of blessing", which act was called KIYOMERU in the Yamato language. There was another word HARAU, meaning "brushing off the dust" to return to the original state of human spirit, which is "clean, pure and innocent." Similarly, the word NAORU, meaning "curing" or "recovering" in the present Japanese language, derives from the idea of the ancient people of Yamato, who will hereafter be called the Yamatons to restore one's original state at birth. Such old Yamato words and ideas are still alive today in spite of many influence that have subsequently affected Japanese mentality. People prayed and lived in the world of Shintoism, which is entirely different from the world of monotheism, which was born in the desert.

The fact that the Japanese people have lived on rice has had an important bearing upon both their mental and material life since old days. The people traditionally believed in powers residing in the nature and natural phenomena such as sun, rain, water and soil, which helped the growth of rice and other agricultural crops. Indeed, the growth and harvest of the crops was a gift from the powers in nature, which the people called KAMI in singular and KAMI-GAMI

in plural.

In the concept of Shintoism the life of human being was only a part of the nature, and the way the people lived was called "Kan-nagarano-Michi", which literally means to "live in harmony with nature according to the will of KAMI". The souls of ancestors were called KAMI, and in the belief of Shintoism the dead was to become KAMI in Takamagahara, the "Higland in the Heaven" from which the human being had come down to this world. These KAMI or KAMI-GAMI are enshrined throughout the country and many people even today visit shrines to pray particularly during the New Year Holidays, and the basic idea of original Shintoism is still strongly preserved in the minds of the Japanese people of today.

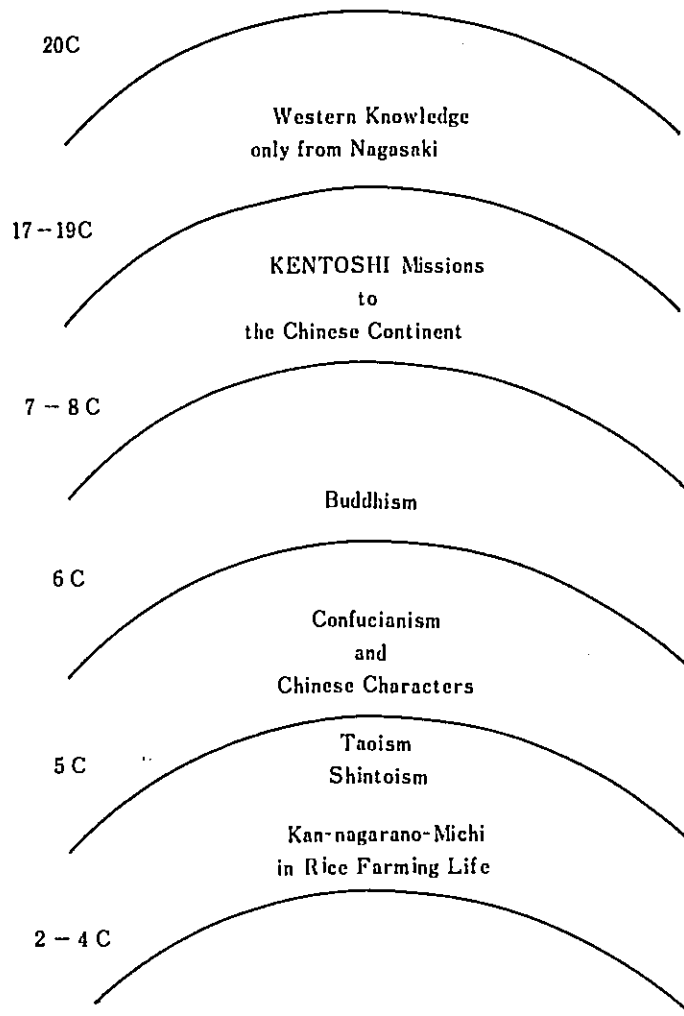
2-2 Three Major Elements of Japanese Culture

It may be said that there are three elements that formed the Japanese mentality or their fundamental culture. They are Shintoism, which was explained in detail in the preceding section, Confucianism which was introduced to Japan together with the Chinese characters, and Bddhism.

Shintoism or Kan-nagarano-Michi is at the root of the Japanese mentality and life, while Confucianism and Buddhism were later added to the basic stratum of the Japanese culture. Chinese characters are believed to have already been in use in Japan in the 4th century. Confucianism and Bddhism influenced the Japanese culture substantially but it was European and American civilization that spurred Japan toward modernization and indsutrialization after the 19th century. The influences of Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism are illustrated in the chart below:

Historical Formation of Cultural Strata
prepared by Mr. Yosiei Shimizu

Modern Technology & Science



Section 3. Life and Culture in Tradition

3-1 Learning from Overseas, the KENTOSHI Missions

As has been mentioned earlier, Japan learned a lot from China in its long history. The learning was done by means of sending a large number of young student missions to China called KENTOSHI, beginning in 630AD and ending in 838AD. There are some records of mission sent earlier to the Korean peninsula and the Chinese continent, but the greatest impact was brought back by the KENTOSHI missions from the 7th to the 9th centuries. They learned not only Buddhism but also national administration such as laws, taxation and city planning in China. Kyoto and Nara were designed according to the knowledge of city planning they learned from China. However, the Chinese characters brought back by KENTOSHI missions gave a decisive influence on the development of Japanese culture. The people in those days used the Chinese characters to write the Yamato language poem of WAKA and historical records.

Later unique Japanese letters of phonetic signs now known as Katakana and Hiragana were invented from the Chinese characters. Katakana with 48 different letters began to be used in as early as the 7th century, and Hiragana also with 48 letters came into wide use in the 10th century.

During the 200 years of history of the KENTOSHI missions some 6,000 bright young Japanese men were sent to China, but 1/3 of them died either on the way to or on the way back from China because of poor vessel construction and voyage techniques in those days. The Japanese culture that we have today has been developed with the sacrifice of these Japanese youth more than one thousand years ago.

The second greatest learning stage comparable to the period of KENTOSHI missions came in the latter part of the 19th century following the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate government and the reopening of the doors of Japan to the rest of the world. The Meiji Government dispatched a number of capable Japanese youth to study Western technology and civilization, and at the same time invited professors and engineers from Europe and the United States to Japan to facilitate the newly started industrialization and modernization process. These expatriate professors and engineers were paid even higher salaries than the Cabinet ministers of the Meiji government.

3-2 Special Aspects of Religion in Japanese Mentality

In the third century our ancestors first appeared in the historical record of China under the state name of "WA". However, the results of recent excavations of the ruins show the rice farming life began in Japan in as early as the 2nd century BC. Thus it is assumed that the root of Shintoism or Kan-nagarano-Michi

may also go back to the same period since Shinto faith was born on the basis of rice farming.

In the faith of Shintoism, there are limitless number of KAMI-GAMI to be believed, feared and thanked, that exist in nature.

The WAKA poem collection of MANYO-SHU edited in 752AD contains a number of poems with Shinto prayers for safe return of the KENTOSHI missions that went to China to study Buddhism and other things. Here you can see very special nature of our traditional religious belief, which is far different from that of monotheism such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

The word "religion" has a meaning of "tie, promise or contract" in its original Latin term "re-ligare" in which one may choose a God to follow in contract. The Japanese word for "Religion" is Shû-kyo", which has no connotation of contract or promise, and it only means to receive "sacred words or moral instructions and teachings". Therefore, KAMI should not be translated into God as used in monotheism. As the Japanese word "Shû-kyo" implies, both Shintoism and Buddhism are acceptable to the Japanese mind without contradiction, and the two religions live in harmony with each other. The following table illustrates this tendency in statistical terms:

No. of Believers by Religious Organizations (as of December 31, 1984)

Religions	Religious Organizations						No. of believers (Sum Total)
	Shrines	Temples	Churches	Propagation Centers	Others	Total No.	
	79,730	74,406	32,354	29,323	3,215	219,028	190,151,357
Shintoism with Various Sects	79,714	—	6,773	1,905	454	83,846	95,543,346
Buddhism with Various Sects	10	74,406	3,177	3,174	673	31,440	82,715,098
Christianity	—	—	4,841	1,572	1,110	7,523	1,166,686
Catholics	—	—	853	372	999	2,224	394,470
Protestants	—	—	3,983	1,200	111	5,299	772,216
Miscellaneous religions	6	—	17,563	22,672	978	41,219	10,726,227

(modified from "Shukyo Nenkan" of 1985 published by the Ministry of Education)

3-3 Sense of "Mottai-nai"

The newly harvested crops were always presented first to KAMI or KAMI-GAMI having the names of their ancestors in ancient times, the rite of which is still carried out in the Ise Grand Shrine. In the ancient and traditional belief of the Yamatons, the rice production was not only the work of human beings but also was made possible with the help of KAMI-GAMI living in nature. This was also true with production of other grains and vegetables. The word "Mottai-nai" was born in this sense of thanks to such KAMI's assistance rendered for the growth and production of rice and other crops. Therefore, the people felt guilty if the harvested crops were not fully utilized for the purposes for which they were produced. When a grain of rice was left uneaten in the bowl, people used to say "Mottai-nai" and ate it. The word was uttered not from the economic sense but rather from the feeling of guilt.

Here is a story of "Mottai-nai" which may give you a better understanding of its meaning.

A Buddhist monk asked his disciple to bring some water in bucket for the bath which he found too hot. The disciple brought the water and handed it to his master, who poured the water into the bathtub and gave the bucket back to the boy, with some water left in it. When he heard that the disciple had scattered the water on the ground at the entrance way, he called back the boy and asked what he did with the water remaining in the bucket. The boy replied to his master that he had scattered it on the ground. the master asked him why he didn't give it to the trees nearby instead of simply scattering on the ground. He continued, "If you give water to the trees they will be happy to receive it, and by using water this way you can give life to the water." The boy later changed his name to TEKISUI, meaning "a drop of water" to remember this lesson. We use the expression "Mottai-nai" in such a spirit.

Chapter II. Some Characteristics of Japanese Language and Thinking Patterns

Section 1. Some Characteristics of Japanese Language

Language is an integral part of culture, and it influences the attitude and behavior of the people who speak the language.

Japanese language differs from other languages in many respects, and some of the characteristics of the Japanese attitude and behavior are reflected in Japanese language.

One of the most outstanding characteristics of Japanese language is that its

usage is determined to a large measure by the human relationships in the Japanese society.

The Japanese people have a common language and share common cultural backgrounds and traditions.

Their attitude and behavior are affected by these basic conditions as explained in the subsequent section.

1-1 Japanese Language is not Self-Assertive

Japanese people, who are always concerned with harmony with others, do not assert themselves as strongly or as clearly as they do in the Western countries. This characteristic of Japanese language sometimes makes it difficult for the Japanese people to express themselves freely or fully in discussions in international meetings, where logic is the rule of conduct.

They try to avoid frontal clash in argument with others as much as possible, and even if they are forced into such a situation, they endeavor, subconsciously, to come to a compromise. They seldom say flatly "No" to deny the point raised by the other person, and they take a soft approach to persuade the other person to reach an agreement acceptable to both sides.

1-2 The Style of Japanese Language Varies According to Sexes and Vertical Human Relationship

There is a subtle difference in the style of language used by men and women in Japan. For instance, women's language ends with suffixes softer or gentler than those of men's language.

The degree of politeness of Japanese language would differ between the elder and the younger and between the superior and the subordinate. Japanese people almost subconsciously select the language style appropriate to the human relationship that they have with the other person(s). The proper use of honorifics is important in Japanese language.

These characteristics of Japanese language derive from the Japanese thinking pattern, which prototype was formed during the Edo period under the influence of Confucian moral values and has persisted up to date with some modifications.

For similar reasons Japanese people sometimes use indirect or roundabout expressions to express their thoughts or feelings so that they may not hurt the other party in the conversation or make him lose face.

1-3 Japanese Language Does Not Say Everything

Since the Japanese people share common cultural backgrounds and traditions it is not really important or necessary for them to express everything in words. It is rather possible for them to get the message across from heart to heart without

depending much upon the use of language.

There is an expression in Japanese language, "kotoage-senu-kuni," which literally means the "country without recourse to verbal expressions." In the traditional Japanese society silence was more highly valued than eloquence.

In Japanese language the subject is often omitted because it is taken for granted in the kind of human relationship that exists in the Japanese society.

There are some vague expressions in Japanese language, which could be interpreted in many different ways, depending upon the circumstances. One of these examples is "Dôzo yuroshiku," which means something like, "Best wishes," but could be used to imply anything one wants to emphasize in the context of the conversation. When it is used in parting, it does not mean much but may serve to soften the ending of the conversation.

Section 2 Some Characteristics of Japanese Thinking Patterns

2-1 Family Consciousness

The Japanese people have a strong family consciousness. This is reflected, for instance, in their custom of calling each other by the family name rather than by the given name, and of erecting the family grave instead of the individual grave.

The strong family consciousness derives, it is assumed, from Japan's long tradition of cultivating rice, which still remains the nation's staple food.

Rice farming was rapidly mechanized after World War II, and Japan's agricultural population has dwindled to the low level of four (4) percent of the entire population in 1983.'

Traditionally, however, agriculture had always been the most fundamental industry of Japan, and during the Edo period when Japan was under the feudalistic rule by the Tokugawa Shogunate Government it is estimated that about 80 percent of the Japanese people were engaged in agriculture.

In order to grow rice it is necessary for all members of the family to work together in planting, irrigating, weeding and harvesting rice -- all at the right times. In many cases, farming families in the same community assisted each other in carrying out these agricultural activities.

The cooperative work required in rice cultivation has apparently helped to develop the strong family consciousness, which still persists in the mentality of the Japanese people even in the highly industrialized society in which they live today.

Rice cultivation also depends very much upon the blessings of the nature such as sufficient rainfall for rice planting and abundant sunshine for growing

rice.

Shinto, the indigenous religion of Japan, was therefore initiated as a set of religious rites to pray for and thank the blessings of the nature. The myriads of gods in Shinto, which are called "Kaimi-Gami", were not something to transcend above the people but "lived" and "co-existed" with the people to provide them with the necessary blessings when needed. This is explained in great detail in Chapter 1.

The family size has become much smaller after the war in the process of rapid industrialization and urbanization of Japan, which was accelerated since 1960s, and the average number of children per family is now two, and the average Japanese family has only two generations living together, and is called a nuclear family for its small size.

However, these nuclear families living in large cities still preserve the traditional custom of visiting their grandparents and paying homage to their family graves in their home towns at least twice a year.

Thus, family consciousness survives strongly among the Japanese people.

2-2 Seniority Consciousness

The Japanese people are very much seniority conscious. The word seniority used here may be defined as a vertical social order in terms of age and status.

In the Japanese companies it is a common custom that people call each other by the job titles that they have. The most typical job titles are "bucho" (head of a department) and "kacho" (head of a section). A bucho is higher in status than kacho, and a bucho is in most cases older than a kacho.

This is a historical background to the seniority consciousness of the Japanese people. In other words, seniority consciousness had much to do with teaching of Confucianism.

Confucianism is moral philosophy based upon the principles expounded by Confucius, who lived 551 – 478 B.C.

Confucianism was introduced to Japan about the same time as Buddhism in the 6th century, but it exercised a great influence upon the Japanese attitude and way of thinking especially after the Edo period.

In the Japanese society two moral values based upon Confucianism were considered specially important and stressed in education throughout the Edo period and up to the end of World War II. The two moral values were "chu" (loyalty to the superior, the State, and the emperor) and "kô" (filial piety or obedience to one's parents).

Here is found a vertical social order in terms of age and status.

The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 is an important official statement of educational aims, which remained the keynote of the principles of

Japanese education until the end of World War II. It reads in part:

"Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting – Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and therein also lies the source of Our Education. Our people should be obedient to their parents, affectionate to their brothers and sisters; as husbands; and wives they should be harmonious, as friends they should be true – they should pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore they should advance public good and promote common interests, always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; Should an emergency arise, they should offer themselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Empire – ."

Society and Education in Japan, Herbert Passin, p. 151.

The seniority consciousness based upon Confucian moral values provides strong foundation to the seniority system that is practiced widely in Japanese companies as illustrated in the use of job titles as well as in seating arrangements and speaking order.

The human relationships in Japan are regulated to a considerable extent by the vertical social relationship between people in terms of their age and status.

2-3 Group Consciousness

The Japanese people, whether they are conscious or not, behave as members of a group rather than as individuals.

The group can be a school which one attends, a club to which one belongs, or a company where one works. Whatever form it may take, a group in Japan is very much like a family, and members of the same group feel and behave like members of the same family. Group consciousness, therefore, may be said to be an extension of family consciousness.

The position of the president in a Japanese company is similar to that of the father in a family. Company employees are like children in the family.

In other words, the moment some one joins a Japanese company, he becomes a member of the company family. The company takes every possible care of the employees and provides them with all conceivable fringe benefits.

Many leading Japanese companies provide low-rent company housing, annual excursion trip with a substantial portion of the expenses paid for by the company, and company-sponsored athletic meeting in which all people working in the company from the president down to the newly recruited employees participate.

For company employees, even weddings and funerals are not purely personal matters. It is a common practice to ask a superior in the company to serve as go-between for wedding ceremony and to invite senior staff and colleagues in the company as guests to wedding reception. Funeral services are also assisted in many ways by the people from the same company.

Life-time employment is an established system in Japanese companies. Once employed, most people stay with the same company until retirement, and they receive salary increases annually and even get promoted to higher positions according to their seniority in the company.

All these measures help to strengthen the employees' feeling of belonging to the company. They feel secure and comfortable being members of the company family. In short, they identify themselves with the company. This is illustrated, for instance, by the popular custom of the company employees wearing the company pin on the lapel of their business suit.

They do not mind working overtime even at the sacrifice of their pleasures, if necessary, because they know that in return the company would look after them well.

Japanese company employees thus generally have a strong sense of loyalty to their company, and it may be pointed out that the existence of such a dedicated, well-educated workforce has been one of the important factors that contributed to the phenomenal reconstruction and growth of Japanese economy after the war.

This group spirit of the Japanese people is developed in no small way by the Japanese school system, where emphasis is put not so much on individual students as on the body of students accommodated in the same class. Students are grouped according to their age level and put in classes of mixed abilities. There are no classes for gifted students. Students are promoted and graduated automatically provided they attend classes regularly, especially in the nine-year compulsory stage of education.

The students are encouraged to study and play together as a peer group based upon classes. Such team games as tug of war and throwing of red and white colored balls into baskets (the team that threw more balls into the basket than the other is declared the winner) are popular in school athletic meetings. Annual school excursion is a good opportunity to train students in group discipline. Many Japanese schools have uniforms for the students.

All of these help to develop the group spirit of the Japanese students, who would behave in a similar vein in the future when they join the Japanese companies.

2-4 Harmony Consciousness

Harmony has always been considered very important in the historical traditions of Japan.

As stated in the section on "Family Consciousness," the success of rice cultivation depends upon the cooperative work of the family members, of which harmony is an important element.

In ancient times Japan was originally known as the country of "Yamato," and the Japanese people as the "Yamato" Race. "Yamato" means great harmony.

The 17-article of the Constitution, which is said to have been drafted by Prince Shôtoku (574-622 A.D.), who is admired as the father of Japanese Buddhism, said in Article 1:

"Harmony should be valued, and care should be taken to avoid any conflicts."

Since the Japanese company is similar in nature to the Japanese family it is extremely important to maintain harmony among employees in order to ensure the successful operation of the company.

If an employee is the type of person who would disrupt the harmony among employees, he is not considered a desirable employee and will not have a good chance of promotion even if he is otherwise very clever and capable.

Promotions are determined on the basis of such factors of individual employees as ability, performance, seniority and harmonious personality.

The decision-making process in Japanese companies involves almost all employees at different levels of the structural hierarchy of the company, directly or indirectly. It therefore takes a relatively long time for a decision to be made, but once a decision is made, it is rather very fast for the decision to be implemented as most employees had been involved in the decision-making process.

The office layout of Japanese companies, where senior staff such as "bucho" and "kacho" work together with the rank and file employees in a large office with no partitions put up between them, also helps to promote the sense of oneness and togetherness of all the employees, which in turn further strengthens the harmony among them.

In the Japanese factories all people working there from the factory manager down to apprentice workers wear, in many cases, the same uniform and eat in the same dining room.

All of these measures attest to the importance attached by Japanese companies to the harmony among employees.

Japanese companies prefer to recruit new school graduates rather than mid-career professionals, who are ready to start performing certain professional duties right away. What they do is to provide the new recruits fresh from school with several weeks of job training to equip them with basic knowledge or skills

required for their work, and make them learn something about the management policy of the company. In subsequent years the employees are provided with opportunities, from time to time, for professional improvement and leadership training.

Thus, employees grow into the workforce who would support the harmonious development of the company.

2-5 Competition Consciousness

When one graduates from school, he must face one of the most important decisions in life, that is, to choose the company to work for. What he does is not simply to get a job to do, but is to select the company, where most probably he would spend his entire working career.

There exists a certain gap in terms of salaries, conditions of work, fringe benefits, etc. between large, famous companies and smaller, less famous companies. It is only natural for school graduates to try to seek a job with one of these large, famous companies.

In order to be successful in this, one must, first of all, go to a good school and obtain high scores in all subjects on which they are tested in the entrance examination to the school at the higher level of education.

Thus, competition starts even at the very early stage of education. Six-year elementary and three-year lower secondary education is compulsory in Japan, but a considerable percentage of children enrolled in elementary and lower secondary schools go to a private institution called "juku" or a cram school for supplementary lessons after regular school hours in the hope that they could have better chances of entry into a good school at upper level, be it a public or a private one.

If they succeed in getting into a good upper secondary school and continue to study even harder at that level of education, they could perhaps expect to successfully pass the very tough entrance examination to a famous, prestigious national or private university.

Should they fail in the first attempt to enter a university of their choice, they are enrolled in a private school called "yobiko" or a preparatory school to prepare themselves for a better chance in the second attempt in the subsequent year.

Over-heated competition in the entrance examinations brings about constant mental and physical strain on the part of the students, and this is one of the reasons why elementary and lower secondary schools are harassed by the problems of school violence and bullying caused by frustrated students. The rate of dropouts among upper secondary school students is also gradually increasing.

The Japanese government is concerned with these problems, and an Ad Hoc

Commission on Education, which is directly responsible to Prime Minister Nakasone, is now in the process of reviewing the whole school system in Japan, and plans to make a set of recommendations for: 1. improvement of the entrance examination system, 2. correction of social trend to attach an excessive importance to educational background; 3. restoration of balance among intellectual, moral and physical aspects of education, and 4. intergration of home, school and social education in line with the concept of life-long education.

It is expected that the recommendations, when implemented, would help to put Japanese education on the right track for continuing progress toward the 21st century.

2-6 Middle Class Consciousness

Majority of the Japanese people consider themselves belonging to the middle class.

This is because the gap between the rich and the poor, which was rather big in the pre-war Japanese society, has been bridged since after the war and most of the people are satisfied with the standard of living prevailing in Japan today.

The improvement in the quality of the people's life has been brought about as a result of Japan's miraculous reconstruction out of the ashes and the successful growth and expansion of Japanese economy in the post-war period.

Japan's political stability has also been an important factor contributing to the country's phenomenal economic development since after the war.

In this connection, however, it must be pointed out that the democratization of the Japanese society after World War II has played a decisive role in motivating the people to work for the construction of a new, prosperous, democratic Japan.

Under the new Constitution adopted in 1946 Japan has become an egalitarian, democratic country, where the people have all fundamental human rights and equal opportunities in education and employment. If they study and work hard and dilligently, they can expect to climb the ladder to success.

According to a recent public opinion survey conducted by the Prime Minister's Office, 87.6 percent of the people responded said that they think they belong to the middle class — 6.4 percent to upper middle class, 51.8 percent to average middle class and 29.4 percent to lower middle class. Only 0.2 percent of the respondents felt that they belonged to the upper class, and 8.6 percent to the lower class.

As to the degree of satisfaction with the present life, 6.2 percent said that they were fully satisfied, and 62.0 percent, generally satisfied.

For the degree of satisfaction by different aspects of life, see the chart

attached at the end of this section.

Concerning the attitude for life in the future, 49.1 percent of the people surveyed replied that they would "put emphasis on the richness of mind" while 32.7 percent chose "material abundance" for the reply.

Degree of Satisfaction by Different Aspects of Life
(figures indicate percentage)

	Satisfied			Unsatisfied			
	Fully	Generally	Don't Know	Considerably	Completely	Can't tell which	
Assets & Savings	1.7	30.8	2.5	2.9	50.2		11.7
Income & Revenues	2.5	39.2	1.7	2.3	45.5		8.8
Leisure & Spare time	2.6	45.3	1.6	3.7	38.0		8.7
Durable goods such as cars, electric appliances, furniture, etc.	3.9	63.8	1.2	2.2	25.3	3.6	

Chapter III. In a Time of Great Changes

1-1 Great Changes in Post-war Japan

When World War II ended, Japan found itself reduced to ashes with its major cities burned down and its industries almost completely destroyed by bombing.

Japan, however, rose like a phoenix out of the ashes and has grown into what it is today in a short time span of only about 40 years. In order to rebuild its industries Japan was intent on seeking the latest scientific technology from the United States and other Western powers, and succeeded in applying and improving the imported technology in all fields of industries.

Being scarce in natural resources, Japan imported raw materials and manufactured all sorts of industrial products, a large percentage of which were exported to the countries around the world. The foreign exchange thus earned was used to improve the standard of living of the people and to further expand Japan's industries.

This rapid restoration and development of the Japanese economy was accompanied by concentration of population in large cities that took place in the process of industrialization and urbanization.

1-2 Current Problems

The rapid reconstruction and development of Japanese economy has necessarily brought about new social problems, some of which are, for instance

- 1) Environmental pollution – This problem caused some serious damages in the initial stage, but has now been put largely under control due to the strict measures taken by the central and local government authorities to minimize the level of pollution of the environment.
- 2) Rapid aging of population – In 1985 about 10 percent of Japan's population was over the age of 65, and it is estimated that the figure will increase to 21.3 percent in 2025. This means that about three working people must support one retired person. In such a rapid aging of the population, no parallel of which is found in the rest of the world, it will be a gigantic task to maintain the quality of the social security benefits for the aged.
- 3) Educational problems – As explained in the preceding chapter, Japanese education is faced with some serious problems to be tackled and solved. Japan's success in these efforts could be one of the keys for overcoming the challenges that Japanese economy faces today and in the years to come.
- 4) Recession of Japanese economy – In the current slowdown of world economy Japan is suffering from decline in exports and the subsequent structural changes in certain industrial sectors, which could result in an increase of

unemployment rate in the future. How to survive under these circumstances and to continue to ensure slow but steady growth of Japanese economy is indeed a real challenge.

1-3 Modernization and Declining Traditional Mentality

The phenomenal industrialization and modernization of Japan since after the war has tremendously improved the standard of living of the people, who now enjoy the high level of modern amenities they never dreamed of before. Japan has become a society of affluence where people are well fed and clothed and reasonably well housed in the limited space of land available for housing. In the days of affluence, however, it is important to remember the lesson given in the expression "Mottai-nai", which is deeply rooted in the traditional mentality of the Japanese people.

Material abundance is also partly responsible for the decline in the degree of consideration to others, which is observed in the post-war Japanese society. For instance, the respect for elder people is not as strong in Japan today as it was before the war. This tendency is also related to the reduction in family size as illustrated by the term "nuclear family."

1-4 Creation of New Cultural Values

Since the ancient times the traditional Japanese society has been developed in harmony with the nature, upon which blessings rice cultivation fully depended. To the Japanese people nature was by itself the object of worship in the faith of Shintoism, which provided the foundation for enrichment of their spiritual life with the later introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism.

Nowadays the Japanese people, as members of international community, are feeling that they can not live alone and they should further promote closer inter-relationships with other countries.

Under these circumstances, what Japan needs today is the creation of new cultural values based upon linking the spirit of cooperation with the traditional values such as modesty, harmony, gratitude etc, which meet with universal acceptance.

2. HISTORY OF JAPANESE CULTURE

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HISTORY OF JAPANESE CULTURE

TEMPO OF ESTABLISHING THE FIRST DYNASTY

Mesopotamia

Agriculture	B.C. 7000	}	4000
Bronze	B.C. 3000		
Dynasty	B.C. 3000		
Iron	B.C. 2300		

China

Agriculture	B.C. 4500	}	3000
Dynasty	B.C. 1500		
Bronze	B.C. 2000		
Iron	B.C. 500		

Egypt

Agriculture	B.C. 5000	}	2000
Dynasty	B.C. 3000		
Bronze	B.C. 2800		
Iron	B.C. 1700		

Japan

Agriculture	B.C. 1000 (?)	}	600
Cultivation of paddy field	B.C. 300		
Bronze & Iron	B.C. 300		
Dynasty	A.D. 300		

FOREIGN INFLUENCES

- 1) Geographically Japan is a small island located in the Far East.
- 2) No foreign country has invaded or completely ruled Japan.
- 3) Japan has been in the position where she can pick up and accept only what she likes and wants from foreign cultures.

PERIODS	DATES	INFLUENCES
Jomon	B.C. 7000 ~ B.C. 300	Neolithic age
Yayoi	B.C. 300 ~ A.D. 300	Cultivation of paddy field, bronze & Iron
Kofun	A.D. 300 ~ 538	Korea
Asuka	A.D. 538 ~ 645	Northern Wei & Sui China Buddhism
Early Nara	A.D. 645 ~ 710	Tang China
Later Nara	A.D. 710 ~ 794	
Early Heian	A.D. 794 ~ 894	Tang China
Later Heian	A.D. 894 ~ 1185	Discontinuance of sending Japanese envoy to China
Kamakura	A.D. 1185 ~ 1333	Sung China
Nanbokuchō	A.D. 1333 ~ 1392	Sung (& Yuan) China
Muromachi	A.D. 1392 ~ 1573	Ming China
Azuchi-Momoyama	A.D. 1573 ~ 1600	Ming China, Portugal Christianity
Edo	A.D. 1600 ~ 1868	Closing the door to foreigners except Dutch
Meiji	A.D. 1868 ~ 1912	Europe
Taishō	A.D. 1912 ~ 1926	Europe
Showa	A.D. 1926 ~	World War II 1941 ~ 1945 America

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF JAPAN

PERIODS	HISTORY & CULTURE
JÔMON (B.C. 7000± B.C. 300)	Neolithic age: Hunting Pit dwelling: <i>Jômon</i> earthenware: Implements made of stone, bone & horn: Dogû clay dolls
YAYOI	B.C. 300 Introduction of cultivating paddy field, bronze & iron also introduced. Agriculture: Ancestor worship Storage with elevated floor: <i>Yayoi</i> earthenware: Implements made of bronze & iron: Ritual bronze bell (<i>dôtaku</i>): Bronze mirror
KOFUN (Tumulus)	A.D. 300 Semi-autonomous clans & the gradual rise of the Yamato Imperial clan. Ancestor worship: Myths of state establishment Great tumulus: Burial objects: <i>Haniwa</i> clay figures: Bronze and iron products Informal contacts with China and Korea.
ASUKA	A.D. 538 Official introduction of Buddhism to Japanese court. Centralization of the State. Introduction of Chinese architecture, sculpture, painting and letters. Hôryûji Temple founded by Prince Shôtoku in A.D. 607. Five stringed musical instrument <i>biwa</i> was introduced (mid-6th century A.D.) <i>Gigaku</i> (mask dance & music) was introduced in A.D. 612.
Early NARA Later	A.D. 645 Reformation of the Taika era (introduction of Chinese-style bureaucracy). A.D. 710 The transfer of the capital to Nara. Buddhist art flourished. The big Buddha image of the Tôdaiji Temple founded by Emperor Shomu around A.D. 750: Art objects of Shôsôin repository. Ancient myths & chronicles were compiled (<i>Kojiki</i>

PERIODS	HISTORY & CULTURE
	<p>ca. 712 A.D.; <i>Nihonshoki</i> 720 A.D.)</p> <p>Anthology of poems was compiled (<i>Manyôshu</i> 770 A.D.)</p> <p>A.D. 794 The transfer of the capital to Kyoto.</p> <p>Regency of Fujiwara aristocrats</p> <p>Rule of ex-emperors</p> <p>Gradual rise of feudal lords and warriors in the provinces.</p> <p>Taira clan in power & the rise of Minamoto clan.</p> <p>Introduction of esoteric Buddhism (Tendai sect by priest Saicho & Shingon sect by priest Kûkai).</p> <p>Tôji Temple given to priest Kûkai in 823 A.D.: Arts of esoteric Buddhism.</p> <p>The first Japanese Tale was written (<i>Taketori-monogatari</i> ca. 811 A.D.)</p> <p><i>Bugaku</i> (music & dance performed at court, some temples & shrines) was ordered in 810 A.D.</p> <p>A.D. 894 Discontinuance of sending Japanese envoy to T'ang China.</p> <p><i>Japanization of culture</i></p>
Early	
HEIAN	
Later	<p>a) Development of Jôdo (Pure Land) sect Buddhism and its art in which elegant, feminine & decorative taste of Fujiwara aristocrats is well expressed (Phoenix Hall of Byôdô-in Temple founded by the Fujiwara clan in 1053 A.D.).</p> <p>b) Shintô-Buddhist syncretism (Honji-suijaku theory): Development of Suijaku art.</p> <p>c) Architectural style with elevated floor, thatched roof and outside corridor (<i>Shinden-zukuri</i>).</p> <p>d) Japanese subject matter & techniques used in painting (<i>Yamato-e</i>).</p> <p>e) Japanese alphabet (<i>kana</i>) was used; Development of kana literature such as <i>waka</i> (31-syllable poems) & <i>monogatari</i> (tales)</p> <p>The first anthology of <i>waka</i> poems (<i>Kokinshû</i>) was compiled in 905 A.D. under the imperial order</p>

PERIODS	HISTORY & CULTURE
	<p>which shows that poems written with national <i>kana</i> alphabet were considered important.</p> <p>“The Tale of Genji” (<i>Genji-monogatari</i>) was written by a woman-writer Murasaki-shikibu in early 11th century.</p>
KAMAKURA	<p>A.D. 1185 The fall of the Taira clan: Establishment of feudal regime under Minamoto <i>Shogunate</i> (military dictators.)</p> <p>Episode of Mongolian invasion (1274, 1281 A.D.)</p> <p>Introduction of Zen Buddhism.</p> <p>Development of new Buddhist sects such as <i>Jôdo</i> (priest Hônen & Shinran), Zen (priests Dôgen & E'isai) <i>Nichiren</i> (priest Nichren) & <i>Jushû</i> (priest Ippen).</p> <p>Architectural style with a room provided with alcove (<i>toko</i>), shelf (<i>tana</i>) and study corner (<i>shoin</i>). <i>Bukezukuri</i> or architectural style of warrior's residence.</p> <p>Dynamic & powerful sculptures by <i>Kei</i> school artists.</p> <p>Varieties of handscroll paintings both religious and seclar.</p> <p>Portrait paintings & sculptures of eminent priests & famous warriors.</p> <p>Raigô-painting, a picture of Amida Buddha coming to receive the soul of the dying and carry them to the Pure Land in the West.</p> <p>“The Tales of Heike” (<i>Heike-monogatari</i>, ca. 1233 A.D.)</p> <p>“Chronicle of Medieval Japan” (<i>Taiheiki</i>, mid-14th century)</p>
NANBOKUCHO MUROMACHI	<p>A.D. 1333 The fall of Kamakura regency.</p> <p>A.D. 1392 The reunion of Northern and Southern dynasties.</p> <p>Rule of Ashikaga <i>Shogunate</i>.</p> <p>painting: Tosa school – traditional <i>yamato-e</i> <i>Kanga school</i> – <i>ink-painting</i>: Sesshû Tôyô (1420~ 1506) made</p>

PERIODS	HISTORY & CULTURE
NANBOKUCHO MUROMACHI	<p>ink-painting truly Japanese</p> <p>Kanō school – decorative painting</p> <p>Perfection of <i>Noh</i> play (dance & drama with masks) and <i>Kyōgen</i> (comical plays).</p> <p>Refined <i>Noh</i> masks were produced.</p> <p><i>Kadensho</i> (theory of <i>Noh</i> play) was written in ca. 1400 A.D. by <i>Zeami</i> (1363-1443).</p>
AZUCHI- MOMOYAMA	<p>A.D. 1573 National re-unification started by Oda Nobunaga and later completed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi.</p> <p>Introduction of matchlock gun which changed the manner of fighting in Japan.</p> <p>Castle construction & castle town (Osaka Nagoya, Himeji, etc.)</p> <p>Walls, sliding doors and folding screens painted with rich colors on golden backgrounds (<i>Shōheki-ga</i>).</p> <p>Sen-no-Rikyū (1520-1591) completed tea ceremony: Tea houses, gardens and tea articles such as ceramic tea bowls etc.</p> <p>Introduction of Christianity – influence of Western art and culture.</p> <p>Two stringed musical instrument <i>Jamisen</i> was introduced in later 16th century. This was later developed into three stringed musical instrument <i>Shamisen</i>.</p> <p><i>Ningyo-Jōruri</i> (puppet play) was established in 1595 A.D.)</p>
EDO	<p>A.D. 1600 Battle of Sekigahara through which Tokugawa clan got the dictatorship.</p> <p>Rule of Tokugawa Shogunate.</p> <p>Christians persecuted.</p> <p>Closing the door to foreigners except Dutch (1639 A.D.)</p> <p>Four-status-system (warrior, farmer, commoner, merchant)</p> <p>Development of urban culture</p> <p>Rise of bourgeoisie</p>

PERIODS	HISTORY & CULTURE
EDO	<p>Movement for restoration & impact of Western powers upon Japan</p> <p>Coming of Commander Perry in 1853 A.D.</p> <p>Architecture: Nijō castle (early 17th century), Nikkō-Tōshōgu (early 17th century), Kiyomizudera Temple (1633 A.D.)</p> <p>Painting Decorative paintings of Kanō & Rimpa schools Development of paintings by men of letters (Nanga school)</p> <p>Ukiyo-e woodblock prints.</p> <p>Development of handicrafts, golden lacquer wares, ceramics and textiles.</p> <p>Many tales were written (Ihara Saikaku, 1642-1693).</p> <p>Many plays were written (Chikamatsu Monzaemon, 1653-1724).</p> <p>A new 17-syllable poem (<i>haiku</i>) became popular (Bashō, 1644-1694; Buson 1716-1783).</p> <p><i>Kabuki</i> play was established in 1603 A.D.</p>
MEIJI (1868 ~ 1912) TAISHO (1912 ~ 1926) SHOWA (1926 ~	<p>HISTORY:</p> <p>A.D. 1868 Meiji Restoration</p> <p>Enactment of Japanese constitution (1889 A.D.)</p> <p>Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) World War I (1914-1918)</p> <p>Rise of the <i>zaibatsu</i> (big business) after World War I which was reorganized after 1945.</p> <p>Modernization & Westernization</p> <p>World War II (1941-1945 A.D.)</p> <p>American occupation (1945-1952 A.D.) and American influence.</p> <p>Industrialization & economic growth</p> <p>ARCHITECTURE: Introduction of stone & brick construction (Tokyo station; Akasaka Palace; so-called London block in Marunouchi 1894-1905 and others).</p> <p>After the big earthquake in 1923, concrete building became popular (Kyoto International Conference Hall, National Gymnasium for the</p>

PERIODS	HISTORY & CULTURE
<p>MEIJI (1868 ~ 1912) TAISHO (1912 ~ 1926) SHOWA (1926 ~)</p>	<p>Olympic Games etc.)</p> <p>ART: Tokyo University of Art was founded in 1894 under the guidance of Earnest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908) and Okakura Tenshin (1862-1913). Western artists visited Japan and many Japanese artists visited Europe.</p> <p>Sculptors: Takamura Kôtarô (1883-1956) and others</p> <p>Painters: Kuroda Kiyoteru (1866-1965), Umehara Ryûzaburô (1888-), and others.</p> <p>LITERATURE: Many translations of foreign novels; influence of liberalism, idealism and romanticism from the West. Some writers sought Japanese aesthetics.</p> <p><i>Writers:</i> Mori Ôgai (1862-1922), Natsume Sôseki (1862-1916), Akutagawa Ryûnosuke (1892-1927), Dazai Osamu (1909-1948), Kawabata Yasunari (1889-1972; Nobel Prize for Literature in 1968 for "Snow Country"), Mishima Yukio (1925-1970) & others.</p> <p>THEATER: Tokyo University of Music was founded in 1887 A.D.</p> <p>Motion picture was imported in 1896.</p> <p>Movement of Modern drama started in 1909 under the influence of Western drama.</p> <p>Radio became popular around 1926</p> <p>Jazz music became popular after World War II</p> <p>Television become popular around 1953</p> <p>Rock music became popular after World War II</p> <p>After World War II, both in art and music there are many artists and musicians who are cosmopolitan modernists.</p> <p>Yukawa Hideki got Nobel Prize for physics in 1949.</p>

BUDDHISM

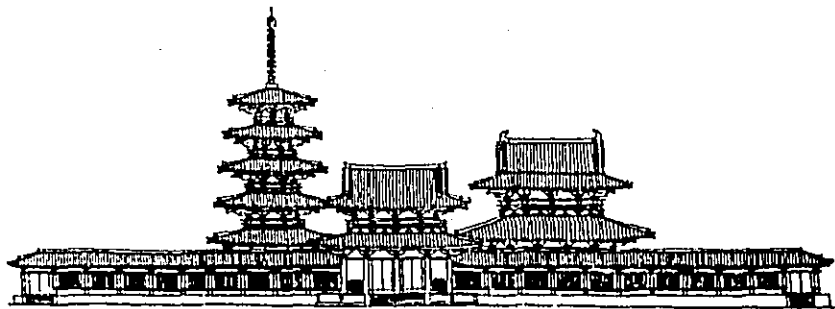
Buddhism was founded by Sakyamuni (463-383 BC) in India in the fifth century BC. He is also called Buddha which means the Enlightened One. Buddhism is a religion in which the ultimate goal is to attain enlightenment, a state of spiritual emancipation and freedom achieved by understanding and practicing the Buddhist teachings. Buddhism teaches that correct living and self-denial will enable the soul to reach *nirvana*, a divine state of release from bodily pain and sorrow. After Buddha passed away, disciples recorded his teachings as far back as they could remember them. As his teachings became known in these different works, they came into existence numerous sects supported by the authority of these sutras. These sects are divided into the following two great schools:

a) *Hinayana Buddhism* (Lesser Vehicle)

This form of Buddhism emphasizes personal salvation through asceticism which enables the believer to transcend the secular world. Every believer tried to attain enlightenment by engaging in rigorous religious practices. Hinayana Buddhism was scholarly and monk-oriented, and was spread in Ceylon and Southeast Asia.

b) *Mahayana Buddhism* (Greater Vehicle)

This form of Buddhism emphasizes the salvation of all conscious beings through transcendental meditation which leads them to the ideal state of Buddha. People can also gain salvation by faith in the benevolence of a Bodhisattva, someone who is sufficiently advanced to become a Buddha but chooses to remain in the realm of incarnation to save all conscious beings. Mahayana Buddhism is a popularized form of Buddhism, and laymen can join in religious activities such as reciting or copying sutras.



The Hōryūji Temple

In 538 AD, Buddhism was officially introduced to the Japanese court by a Korean delegation from the court of King Syōng-Myōng of Paekche. After this, Buddhism was patronized by the court, and Buddhist temples were constructed under the guidance of Korean architects, tile-makers, sculptors, casters and 46 Buddhist temples, 816 monks and 569 nuns in Japan in AD 624. The Hōryūji Temple (AD 607) was founded by the order of Prince Shōtoku (AD 574-622) and the Tōdaiji Temple (AD 752) was founded by the order of Emperor Shōmu (AD 701-756).

ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

One sect of Mahayana Buddhism borrowed mystical and magical elements from the Hindu religion in India. Mysticism and magic were strictly prohibited by the original Buddhist teachings; however, a new form of Buddhism called Esoteric Buddhism developed during the 7th century, and *dharani* esoteric sutras were written. Esoteric Buddhism was introduced to Japan during the Early Heian period (AD 794-894). Mystical and magical elements of this sect were mixed with indigenous folklore beliefs, and in this way Esoteric Buddhism spread into local areas in Japan. Two major sects of Esoteric Buddhism are:

a) *The Shingon Sect of Buddhism*

Introduced to Japan by the Priest Kūkai (Kōbōdaishi, AD 774-835), the headquarters of this sect is the Kongōbuji Temple (AD 816) at Mt. Kōya in Wakayama Prefecture. This sect espouses a pantheistic mysticism. The entire universe is considered to be the body of the Dainichi-Nyorai (Skt. Mahavairocana Buddha) and deities, saints, angels and other Buddhas are considered to have issued from him.

b) *The Tendai Sect of Buddhism*

Introduced to Japan by the Priest Saichō (Dengyōdaishi, AD 767-822), the headquarters of this sect is the Enryakuji Temple (AD 788) at Mt. Hiei in Shiga Prefecture. The Tendai philosophy is based on the Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law. The main teaching is that all people intrinsically have Buddhahood, and there are many esoteric training methods one can follow to awaken it.

JÔDO SECT OF BUDDHISM

During the Later Heian period (AD 894-1185), pessimism due to the "Theory of the Latter Days of the Buddhist Law" penetrated into Japanese society. People were afraid of the age of decadence to come and longed for the "Pure Land" or Buddhist paradise in the West called *Jôdo*. The Priest Eshin (AD 941-1017) is known as the author of "Ojoyôshu" (AD 985) in which he describes in detail the paradise of the West as well as the horrors of hell. This book greatly influenced the development of the Jodo Sect of Buddhism.

The Jodo Sect of Buddhism was founded in 1175 AD by the Priest Hônen (Enkodaishi, AD 1133-1212). The Jodo theory was first developed in the soil of the Tendai school of Esoteric Buddhism which included religious practices such as walking while chanting adoration to Amida Buddha (Skt. Amitâbha), the principal deity of the Buddhist paradise. Rebirth in the "Pure Land" is promised to all those who place their trust in the all-saving power of Amida Buddha and repeat this chant of adoration.

The Byôdôin Temple (AD 1053) was founded by Fujiwara-no-Yorimichi (AD 992-1074) as the way of realizing the "Pure Land" in this world. A wooden statue of Amida, now very much admired, was commissioned as well as wall-paintings depicting the scene of Amida Buddha and his attendants coming down to this world to receive the souls of the dead and carry them back to the paradise in the West.

ZEN BUDDHISM

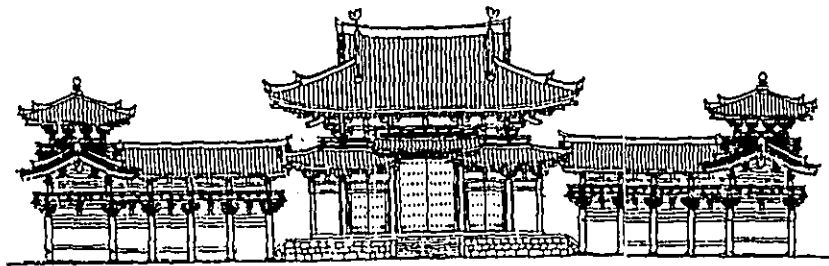
Zen Buddhism is said to have been advocated by an Indian priest, Bodhidharma (AD ?-528), in the 6th century AD. He went to China and was highly respected by Emperor Wu-ti (AD 464-549) of the Liang Dynasty (AD 502-557). Bodhidharma is known for meditating in front of a wall for nine years without uttering a word, and the Zen sect is well known for its method of seeking enlightenment by means of silent meditation. Everyone must prepare for his own enlightenment through long years of training, leading to direct intuitive experience of one's personal Buddhahood and the essential oneness of all things in the universe in a sudden, unexpected flash. Study of the scriptures is not permitted to beginners, as enlightenment is based on direct personal experience and not on scholarly achievement.

Religious training in Esoteric Tendai Buddhism includes concentration of the mind through meditation in order to obtain a clear insight into truth and to rid oneself of illusions. This method is emphasized in Zen Buddhism. Zen Buddhism was supported by the cultured and intellectual class, and what is called Zen

culture, such as Zen literature, ink-painting and tea ceremony, was nurtured in the soil of Zen Buddhism. Two major sects of the Zen Buddhism are as follows:

a) *The Rinzai Sect of Zen Buddhism*

Introduced to Japan in AD 1168 by the Priest Eisai (AD 1141-1251), the headquarters of this sect were the Nanzenji Temple (AD 1291) in Kyoto founded by the Priest Fumon (AD 1212-1291), and the Kenchōji Temple (AD 1253) in Kamakura founded by Hōjō-Tokiyori (AD 1227-1263) for the sake of Chinese priest, Lan Ch'i. Rinzai Zen was supported and patronized by aristocrats and the upper military class during the Kamakura (AD 1185-1333) and the Muromachi (AD 1392-1573) periods. The Daitokuji Temple (AD 1334) and the Myōshinji Temple (AD 1336-39) in Kyoto were considered non-orthodox Rinzai temples, however, rich merchants and commoners supported them. Rinzai Zen retained a close association with this world and as a result its preaching became stereotyped and its style of discussion of religious themes also became conventionalized.



The Byodoin Temple

b) *The Sōtō Sect of Zen Buddhism*

Introduced to Japan in AD 1223 by the Priest Dōgen (AD 1200-1253), the headquarters of this sect is the Eihei-ji Temple (AD 1246) in Fukui Prefecture, founded by Dōgen. In contrast with Rinzai Zen priests, Dōgen stayed away from the royal family, ministers and court politics, and preserved the stoic way of life of priests in a Zen monastery. Most of the time he stayed at the Eihei-ji Temple and practiced meditation or engaged in efforts to educate the common people.

SHINTO

Shinto is the indigenous religion of Japan. It has no organized teachings, no moral code and no historical founder. The Shinto religion is based on prayers for

favorable harvests and the worship of ancestors. Shinto priests take care of ceremonies dealing with seeding, planting, asking for rain, chasing insects away etc.. Shinto ceremonies are conducted in order to enrich people's lives. Every region has its local guardian deity, and powerful clans had their own tutelary gods.

The Ise Shrine in Mie Prefecture is dedicated to the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-Omikami, who is considered to be the progenitoress of the Japanese royal family. According to Japanese mythology, the world suddenly became dark when the Sun Goddess deliberately hid herself in a cave to escape from the indignities perpetrated by her brother. Eight million gods from heaven and earth gathered in front of this cave, and a comical dance was performed by Ameno-Uzumeno-Mikoto in order to calm the Sun Goddess' anger. The whole country then became bright again after she came out of the cave to see what was going on. This dance is said to be the prototype of *kagura* dances performed at Shinto shrines. One of the three sacred treasures of the Imperial House, a mirror, is enshrined in the sanctuary of the Grand Shrine of Ise. The other two sacred treasures are a sword kept in Atsuta Shrine near Nagoya, and a *magatama*, or comma-shaped bead, enshrined in the Imperial Palace Shrine in Tokyo.

Ise Shrine originally was the tutelary shrine of the royal family. After the rise of the military class in the 13th century, however, the royal family declined in power and could not give enough financial support to the shrine. Therefore, in order to maintain their shrine, the priests tried to cultivate new devotees among the military class. Thus the tutelary god of the royal family became the tutelary guardian of non-royal family believers. One example is the first Shōgun, Minamoto-no-Yoritomo (AD 1147-1199), who made contributions to Ise Shrine. In return, the Shrine gave the Shogun permission to found a branch shrine of Ise called Shinmei Shrine in Kamakura. During the 13th century, Shinto theory was established by the Watarai Family which belonged to the Outer Shrine of Ise. The name "Shinto" was used for the first time in the texts written by them.

Another famous shinto is Yoshida Shrine in Kyoto which is known as the tutelary shrine of one of the most powerful aristocratic families in Japanese history, the Fujiwaras. During the 15th century, this shrine attempted to take the place of Ise Shrine and a priest of Yoshida Shrine, Urabe Kanemoto (AD 1435-1511), tried to theorize their teaching using morals written in Buddhist sutras and the classic Books of Confucianism. However, they did not succeed and indigenous folklore beliefs and ceremonies continued to survive independently.

It was during the Meiji period (AD 1868-1912) that the Sun Goddess of Ise was deliberately regarded as a national guardian and the emperor was considered a living god. Founding shrines for national heroes also became very popular during this period. Examples are the Meiji Shrine (Emperor Meiji), Nogi Shrine (General Nogi), Togo Shrine (General Togo), etc.. Shinto was Japan's state

religion from 1867 to 1945. Shinto shrines were supported by the government during this time, but after World War II they are maintained by private offerings and donations.

HONJI-SUIJAKU THEORY

During the 7th and 8th centuries, both Buddhism and Shintoism were patronized by the court. Gradually the syncretism of Buddhism and Shintoism was promoted. When Tōdaiji Temple was completed in 752 AD, the Usa Hachiman Shinto Shrine in Ohita Prefecture, Kyushu, was invited to move into the Tōdaiji compound and protect the Buddhist cosmos. This idea was first developed in the soil of the Tendai and the Shingon sects of Buddhism, and in the 9th century, the theory of Honji-Suijaku idea was further elaborated.

According to this theory, Shinto deities are manifestations of Buddhism deities. India is, so to say, the land of their origin (*honchi*) and Japan is the land where they make their appearance for some time, leaving traces of their passage (*suijaku*). With the spread of this theory, innumerable nature deities of indigenous cults were considered to be manifestations of Buddhas and Bosatsu (Skt. Bodhisattva). Natural settings such as mountains and waterfalls which had been considered sacred by their association with local deities also became more important. For example, the Shinto god *Hachiman* and the Buddhist god *Bosatsu* were combined and called *Hachiman Daibosatsu*. Statues of Shinto gods in the form of Buddhist priest were also sculpted. Many Suijaku mandalas were painted in order to explain the idea of Honji-Suijaku.

As a result of this Honji-Suijaku philosophy, the worship of Buddhism and Shintoism was merged and today both religions are revered together. A Shinto shrine is always visited on happy or auspicious occasions such as birth, the Annual Children's Festival, marriage and New Year's Day, Buddhist temples are associated with death, and are places for funerals and praying for ancestors.

INTRODUCTION OF CATHOLICISM

Christianity was introduced to Japan in 1549 by St. Francis-Xavier, and 50 years thereafter made much progress, especially in Kyūshū and southwestern provinces of Honshū main island. However, Toyotomi-Hideyoshi (AD 1536-1598), and then the Tokugawa Shoguns, prohibited propagation of Christian faith and persecuted converts. After the repression of the insurrection of Shimabara (AD 1637-38) in which thousands of Japanese Christians were massacred, Christianity was seemingly eradicated. But in fact there were "Hidden Christians" called *Kakure-Kirishitan* in northern part of Kyūshū island who retained their faith

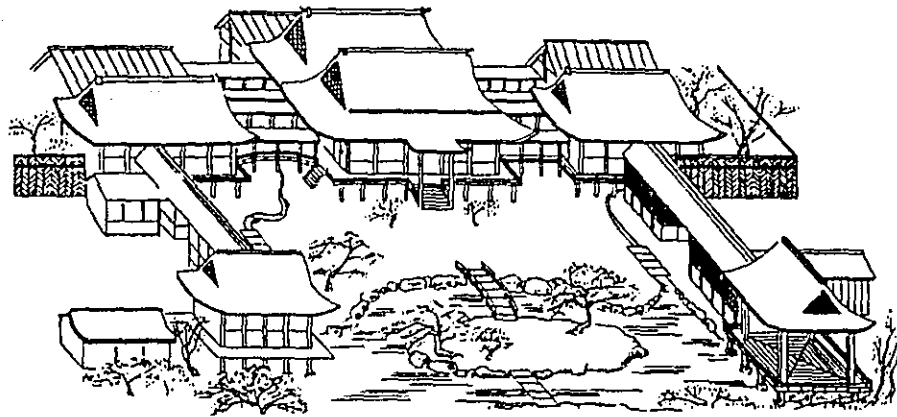
in secret during the Edo period (AD 1600-1868).

When Shogun government banned Christianity, they held religious services and community rites in hidden places and conducted themselves as though they were not Christians until they gained freedom of religion in 1873 AD.. In order to identify Christians, a *Fumi-e* test was administered. *Fumi-e* was the stomping on a copper tablet with a picture of Christ on the cross or the Virgin Mary. Suspected Christians were forced to tread on bronze engravings showing Christ's crucifixion or Virgin Mary to prove themselves non-Christians in the Edo period. This was carried out from 1628 to 1857 in order to extinguish Christianity in Japan.

EMPEROR

Around the 2nd and the 3rd century AD. there were two centers of political power in northern Kyushu and central Honshû, and around the 4th century AD one leader finally emerged. This leader family is considered as the ancestor of the Japanese imperial family. In those days religion and government were one and the same, and the will of the gods was tantamount to law. Accordingly, the emperor's most important responsibility was to know the will of the gods. The actual running of the government was placed in the hands of the emperor's brothers and sisters and close advisors. In the 5th and the 6th centuries AD, religion and government were gradually separated, but the custom of emperors not really reigning was preserved. During the Asuka period (AD 538-645), in place of the emperor, the princes, empress and consorts actually held the reins of power; in other words, the country was governed by the imperial family but not necessarily by the emperor.

After the Taika Reforms (AD 645), centralization of power was espoused by the imperial family under the influence of *ritsuryô* administrative and criminal laws introduced from T'ang China (AD 618-907), and attempts were made to borrow China's imperial system. In the Heian period (AD 794-1185), the *ritsuryô* system imported from China declined, and once again power returned to the hands of the close advisors to the emperor, with the *sesshō-kanpaku* (chief advisor-regent) assuming de facto power. After 967 the authority of the *sesshō-kanpaku* was formalized and written into government documents. *Kuge* originally meant simply the imperial family; however, during the Later Heian period (AD 894-1185) it came to mean a court noble who served under the imperial family. Among them the most famous family is the Fujiwaras from which came the Konoe, the Kujō, the Nijō, the Ichijō and the Takatsukasa families. They were called the Five Regent Families of Ancient Couriers. The chief advisors to the emperor or regents were chosen from these families.



Shidenzukuri Architectural Style

With the establishment of the Kamakura Bakufu in 1185 AD, the military class ascended to power and superseded the court which finally capitulated to the Bakufu in the succeeding Muromachi period. Nevertheless in terms of status, and regardless of their political impotence, the emperor and the imperial family retained the positions of highest prestige in Japanese society. During the Edo period (AD 1600-1868), in 1615 AD, the Bakufu further tightened its control over the imperial family through special promulgatory laws granting it the right to interfere in court matters and a powerful voice in court affairs.

The formal responsibilities of the emperor as prescribed by the Bakufu were limited to the following areas: 1) the conferring of official court ranks, 2) the performing of traditional celebrations and ceremonies, 3) adjustment of the lunar calendar to make it compatible with the solar calendar and 4) selection of names for new eras. However, even in these cases, the emperor enjoyed only proforma authority and essentially served only to give his seal of approval to decisions already made by the Bakufu. In short, the emperor was nothing more than a symbol of the Japanese people and national unity.

However, during the last half of the Edo period, the *sonnō* (respect for the emperor and advocacy of imperial rule) movement gained momentum and pro-court sentiment grew until the abolishment of the Shōgun and Bakufu system in 1867. In the following Meiji Period (AD 1868-1912), the role and function of the emperor was revised, and he became a sacred power (similar to the concept of divine right in Europe), a Shinto living god. The Meiji government favored a kind of centralized absolutism, although the problem of how to blend modernization efforts with the resumption of imperial power posed difficulties. Ultimately a German style constitutional monarchy was adopted, and the government was divided into three divisions, legislative, judicial, and executive. The military elite

gradually increased their power and, basing their actions on absolute loyalty to the emperor, attempted the colonization of Asia and involved Japan in various wars until the American defeat in 1945. Under the present constitution, the emperor has once again become simply the figurehead and symbol of the Japanese people, and the business of governing is assumed by the prime minister and the National Diet.

SHÔGUN AND BAKUFU MILITARY GOVERNMENT

In 947, the emperor gave the title Seii-Taishôgun to the commander-in-chief of an expeditionary army sent to control the northeastern districts of Japan. From then until the early 9th century, this title was given several occasions to a commander-in-chief. In 1183 Minamoto-no-Yoshinaka (AD 1154-84) was appointed shôgun, although this had nothing to do with a military campaign and instead was due to the fact that he was the leader of the samurai military class. When Minamoto-no-Yoritomo (AD 1147-1199) founded the first military government (Bakufu), he asked the emperor to appoint him shôgun in order to legitimize his position. He was appointed shôgun in 1192 AD, and from then on it became customary for the head of the military class to be awarded this title.

During the Kamakura period (AD 1185-1333), *samurai* warriors who had contract with the Minamoto Shôgun were under his direct control. But during the Muromachi period (AD 1338-1573), the Ashikaga Shogun became the leader of the entire military class. His status was considered to be even higher than before, however, his authority was weakened, because the Bakufu government during this period was a coalition government of powerful provincial military leaders. Only a small number of samurai soldiers were under the direct control of the Ashikaga Shôgun, and powerful provincial landlords and clan leaders called *daimyô* practically ruled their own territories. The Ashikaga Shôgun in fact did not own much land.

In 1600 AD, pro-Tokugawa forces and anti-Tokugawa forces fought at the Battle of Sekigahara. Both sides had about ten hundred thousand soldiers. The Tokugawa forces won, and the Tokugawa family expanded its estates by confiscating the territory of defeated *daimyô* or transferring defeated leaders from good, income-producing areas to poorer remote regions. In this manner the first Tokugawa Shôgun Ieyasu (AE 1542-1616) established the Tokugawa Bakufu Government. In 1615 AD, the Tokugawa Bakufu promulgated fundamental codes which contained 13 articles to be obeyed by feudal lords and samurai warriors. In 1635, the third Shôgun Iemitsu (AD 1604-1651) issued new codes. These maintained order and controlled the military power of the feudal lords by prescribing castle repairs, shipbuilding, marriages and feudal lord's alternate-year

attendance at the Shōgun's court. All *daimyō* feudal lords were required to serve at the shōgun's court at Edo (Tokyo) in alternate years to demonstrate their allegiance to the shōgun. They had to leave their wives and children as hostages in Edo and were required to make large expenditures for the maintenance of their Edo residences in order to show their loyalty. These codes remained in effect until the last Tokugawa Shōgun Yoshinobu (AD 1837-1913) declared the abolishment of the shōgun and Bakufu system in 1867. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the Tokugawa family and feudal lords, as well as descendants of court nobles and persons who rendered meritorious services after the Restoration, were given the rank of *kazoku* or peer, but this class was abolished soon after World War II.

SAMURAI WARRIORS

In the 9th century powerful provincial clans began to own territory and in order to protect their lands, they armed themselves. In the 10th century, as imperial authority declined, the court government began to use powerful provincial families as its police force to control local districts. Gradually these soldiers were placed on guard at the Imperial Palace and as a result they were called *Samurai* which is derived from the verb "saburau" or "samurau" (to be one's guard). In the beginning, powerful provincial clan leaders were estate managers. Lower class samurai soldiers engaged in agriculture when they were not in battle.

These powerful clans gradually united and established a feudal system at the end of the 12th century. In local districts, powerful clans and their soldiers formed a ruling class and ordinary farmers became their subjects. In 1588, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (AD 1536-1598) issued a "Swords Hunting Order" which prohibited the carrying of swords and weapons. According to this law, only samurai warriors had the privilege of wearing swords, and farmer were denied this right. This code made the status of the ruling class samurai and the subject farmers definite.

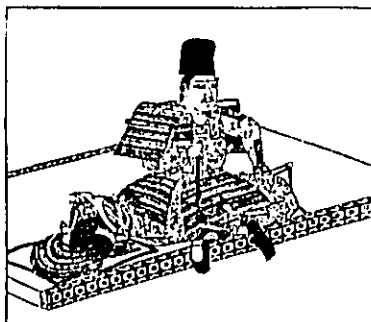
In the beginning of the Edo period (AD 1600-1868), the Tokugawa Bakufu government promulgated fundamental codes (AD 1615) concerning the military class. Before these codes were issued, samurai soldiers could change masters freely by simple contract, but now relationship with masters were frozen and made permanent. The samurai received pensions from their landlord masters and they had to be loyal to one master only. Originally, samurai warriors specialized in military affairs and were skilled in swordsmanship, archery and horse riding. However, during the Edo period samurai became more interested in being capable officers of the Bakufu government rather than brave soldiers, because the feudal system was under the absolute domination of the shōgun, and a samurai

could receive a supplemental salary in addition to a pension from his master if he also secured a good position as a Bakufu official. During the Edo period "The Way of Samurai" called *Bushidō* was developed and came to be highly respected. It includes loyalty to one's lord, courage in battle, scorning danger and death, and especially cultivation of the concept of valuing honor even above life.

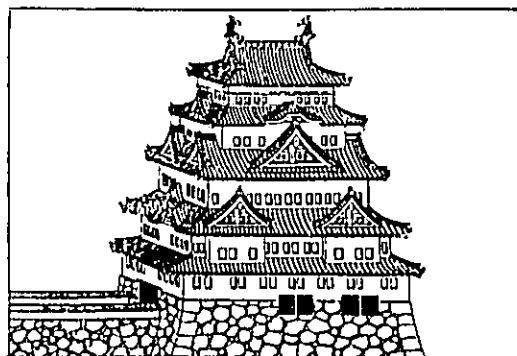


Samurai warriors

During the reign of the Tokugawas, there were four major classes: 1) samurai warriors, the ruling class, 2) farmers and fishermen, 3) artisans, 4) merchants. Slaughterers, leathercraftsmen, owners of brothels and public baths, barbers, etc. were considered outside and beneath this class system, Merchants were the lowest class, however, in many cases rich merchants controlled the ruling samurai class financially. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the samurai class except landlords was granted the rank of *shizoku* which was below the nobility and above the commoners. This classification was abolished after World War II.



Shōgun



Castle

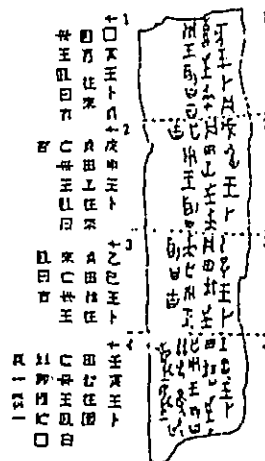
HISTORY OF KANJI

The earliest Chinese pictographs were incised on tortoiseshell and animal bones during the Shang-Yin Dynasty (ca. 1523-1028 BC). These shells and bones were called oracles as they contained a question asked of a diviner, who provided an answer based on the way the shells and bones cracked when heated in a fire. Since 1899, about 100,000 genuine oracle shells and bones have been excavated and analyzed. About 2,200 characters have been found, and the meaning of half of them can be definitely ascertained.

These oracle shell-and-bones dealt with such diverse subject as ancestor worship, religious offerings, military campaigns, hunting expeditions, trips, weather, calendar, eclipses, pregnancies, birth, illness, death, prayer for rain and other allied subjects. The characters of the oracle bone inscriptions were engraved in vertical columns from top to bottom. The lines were arranged either from left to right or from right to left. Some were engraved upright, others were engraved sidewise. Because of the irregular shapes and surfaces of the shells and bones, the characters were uneven in size and lines uneven in length. The same character might have been written in number of ways. These characters were incised with a sharp pointed instrument on the hard surface of the shells and bones.

We can also get some idea of what early characters looked like from inscriptions carved on bronzes of the same dynasty and the Chou Dynasty (ca. 1050-256 BC). These scripts were carved on bronzes such as ritual implements, tableware and swords etc.. Writing in those days, therefore, was in fact an aspect of carving.

In 1899, shell and bone inscriptions were found from the site of Yin-shü, the capital of the Shang-Yin Dynasty during the last 270 years of this dynasty. Yin-shü is located in the northwest of An-yang Prefecture of Ho-nan Province. These shells and bones were called "Dragon Bones" and sold as medicine for fever and other complaints. Chinese scholar Wang I-jung (AD 1845-1900) and his friend a writer Liu E (AD 1857-1909) took interest in the inscriptions on the "Dragon Bones" which Wang purchased at a pharmacy. They found out that these inscriptions were precious writings from the Shang-Yin Dynasty and collected them. Their collections mark the start of the study of shell-and-bone inscriptions.



KANJI (CHINESE CHARACTERS)

1) PICTOGRAPH

☉ 日	SUN	雨	RAIN	人	MAN
☾ 月	MOON	雲	CLOUD	囚	PRISON
山	MOUNTAIN	舟	BOAT	木	TREE
川	STREAM, RIVER	魚	FISH	金	POT
水	WATER	馬	HORSE	祈	TO PRAY

2. INDICATIVE SYMBOLS

(Symbols indicating an action, quality, event, etc.)

上	UP, ABOVE	本	ROOT
下	DOWN, BENEATH	末	TREETOP

3) LOGICAL COMBINATION

林	WOOD	炎	FLAME	夕	EVENING	東	EAST
森	FOREST	莫	SUNSET	旦	DAWN	明	LIGHT, BRIGHT

4) PHONETIC COMPOUNDS

(One part stands for the meaning and the other for the sound)

猫 (byo)	CAT	鶴 (kaku)	CRANE	悲 (hi)	SORROW
銅 (do)	BRONZE	草 (so)	GRASS	悶 (mon)	AGONY, ANGUISH
鵞 (ga)	GOOSE	婆 (ba)	OLD WOMAN	聞 (bun)	TO HEAR

5) ASSOCIATIVE COMPOUNDS

“MUSIC” (樂) BRINGS “PLEASURE”; THEREFORE “樂” COMES TO MEAN “PLEASURE” OR “TO PLEASE”.

6) PHONETIC EQUIVALENT

BUDDHA (佛陀)	BODHISATTVA (菩薩)
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DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE SCRIPT

(a)	安	安	あ	お	(no)	乃	乃	の
(i)	以	以	い	い	(ha)	波	波	は
(u)	宇	宇	う	う	(hi)	比	比	ひ
(e)	衣	衣	え	え	(fu, fu)	不	ふ	ふ
(o)	於	於	お	お	(he)	部	部	へ
(ka)	加	加	か	か	(ho)	保	保	ほ
(ki)	幾	幾	き	き	(ma)	末	末	ま
(ku)	久	久	く	く	(mi)	美	美	み
(ke)	計	計	け	け	(mu)	武	武	む
(kO)	己	己	こ	こ	(me)	女	女	め
(sa)	左	さ	さ	さ	(mo)	毛	も	も
(si, shi)	之	い	し	し	(ya)	也	也	や
(su)	寸	寸	す	す	(yu)	由	由	ゆ
(se)	世	世	せ	せ	(yo)	与	与	よ
(so)	曹	曹	そ	そ	(ra)	良	良	ら
(ta)	太	太	た	た	(ri)	利	利	り
(ti, chi)	知	知	ち	ち	(ru)	留	留	る
(tu, tsu)	川	(門)	つ	つ	(re)	礼	礼	れ
(te)	天	天	て	て	(ro)	呂	呂	ろ
(to)	止	と	と	と	(wa)	和	和	わ
(na)	奈	な	な	な	(wi)	為	為	を
(ni)	仁	に	に	に	(we)	惠	惠	を
(nu)	奴	奴	ぬ	ぬ	(wo, o)	遠	遠	を
(ne)	楯	楯	ね	ね	(n)	无	无	ん

Japanese Attitudes Toward Modernization

Japan is the first non-Occidental country to achieve modernization. In the 1960s, only one hundred years after emerging from feudalism and self-imposed isolation, Japan became the second largest economic power in the free world. This section will present the most salient features of the modernization of Japan, with emphasis on Japanese attitudes toward modernization.

I. Seeds of modernization of the Tokugawa period

1. *Rangakusha* (exponents of Dutch learning)

A momentous event took place in 1771. Maeno Ryōtaku and Sugita Genpaku, students of Dutch learning,* performed an autopsy on an executed prisoner and confirmed the accuracy of a Dutch book of anatomy and the utter uselessness of Japanese medical reference books, which were based on Chinese medicine. Three years later, in 1774, Maeno and Sugita published a translation of the Dutch anatomy book, thus providing a tremendous impetus to the study of Western sciences. Students of Dutch learning henceforth exerted considerable influence, even to the point of compelling the Shōgunate to actively support Dutch learning, which by the end of the Tokugawa period had extended to encompass the study of modern science, technology and art developed in various European countries.

2. *Kokugakusha* (exponents of national learning)

While the Japanese attitudes toward China and the Chinese tradition were at the forefront of the eighteenth century intellectuals' world outlook, epitomized by that of the *kangakusha* (exponents of Chinese learning), in the nineteenth century a rival strain of thought, that of the *kokugakusha*, emerged to challenge the former's worship of China. During the subsequent years, when a complicated commercial economy, supported by a strong merchant class, was emerging to lay the foundation for a modernized Japan, the *kokugakusha* contributed greatly to the development of a strong national conscience, a crucial element in reinforcing the foundation for Japan's modernization that the emerging merchant class had been laying.

3. The educational scene in late Tokugawa

Those who look to Japan as a possible "model" for countries currently preparing for or undergoing industrialization and modernization are apt to over-

* Contact with the Dutch was allowed to a limited extent during the isolation period (1639-1854).

look one important respect in which mid-nineteenth century Japan differed from the rest of Asia and from most of those societies still regarded as undeveloped or developing — Japan already had a developed system of formal school education. Children of the *samurai* (warrior) class were sent to clan schools where they were taught Confucian classics and such martial arts as Japanese fencing and archery. In Edo (present-day Tokyo) some schools even taught Western sciences, medicine and military drills. Children of peasant and merchant classes were sent to small private schools known as *terakoya* (temple schools) where they were taught the 3-Rs. The effectiveness of the *terakoya* and the clan schools can be gauged by the fact that roughly forty percent of men and fifteen percent of women were able to read and write when the Shōgunate was forced in 1854 by Commodore Perry of the United States Navy to terminate 215 years of deliberate self-isolation and allow American and European ships to enter Japanese ports.

II. Meiji

1. All-out Westernization

Unable to cope with the crisis triggered by Commodore Perry's sudden arrival, the Tokugawa Shōgunate stepped down in late 1867, paving the way for the resumption of power by Mutsuhito in January 1868. The new era was given the name Meiji (enlightened rule) and the transfer of power from Tokugawa to the young group of reformers around the emperor was designated the Meiji Restoration. In the autumn of 1868, the imperial capital was moved from Kyoto to Edo, which was renamed Tokyo (the "eastern capital").

The young reformers who successfully implemented the Meiji Restoration abandoned their policy of "expulsion of the foreigners" and quickly adopted a policy of Westernization — ranging from Western legal systems to Western life styles. Thus the Meiji government launched the policy of *sonno kōkoku* ("revere the Emperor, open the country") and inaugurated a period of rapid Westernization. Experts were invited from Europe and America to work as advisers to newly-established government ministries and as teachers at the newly-established schools. Study missions were dispatched to the West to deepen Japan's knowledge of the various aspects of Western civilization. The importance the new government attached to these missions is evidenced by the dispatching of the greater part of its top leadership group to the United States and Europe in 1871 (the Iwakura Mission).

These efforts to learn about and catch up with the Western powers were inspired by the universally accepted notion that the improvement of the nation was

possible through determined effort and the realization that Japan would not be able to remain independent unless it gained the respect of the Western world by transforming itself into a modern nation by means of a massive program of Westernization. The prevalence of these views is evidenced by the fact that translations of Western works (such as Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* and J.S. Mill's *On Liberty*) and books about the West (such as Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Conditions in the West* and *The Encouragement of Learning*) constituted all the nine "best-sellers" between 1866 and 1876.

In the early Meiji period, after an intense debate and bitter political struggle between the advocates of *minken* (the rights of the people) and those of *kokken* (the rights of the state), the notion of self-betterment and freedom espoused by Smiles, Mill and others was recast into the notion of national betterment and rights. The advocates of *kokken* prevailed because in a conformity-conscious society like Japan, competition for individual betterment usually takes the form of competition to prove one's loyalty, whether to the state or the emperor, as in prewar Japan, or to the company or government agency one belongs to, as in the Japan of the 1960s and the 1970s.

2. Imperial Japan

The urge to modernize and catch up with the West was also inspired by the desire to revoke the unequal treaties by which foreigners in the treaty ports enjoyed extra-territoriality and the Japanese government was denied tariff autonomy. The Meiji government therefore sought to convince the Western powers that Japan was not a backward country in the eastern rim of Asia, but a modern power with a Constitution based on the Prussian model, a legal code modelled on the French code, an up-to-date educational system based on the German system and an army and navy on German and British models, respectively. In addition, an extensive program of building infrastructures such as telegraph, mail and railroad systems was implemented early in the Meiji period with the aid of foreign advisers.

Despite these efforts to "civilize" itself, Japan failed to win the respect of Western powers. In fact, Japan gained far more attention and respect from the European powers and America by its victories over China (1894 – 1895) and Russia (1904 – 1905) than all its efforts to learn about and emulate the West. On the strength of these military victories, Japan successfully renegotiated its unequal treaties with European powers in 1894 and won full tariff autonomy in 1911. In addition, it acquired colonies in Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910). Japan thus achieved full partnership with the Western imperialists. However, further colonial expansion was interrupted by a brief period of democracy and liberalism in the Taishō period.

III. Taishō

1. Taishō democracy

The First World War, in which Japan participated on the side of the Allied powers, gave a tremendous impetus to Japan's commercial and industrial expansion. The success of the Western democracies had a profound influence on Japanese thought, resulting in an upsurge of enthusiasm for democracy, which in turn brought new powers and prestige to the Diet and the party politicians, and gave a impetus to the rise and activities, thus making Japan the first non-Occidental country experiment with democratic processes.

With the emergence of mass media spurred by the spread of compulsory education (extended to six years in 1908) and the increased awareness of the political trends of the Western world among intellectuals and office workers, demand for a greater share in government became so intense that the government was obliged to lower the tax qualification in 1919, doubling the electorate and pass a universal manhood suffrage in 1925. Although the suffrage was limited to men over 25, it clearly awakened the city workers' political consciousness, making them a force in Japanese society and politics. Their medium of expression was the labor union, whose membership grew to well over 300,000 by 1929.

2. Cultural and social changes

The political changes during the 1920s were matched by even more remarkable changes in Japanese society and culture. The modernization process in rural areas was naturally slow, but a whole new social structure and way of life were emerging in the cities. This was particularly true in Tokyo. The great earthquake of 1923 merely accelerated the spread of social and cultural changes in the Tokyo area. New buildings made of reinforced concrete and wide thoroughfares began to appear in downtown Tokyo. The block of buildings in the Marunouchi district became the pride and joy of all Japanese and the symbol of modern Japan.

An increasing number of young people in the cities took greater interest in Westernization. The so-called *moga* (contraction of modern girl) and *mobo* (contraction of modern boy) symbolized Japanese society in the 1920s. European and Hollywood movies and movies made in Japan modelled on them were extremely popular, as were American jazz and Western social dancing. Western-style restaurants and small beer joints sprang up everywhere.

Western sports became extremely popular in the 1920s and early 1930s. Baseball and tennis were already popular. Enthusiasm for track and field events increased as the Japanese began to focus on the Olympics; in fact, Japanese athletes dominated the swimming events in the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics. Golf courses

were built for the rich. Baseball, however, remained the favorite among the masses. High school baseball games drew large crowds comparable to those attending college football games in America, and professional baseball teams began to appear.

Along with these new forms of popular culture, imported mainly from America, there also appeared less striking but even more significant trends. The new literary movement started in the time of Natsume Sôseki, Japan's greatest modern novelist, continued to grow vigorously. Translations of numerous works of Western literature were made available at low prices, college and university attendance increased, higher education for women was introduced, symphony orchestras were organized, and Western musicians were invited. People in big cities were thus able to share in the great cultural and intellectual tradition of the West.

IV. Shôwa

1. Military expansion

With the rise of the nationalistic mood around the turn of the era from Taishô to Shôwa, however, Japan came to be dominated by the militarists and ultra-nationalists who advocated the establishment of a new politico-economic order in Asia, which eventually came to be known as the "Greater East Co-Prosperity Sphere." The Manchurian incident of 1931, the series of political assassinations that subsequently took place, and the outbreak of the Japan-China War in 1937 launched Japan on a collision course with the United States, which culminated in the dropping of the atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Japanese surrender in August 1945.

2. U.S. Occupation

The defeat led to Japan's second period of rapid and massive assimilation of Western culture and institutions, but this time it was the United States that served as the paramount model, not Europe. During the U.S. Occupation (1945 – 1952), Japan's institutions were virtually recast in an America mode. The most important single reform of the U.S. Occupation was the revision of the Constitution. The revised Constitution was promulgated on November 3, 1946 and went into effect on May 3 of the following year. The most striking difference between the Meiji Constitution and the new Constitution lies in the status of the emperor: whereas in the former sovereignty resides in the emperor, in the latter it resides in the people. Under the new Constitution, the emperor has no political functions; he only performs ceremonial acts such as promulgating laws and treaties,

convoking the Diet and awarding honors. The new Constitution renounces war as sovereign right and provides for guarantee of basic human rights.

The second major achievement of the American Occupation was land reform. The Occupation authorities secured legislation allowing the government to purchase all land held by absentee landlords and sell it to tenants at extremely favorable terms to them. As a result, the percentage of land worked by tenants dropped from 46 (in 1945) to 10, and rents in kind were reduced to zero (from 75 per cent in 1945).

Economic reforms were directed against the *zaibatsu*. The first wave of reforms resulted in the dissolution of 83 *zaibatsu* holding companies. The justification for dissolving the *zaibatsu* was the dubious argument that they had conspired with the military to plunge Japan into wars of aggression. The truth is that the *zaibatsu* executives actually actively supported economic expansion on the grounds that it was less costly and more profitable than military expansion through war and conquest. In fact, the great *zaibatsu* firms, like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, were the main supporters of political parties that first emerged in the period of economic and industrial expansion following the First World War.

Parallel to "zaibatsu-busting", the Occupation authorities initiated a program of promoting labor organization. A Trade Union Law was passed in 1945, giving workers the right to organize, bargain, and strike. This was followed by the enactment of a Labor Adjustment Law in 1946 and a Labor Standards Law in 1947. Unionists increased as a result of these legislations to 6.5 million in 1949, but the Occupation authorities, fearing the growing Communist influence in the labor movement, forbade a scheduled railway general strike as early as February 1947.

The main emphasis of the educational reforms that the Occupation carried out was on extending, equalizing and liberalizing the education of Japanese children. Under a 6-3-3-4 system based on the California model, compulsory education was extended to nine years, coeducation was adopted at all levels, and a national university was established in every prefecture. Textbooks were revised to eliminate militaristic and nationalistic propagandas, and *shūshin* ("ethics"), which inculcated these thoughts, was replaced by moral education. History, until now based on the mythical concept of the divine origin of Japan and the imperial household, and geography were integrated into social studies.

The Occupation authorities also carried out extensive social reforms. Women were not only given the franchise but also full legal equality with men. Thus marriages based on love began to replace those based on the traditional institution of go-between which made marriage more of a contract between two families than a vow between two individuals. In addition, laws that granted absolute authority to family heads over all other members and to main family lines

over branch families were abolished.

The overall aim of the U.S. Occupation policy was to turn Japan into a more democratic and therefore more stable and peaceful country. That this aim was achieved is indisputable. However, without broad foundation within Japan, few of the democratic reforms that were implemented would have had any relevance. Their success to a large extent depended on certain features of Japanese society that the Japanese people themselves had been creating since the late Tokugawa period, the most outstanding of which included universal education, efficient infrastructures, and experiment with democratic processes and liberalism. Another contributing factor was the deeply ingrained Japanese respect for authority, which made the Japanese extremely receptive to General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

The sweeping reforms outlined above were carried out during the period lasting from the surrender until 1948. This phase of the Occupation was followed by a reconstruction phase in which emphasis shifted from radical reforms to economic reconstruction. The policy shift took place, among other things, because of the start of the "cold war", which made Japan pivotally important as the trump card of American policy in the Far East. For Japan to fulfill this role, it had to become a successful parliamentary state, which in turn depended on economic stability. The most striking features of the reconstruction phase was the decision to permit and even encourage the reorganization of the *zaibatsu* holding companies.

The peace treaty was signed in 1951. After signing the peace treaty, Japan and the United States concluded a mutual security treaty which committed the latter to protect Japan against military aggression and the former to allow U.S. bases to remain in Japan.

V. Economic superpower

The success of the various reform and reconstruction programs of the U.S. Occupation laid the foundation for Japan's rapid recovery and economic growth in the 1950s, which in turn provided the basis for its high growth and status as an economic superpower in the 1960s. Several factors converged to enable Japan to achieve recovery and growth so rapidly: the outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula, building of completely new production facilities necessitated by the total destruction of industrial factories during the war, availability of cheap oil and other raw materials, access to the huge U.S. market, smooth industrial relations, an efficient management system based on lifetime employment and seniority-based wage structure, influx of new technologies from Europe and the

United States, U.S. military protection, and above all, the high level of education and the Japanese people's strong desire to improve their lot.

The Ikeda Cabinet, formed in July 1960, adopted an income-doubling program that launched Japan on a course of rapid economic growth. At no time in Japanese history did the aims of the state and the individual become so closely identified as in the 1960s, when both objects were achieved.

The 1960s was symbolized by celebrations: the decade opened with preparation for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and closed with plans for Osaka Expo '70. The Olympics stimulated massive development projects, including high-speed motorways, the bullet train, cityscrapers (including the Tokyo Tower), *et cetera*. The Olympics served as a showcase for Japan's "economic miracle". The event climaxed Japan's drive to catch up with the West that began with the Meiji Restoration. The Osaka Expo '70 confirmed the "economic miracle" the Olympics symbolized so dramatically. Newspaper articles, books and magazine articles (even special issues) praising Japan's achievements or analyzing the "unique" Japanese characteristics presumably responsible for their successes began to appear in large numbers around the beginning of the 1970s written by American or European observers, the most controversial being a book entitled *Japan as No. 1: Lessons for America* by Ezra F. Vogel, an American sociologist.

VI. Conclusion

Despite Japan's new status as an economic superpower as evidenced by *Japan as No. 1* and other publications, America still exerts strong influence on all generations in Japan, but especially the youths. Youth culture – ranging from fashion, movies, popular music, travel, sports, and leisure – is largely influenced by American culture. This is reminiscent of the influx of various aspects of American and European culture that occurred in large cities during the Taishō period. The main difference is that the American cultural influx today is not confined to the large cities but extends to all parts of Japan as a result of the emergence of a post-industrial, mass society where 90 percent of the population feel that they belong to the middle class.

Presumably, the most striking symbol of the American cultural influx today is Tokyo Disneyland, which opened in April 1983. The total attendance reached 10 million even before its first anniversary, or double the original projection. Disneyland's successes signal a shift from a production-centered society to one centered on consumption of not only goods but also information and various types of services. Politically, the so-called system of 1955 is in the midst of disintegration. Socially, population aging is proceeding at a very quick pace. All

things considered, it is now indisputable that Japan is standing today in an age of profound transition.

Museums in Tokyo

(The letters a, b, c, and e indicate respectively the address & phone number, the operating hours, admission fee, the closest station & display. A-adult)

Tokyo-National Museum (Tokyo-Kokuritsu-Hakubutsukan)

- a. 13-9 Ueno-kôen, Taitô-ku, Tokyo Tel. 822-111/7
- b. 9:30-16:00 Closed on Mondays, Dec. 26 – Jan. 3
- c. A – ¥300
- d. Ueno (J.N.R. and subway Ginza-line) or Uguisudani (J.N.R.)
- e. Japanese and Asian arts

National Museum of Modern Art (Tokyo-Kokuritsu-Kindai-Bijutsukan)

- a. 3 Kitanomaru-kôen, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Tel. 214-2561/4
- b. 10:00-16:30 Closed on Mondays, Dec. 28 – Jan. 4
- c. A – ¥300
- d. Takebashi (subway Tozai-line)
- e. Modern art of Japan and abroad

N.H.K. Broadcast Museum (NHK Hôsô-Hakubutsukan)

- a. 2-1-1, Atago, Minato-ku, Tokyo Tel. 433-5211
- b. 9:30-16:00 Closed on Mondays, Dec. 26 – Jan. 4
- c. Free
- d. Kamiya-cho (subway Hibiya-line) or Toranomon (subway Ginza-line)
- e. Materials of the historical changes in the broadcast development and the structure of broadcasting.

Transportation Museum (Kôtsû-Hakubutsukan)

- a. 25, 1-chome, Kanda-sudacho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo Tel. 251-8481
- b. 9:30-16:30 Closed on Mondays, Dec. 29 – Jan. 3
- c. A – ¥250
- d. Akihabara (J.N.R. and subway Hibiya-line)
- e. Train models showing a particular operation process.

National Science Museum (Kokuritsu-Kagaku-Hakubutsukan)

- a. 7-20 Ueno Kôen, Taito-ku, Tokyo Tel. 822-0111
- b. 9:00-16:00 Closed on Monday, Dec. – Jan. 4
- c. A – ¥300
- d. Ueno (J.N.R. and subway Ginza-line) or Uguisudani (J.N.R.)
- e. Materials concerning with natural history, physical science and technology,

it is also the specialized research center of natural history in Japan.

Communication Museum (Teishin-Sôgô-Hakubutsukan)

- a. 3-1, 2-chome, Otemachi, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo Tel. 270-3841
- b. 9:00-16:00 Closed on Mondays, Dec. 29 – Jan. 3
- c. A – ¥50
- d. Tokyo (J.N.R.) or Ôtemachi (subway Marunouchi-line & Tôzai-line)
- e. Much emphasis has been placed on the display of reals and models relating to the present communication services. Tape-record explanations are given and most of the models can be operated by the visitors.

Science Museum (Kagaku-Gijutsu-kan)

- a. 2-1 Kitanomaru Koen, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo Tel. 212-8471
- b. 9:30-16:00 Closed between Dec. 31 – Jan. 1
- c. A – ¥500
- d. Takebashi (subway Tozai-line)

Theaters in Tokyo

National Theatre

- a. 4-1 Hayabusacho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo Tel. 265-7411
- d. Hayabusacho (bus No. 75)

Kabuki Theatre

- a. 4-12 Ginza, Chûo-ku, Tokyo Tel. 541-3131
- d. Higashi-Ginza (subway Hibiya-line)

Meijiza

- a. 31-1 Hamachô 2-chome, Nihonbashi, Chûo-ku Tokyo Tel. 660-3939
- d. Hamachô 2-chome (bus No. 28)

Shinbashi Embujô

- a. 18-2 Ginza 6-chome, Chûo-ku, Tokyo Tel. 541-2211
- d. Higashi-Ginza (subway Hibiya-line)

Suidôbashi Nôgakudo

- a. 1-5-9 Hongô, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo Tel. 811-4843/5753 (Noh-play)
- d. Suidôbashi (J.N.R. and subway Toei No. 6-line)

Kanze-Kaikan

- a. 1-16-4 Shôtô, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo Tel. 469-5241 (Noh-play)
- d. Shibuya (J.N.R.)

3. EDUCATION IN JAPAN

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EDUCATION IN JAPAN

I. Background for Modern Education

Education played a key role in Japan's emergence as an industrial nation during the late 19th century and in recent years was a central factor in establishing and maintaining it as one of the world's most technologically advanced societies. Japan's rapid development in the 19th century from a loosely knit association of over 250 feudal principalities (*han*) to a economically and politically highly centralized nation boasting modern industries and a powerful military can be attributed principally to the institutions established during the Meiji Era (1868–1912). However, many of these institutions and the values which helped support them have their roots in the Tokugawa Era (1600–1868). This is especially true in the area of education.

Thousands of schools existed during the Tokugawa Era. These can be divided into four basic categories. The most prestigious were exclusively for the samurai class which firmly controlled the political and military institutions of the time. During the Tokugawa Era this elite class, which constituted approximately five percent of the population, studied at schools (*hanko*) supported by their respective *han*. There were approximately 277 *hanko* modelled after the Confucian college (the Shōheiko) established in 1630 for the Shogun's retainers and relatives in the capital Edo. The rigorous curriculum followed by the *hanko* included the Confucian classics, calligraphy, composition, Japanese and Chinese history and the martial arts.

Faced with the threat of imperialism in the 19th century from Russia, European nations and the United States, the Shogun and a number of feudal lords, also established schools for a select group of retainers to study Western languages and military arts. Westerners were hired to teach language, science and military arts in these schools and a few samurai retainers were even dispatched to Europe and the United States to further their studies.

A second category of some 400 local schools (*gogaku*) were established by feudal lords as extensions of their *hanko*. These local schools were supported by the *han* and under its direct control. The curriculum closely followed that of the *hanko* and ultimately the Shōheiko in Edo. However, there was one important difference. In addition to the sons of samurai administrators located in outlying areas the sons of village headmen and wealthy farmers were also encouraged to attend these schools. Thus the curriculum designed for the elite samurai class was extended to include those destined for local leadership.

Private academies (*juku*) constituted a third category of schools. By the end

of the Tokugawa Era there were approximately 1500 *juku* located principally in the major urban areas and regional feudal castle towns. A *juku* could be organized by anyone having sufficient status as a teacher to gather enough disciples around him to support himself. The curriculum varied according to interests and abilities of the master teacher. Until the 19th century the best known *juku* stressed advanced study in specialized fields of Confucian philosophy, sometimes combined with military arts, while others simply taught basic literacy. *Juku* were eclectic not only in curriculum but in clientele as well. Most master teachers were happy to accept anyone bright enough or wealthy enough to contribute to his *juku*'s welfare. Thus even during the Tokugawa Era *juku* provided an opportunity for those from different classes to compete with each other.

As the threat from the West increased and the tight controls of the Tokugawa government broke down many types of "*juku*" flourished. Some stressed the uniqueness of Japanese history and conditions while others taught Western languages and science. Both often combined their teachings with instruction in the military arts. Many of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration and of the Meiji Era studied in the late Tokugawa Era *juku*.

The final category of schools in the Tokugawa Era was also the most numerous. By the beginning of the Meiji era over 10,000 elementary writing schools (*terakoya*) existed in villages and towns throughout Japan. As the Tokugawa Era progressed wealthy farmers, merchants, and even artisans sought education for their children. Although the curriculum often included a good dose of Confucian moralistic thought it was essentially practical, stressing basic writing skills, arithmetic, the use of the abacus, bookkeeping techniques and even business correspondence. The teacher of a *terakoya* could be any literate person and often included samurai, Buddhist or Shinto priests, retired farmers and merchants. It was not unusual for girls from important local families to attend *terakoya* and occasionally women served as teachers at these schools.

II. Introduction of a Modern School System

By the beginning of the Meiji Era all of the above types of schools were flourishing and, as a result, Japan possessed one of the highest literacy rates in the world. Approximately one third of the total population was literate. This included almost one half of the male population and about one fifth of the female population. Virtually all of the samurai class were literate and in every village and hamlet there were those who could read, write and do basic mathematical calculations.

The most important immediate development in education as a result of the restoration of the Emperor to a position of central power in 1868 was reflected in

Articles 3 and 5 of the Charter Oath of Five Articles issued by him in 1868 at the urging of his advisors. Article 3 states:

"All classes of people shall be allowed to fulfill their just aspirations so that there may be no discontent." Herein lies the rationale for broadening the base of officially recognized and supported education beyond the education of the leadership elite. Furthermore, major change in the curriculum of Japanese education was foreshadowed by Article 5 which states:

"Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world in order that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted." This article reflected the new government's desire to modernize the nation through the study of modern Western concepts and institutions. The employment of foreigners to teach in government schools and the dispatch of groups of students and study missions abroad was accelerated greatly.

As the new government solidified its political power it also began to build institutions to unify the country socially and economically with the purpose of forging Japan into a powerful nation state. Education of the Japanese people played a central role in these plans and in 1872 the Fundamental Code of Education was promulgated. It reads in part:

Learning is the key to success in life, and no man can afford to neglect it. From now on education should be spread among the people at large (peers, shizoku (those from samurai families), farmers, artisans and merchants as well as women so that there may be no illiterate family in any village and no illiterate member in any family. Parents should be fully aware of this policy and, with tender care, never fail to have their children receive education. While advanced education is left to the ability and means of the individual, a parent who fails to send a young child, whether a boy or a girl, to primary school shall be deemed negligent of his duty.

In just two years after the enforcement of the 1872 Fundamental Code of Education the number of primary schools in Japan exceeded 20,000 and school attendance reached over 30% of the school age population. Approximately 40% of the nation's boys attended school and about 15% of the girls. One of the primary reasons that this rapid expansion of the basic educational system was possible was because a firm foundation for local education had already been built through the *gogaku* and the *terakoya*. In fact, many of these schools soon became incorporated into the official modern educational system.

The introduction of compulsory universal education and the building of institutions in society to absorb an educated elite schooled in modern learning broadened the base of leadership in Meiji Japan. But, while on one hand, the elite samurai class soon lost all official status under the reforms of the new Meiji government, on the other hand, many shizoku took advantage of their superior education to establish careers in the rapidly developing modern society. In the field of edu-

cation, for instance, former members of the samurai class accounted for seventy three percent of the teachers at middle schools and forty percent of those at primary schools in 1883.

Fueled by manpower supplied by education conscious shizoku and those of other classes who recognized the importance of education in the new society, the government built a system of advanced schools of learning to train the leadership elite. The government recognized the superiority of the West in many areas of learning and liberally tapped educational resources of advanced countries of Europe and the United States. They did this in two ways.

First they offered large salaries to significant numbers of educational and technical experts from the West to establish modern institutions in Japan (Table #1). These foreign teachers and technical experts (*yatoi*) were carefully selected to represent the most advanced knowledge from the nations most prominent in specific fields of modern education and technical development. For example persons from Great Britain were most numerous among instructors in the humanities; Americans and Germans were dominant (in about equal numbers) in the social sciences; and Germans were most numerous in the fields of the natural sciences, especially medicine. The salaries paid the *yatoi* were so large that in the case of Tokyo Imperial University, during the 1877 fiscal year, their total sum amounted to over one third of the university's total yearly expenses.

The second means of utilizing the educational advances of the West was to send carefully selected students abroad to study (Table #2). A proclamation issued by the Meiji government in 1871 determined the method of selecting students for travel abroad, the subject of specialization which they might pursue, the period of study abroad, the expenses to be allowed for this purpose and methods of government supervision. An important feature incorporated in the regulation required that the subjects of specialization be determined according to the countries where students were sent. For example, students were directed to study in England such subjects as mechanics, commerce, iron manufacturing, shipbuilding, animal husbandry, charitable activities, etc.; in France they were to study law, international law, zoology, botany, etc; in Germany, political science, medicine, etc.; in the United States, postal communications, technology, agriculture and animal husbandry, commerce, mining, etc.

With the establishment of this law, students began from 1871 to be sent abroad not merely by the central government but from every region of Japan and study abroad became a craze among high officials, regardless of whether they were from the central or regional governments. Later codes further defined the conditions for government support of students abroad in an attempt to assure that the nation got a proper return on its investment. Sending students abroad was major expense for the new government. In 1873, for instance, 373 students

were sent abroad by the Ministry of Education, 250 of them at government expense. The total outlay for these students represented eighteen percent of the Ministry's total yearly budget. Furthermore, another twenty percent of the budget for that year was spent to support foreign teachers. The Ministry of Education eventually decided that these expenditures were excessive and temporarily discontinued the dispatch of students until strict regulations were issued and also began working toward the replacement of foreign teachers by newly educated Japanese.

By the end of the 19th century the number of foreign teachers employed by the government had fallen markedly while students selected for study abroad had to be top graduates of a handful of elite national universities. Furthermore, not only the content of the study and the country where it was to be studied were determined by the Ministry of Education but those receiving government support also had to agree to work in a position designated by the Ministry upon their return. Another important change which occurred toward the end of the Meiji Era was that the content of knowledge acquired from abroad became increasingly more practical and technical. This was true both for the fields taught by foreign teachers and those studied by students sent abroad. The Japanese government no longer looked to knowledge from the West to establish the framework for the nation's intellectual, cultural and technical development but instead employed knowledge from abroad to assist firmly established modern Japanese institutions in the task of keeping abreast of the latest Western trends.

III. General Education

The Meiji government's efforts to establish a modern education system were met with general approval by those in the cities and especially by members of the shizoku class which were often highly motivated in their quest for education. Those sent abroad were almost exclusively from the shizoku class and those from this class also constituted the majority of the students in the prestigious government schools of higher education. For instance, statistics indicate that in 1878 over eighty percent of the students in the preparatory course for Tokyo Imperial University were children of those from the shizoku class. In theory, the door to higher education was open to anyone bright enough to acquire an education sufficient to pass an entrance exam. In practice, during the 19th century few from the farming class, which constituted approximately eighty percent of the population, had the means or the desire to obtain more than a minimal education (Chart #2). Indeed, the farming class as a whole initially opposed to the Meiji government's educational program – sometimes to the point of armed opposition to the es-

establishment of an official school in their community.

There were a number of reasons for the farmers' discontent. For one, they viewed compulsory universal education the same as they viewed universal military conscription which was put into effect in 1873. Farmers opposed both because it took their children out from under their care and directed their energies toward support of the new government instead of helping to keep their own families economically solvent. The new schools promoted the ideologies of modernism and nationalism which ran against the grain of traditional local customs and prerogatives. Furthermore, they not only took able bodied sons and daughters away from farm work but the schools charged fees for tuition and materials which were prohibitive for many rural families who barely had enough income to live on. Most farmers preferred the old *terakoya* system which was voluntary and meshed much better with local customs and needs.

In part because of popular opposition to system established by the Education Code 1872, and in part because of major differences within the government regarding educational policy, and number of modifications were instituted in the general education program during the first decade of its establishment. For instance, an ordinance in 1879 established popularly elected school boards which were given responsibility for maintaining schools in each village and town. However, many rural communities viewed this as simply another attempt by the government to burden local taxpayers with higher levies. In 1880 the central government once again took over control and held it firmly until the end of World War II.

In 1885 the foundation for Japan's pre-war education system was established. The new Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, issued a series of ordinances which outlined a unified educational structure that included elementary schools, middle schools, normal schools and universities. The curriculum of schools at all levels reflected the government's view that education was primarily for the needs of the state. Moral training which stressed loyalty to the Emperor and to the state became a pillar of pre-war education as did the establishment of compulsory military training at all levels of education. In 1890 the Imperial Rescript on Education was promulgated further binding the tie between education and the state. This document which was recited by school children each day for fifty five years admonished them to be "united in loyalty and filial piety," and "offer (themselves) courageously to the state if an emergency should arise."

The codes drafted by Mori laid out a two track educational system (Chart #3). General education was confined to elementary schools which were divided into a four year compulsory basic education program and a four year advanced elementary program. In 1907 the basic program was expanded to six years. Beyond the Ordinary Elementary Schools which administered the basic compulsory

curriculum was established a series of advanced schools, some of which were terminal and others which prepared students for higher levels of education. These included a five year ordinary middle school program and a two year higher middle school program. A group of regional high schools were also soon established which provided both terminal education and preparation for the national universities.

There were various modifications and some important additions to the system laid out by Mori but the structure and ethos of the Japanese education remained essentially unchanged until after World War II. One important element of Mori's scheme was the normal school system which was devised to provide the teachers necessary to make Japan an international power. For Mori the training of teachers was no less important and no less rigorous than the training of soldiers. Most of the normal school students were from middle and lower class farming families and they represented the educated elite of their local communities. Tuition at higher normal schools was paid by the central government while prefectural governments paid the expenses for students in the prefectural normal schools. Admission to these schools was often highly competitive and only those applications supported by the heads of regional administrative units were accepted. Those graduating from normal schools often returned to their communities to teach.

Toward the end of the 19th century rural opposition to elementary education faded and the attendance rapidly climbed to almost one hundred percent (Chart #1). There were many reasons for this phenomena but certainly one of the most important was the prestige that educated people came to hold within their local communities. A poor farm family could be very proud of a son or daughter who attended a normal school and returned to his or her community to teach.

Furthermore, the fruits of Japan's modernization attempts were not felt equally throughout the population. As life in the rural areas worsened employment opportunities opened in the cities — especially to those who were educated. Farm families saw education as one of the few means available to their children to better their situation. The burden on rural families was also somewhat lightened as the government gradually increased its support of elementary education. Eventually even those with little means of support could at least attend the required course of study. The government also increased its control over the curriculum emphasizing the subject's duty to the Emperor and the nation state. However, as participation in the military by the rural population increased, support for Japanese nationalism grew within the farming class. Increasingly, the military also became a means of education and social mobility for the sons of poor farm families.

IV. Secondary and Higher Education in the Pre-war Era (Chart #2)

After the turn of the century the demand for education grew rapidly but the options open to those wishing to further their education were few. In addition to the normal schools there were a few select middle schools supported by the government and at least one boy's middle school and one girl's high school in each prefecture. These were augmented to some degree by institutions established by municipalities and private organizations. But by the end of the 19th century there were far more young people who wished to continue their education than there were spots available to them in secondary schools. On the other hand, Japan's industrial advances had outstripped the availability of skilled labors for its industries. In 1899 the government tried to help alleviate both of these problems by establishing vocational schools for those who had completed the elementary school program.

The vocational schools never acquired the status of other secondary schools even though in 1924 the Ministry of Education issued a notice stating that the graduates of vocational schools were to be considered equal or higher than that of the middle school graduates. Though they continued to be attended by those who could not afford to go to middle school or who failed the middle school entrance examinations, the vocational schools played a key role in Japan's development in the 20th century. Vocational schools were established not only by the government but by prefectures, municipalities and by private groups. Many were tied directly to the specific needs of a large factory or an industry in a local area needing skilled workers and technicians. Thus there were agricultural vocational schools geared to the needs of farmers in various regions of the country along with schools specializing in fishing, sailing, commerce, etc. In all, these schools eventually took about ten percent of the elementary school graduates and by 1937 there were more students in vocational schools than any other type of secondary school.

Like the vocational schools, the middle schools had a five year course of study. Less than ten percent of the elementary school graduates were admitted to middle schools and they were principally attended by those from the cities who could afford the tuition. Middle schools were designed to feed into the higher schools but were terminal for three fourths of those who entered. A few did pass the examination into academic track higher schools and others switched into a vocational track higher technical and professional schools.

Just as the vocational schools offered elementary students unable to enter middle schools an opportunity to continue their studies, the technical schools (*senmon gakko*) allowed middle school and some higher school graduates who could not continue on the academic track the opportunity to further their edu-

cation. These were three to five year institutions for technical training in specific fields such as commerce, industry, agriculture, fishing, pharmacy, medicine, foreign languages, art, music, etc. Graduation from one of these institutions prepared a young man or woman to sit for professional certification exams to become a doctor, a dentist or an engineer or to find a lesser position in a professional field. Though the preferred educational track in pre-war Japan was in humanities leading to positions in the bureaucratic and management elites the *semmon gakko* played a vital role in supplying the country with highly trained technical professionals. After World War I these institutions rapidly increased until by 1941 there were over 300 with a total enrollment of almost four times that of the universities.

The higher schools were three year preparatory schools which lead directly to the imperial universities. There were only thirty two higher schools and all were heavily subsidized by the government. The competition to enter these schools was intense and less than one out of thirteen succeeded. The training was vigorous and spirited for the students knew they were the cream of the crop. Students chose either a humanities or a science curriculum and generally received an education equivalent to that provided by the better universities in most parts of the world today.

The government universities which offered a three year undergraduate degree stood at the pinnacle of the education system. There were eventually nine imperial universities established throughout the country as well as in the Japanese colonies of Korea and Taiwan and each contained seven faculties (Agriculture, Economics, Engineering, Law, Literature, Medicine, and Science). The purpose of the imperial universities, which were directly financed and to a large extent controlled by the government, was set forth in the University Act of 1981. This document states that the universities should "teach theory and practices necessary to the State....investigate principals of knowledge...(and) form character cultivate the spirit of nationalism (whithin its students)."

Within the imperial university system were a series of interlocking hierarchies at the top of which was Tokyo Imperial University. A degree from one of the imperial universities assured a young man a promising career in government or in an elite business firm. Tokyo Imperial University graduates dominated the top position in the bureaucracy which was the career track most coveted. Within the universities various faculties had recognized stature and within the faculties professors held rank, salary and prestige according to a strictly established hierarchy. Thus ambitious students strived to be accepted as a disciple of high ranking professor.

Finally, recognition must be given to the contribution of private schools to Japanese education in the pre-war era. In general they can be divided into two

types; those which were founded by individuals in the tradition of the Tokugawa Era *juku* and those founded by Christian mission boards. These schools educated students who were either unable, or in some cases, preferred not to attend government schools. Since they received little or no government support their tuition was beyond the means of many families but, on the other hand, faculty and students attending these institutions were not under the strict control of the government. The curriculum was generally broader and more flexible than the government schools and offered both faculty and students more freedom to pursue their individual interests. Though some of these institutions such as Keio (founded in 1858) and Waseda (founded in 1882) came to be highly regarded, none achieved the status of the top government schools. Graduates from colleges of these schools could not obtain positions in the bureaucracy and instead turned to business, industry, politics and the professions.

The most prestigious private institutions offered university level education and often possessed feeder systems to their colleges which began at the elementary level. Those students having the means and ability to enter at a lower level needed only to maintain their grades in order to progress to a high level thus relieving them of the trauma of taking further entrance examinations. The importance of the private schools, especially the colleges and universities, is illustrated by the fact that by 1940 over ten percent of the higher school students and sixty percent of the university students were in private institutions. Furthermore, since women were virtually barred from entrance to government higher schools and universities, private schools offered most of them the only means for higher education. By the beginning of World War II, of the over fifty women's colleges only eight were government support. The remainder were private institutions.

V. Education in the Post World War II Era

At the end of World War more than half of Japan's cities were destroyed, the nation's industry was in shambles and almost two million Japanese were dead. For the last years of the war most Japanese school age children were accompanied by their teachers to work in factories and on farms. Education, along with many of the nation's institutions, was in a state of limbo. As the fabric of the nation was reconstructed there was no area which was affected more than education. The new constitution (Nov. 3, 1946) abolished the special relationship between the Shinto religion and the state and in general completely undercut the ethos of Japanese education as established by Mori Arinori and the Imperial Rescript of 1890. The new education was not to be for the benefit of the state but for the development and enrichment of individual Japanese citizens.

The Fundamental Law of Education of 1947 defines the aim of education as follows:

"Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labour, and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society." The new constitution also sets forth a basic national education policy which states that "all people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability," that all boys and girls are required to receive a basic education, and that this compulsory education shall be free. It further states that "the state and its organs shall refrain from religious education" and that "academic freedom is guaranteed."

The new school system introduced after the war provided six years of compulsory elementary study and three years of compulsory middle school education to be followed by an optional three years of high school and four years of university study. The primary characteristics of this system are as follows:

1. The power of the Ministry of Education was greatly weakened.

The Ministry no longer directly controlled national elementary schools, middle schools or high schools and the faculties of the national universities were given the primary responsibility for selecting students, hiring and promoting faculty, and setting the curriculum for their individual institutions. Furthermore, all schools were given far more leeway in choosing their curriculum and selecting textbooks. For a period, all public schools were administered by locally elected school boards. This was later changed to a system whereby school board members are now appointed by local and regional officials in nearly all school districts throughout the country.

2. A single track educational system replaced the prewar multi-track system (Charts #3 and #4).

An important addition to the educational system was the new middle school which, by 1949, became compulsory and coeducational. All students are required to attend their local public middle school unless they choose to attend a private school. Special elite track public middle schools were abolished though slight modifications in curriculum exist according to local needs. The division between academic and vocational senior high schools was narrowed by adding some vocational courses in the new comprehensive high schools and some academic courses in the vocational schools.

3. New subjects were introduced into the curriculum.

Geography and history were integrated into the social studies curriculum. According to a directive by the Ministry of Education the stated purpose of social studies is to develop citizens for a "democratic and peaceful nation and society." The number of hours devoted to social studies is second only to those for studying the Japanese language. In recent years increased emphasis has been placed to prepare students to be "good" members of their nation and community. A study by the Ministry of Education in 1969 states that students are to learn about "national sentiments and the way to live as Japanese" and have "an attitude of love and esteem for the achievements of their ancestors and respect for the Japanese cultural assets which have contributed to the development of the nation, its society and its culture." Furthermore, they are to "understand the role of their nation in the world and in international affairs and cultural interchange, and also appreciate other nations' culture and traditions, which should lead to a spirit of international cooperation."

Another change in the curriculum was to replace the prewar moral education courses which, according to a Ministry of Education directive issued in 1936, was to attack "the individualism and materialism of the West" and "all things not in conformity with national policy" and stress "the Japanese spirit, ancestor worship, filial piety, loyalty and obedience to the law." The new morals courses put into the curriculum in 1958 was, instead to teach "basic patterns of daily life, moral sensibility and judgment, development of individuality and a creative attitude toward life, as well as a moral attitude as a member of both national and local communities."

4. The teacher training system was reformed.

The old normal schools were turned into "universities of liberal arts and education" or absorbed into faculties within national universities. Most important thought was that those desiring to become teachers no longer needed to attend a special teachers' training school. Any college or university graduate could take the certification examination upon the acquisition of the prescribed number of credits in specified subject areas.

VI. The Expansion of Education in Japan

There have been three major stages in the expansion of education in Japan (Charts #2 and #5). The first stage was from establishment of universal compulsory education, through the Fundamental Code of Education in 1872, until the last few years of the 19th century. The principal features of this stage were the gradual growth of primary education for the general public from about thirty per

cent to sixty percent enrollment and little growth in secondary and higher education for the elite. The second stage which continued until the beginning of World War II reflects a rapid growth in primary education to nearly one hundred percent enrollment and a steady growth in secondary education enrollment to over forty percent. Higher education in this stage remained open to very few. The third stage beginning in the postwar era reflects a continued high enrollment in primary schools, growth in enrollment in secondary schools to about ninety five percent and in higher education to approximately thirty five percent.

The principal reasons for the expansion of secondary and higher education in the postwar era are discussed below.

1. The expenditure on education both by government and by families in this period has been extremely high. In fiscal year 1978, total public expenditures for education accounted for seven percent of the national income, and twenty one percent of the net total of national and local government expenditures. (These figures are somewhat lower than previous years — see Table #3 for comparative figures within Asia). Roughly fifty percent of the expenditures for education are borne by the government and approximately thirty percent and twenty percent by the prefectural and municipal governments respectively. Parents also allocate considerable portions of their incomes for their children's education. A survey calculating the national average per-pupil direct expenditures by parents and government in 1970 indicates that about nineteen percent of elementary and middle school compulsory education costs are borne by parents and approximately thirty two percent of the costs for high school education. However, since 1973 the government has paid all of the expenses for textbooks thus reducing parent expenditures somewhat.

In addition, parents spend significant percentages of their incomes on indirect expenditures for their children's education. Included among these costs are the purchase of desks, lamps, tape recorders, and in some cases, even computers. Indeed, if the cost of special tutoring and preparatory schools is added some families spend more than thirty percent of their annual income for their children's education. In all, great expenditures have been made both by the government and parents to educate Japan's young people during the postwar era.

2. Relatively efficient educational administration and finance has kept the education system running smoothly at a fairly reasonable cost to local governments. Educational administration is conducted by the Ministry of Education at the national level and by the prefectural and municipal boards of education at the local level. The Ministry of Education supervises and allocates financial aid to local boards of education. The Ministry also determines the national guidelines

for school curriculum and national standards of school equipment and facilities. Prefectural and municipal boards of education administer schools established by prefectures and municipalities, respectively. There are national subsidies for municipal elementary and lower secondary schools to cover fifty per cent of the teachers' salaries, fifty per cent of the expenditures for teaching equipment and fifty percent of the construction expenditures for school buildings. These measures help to standardize curricular content and the general educational environment such as teachers' salaries, school equipment and facilities throughout the nation. By providing a similar education environment throughout Japan, students, teachers and administrators are able to move both horizontally and vertically within the system with minimum difficulty.

3. Relative equal opportunity for education is available.

One of the most important contributions toward equal opportunity for education in the postwar era has been the diminishing of the costs to parents for their children's education through nine years of compulsory education and the three years of high school. Secondly, standardization of curriculum, facilities and, to a great extent, teachers' salaries throughout the nation has also helped assure a uniform quality of education for all Japanese children. Thirdly, making all compulsory education coeducational, and most high school and university education coeducational, has opened up significant opportunities which were not enjoyed by one half of the school age population in the prewar era. Fourthly, various types of financial assistance is available for needy families for their children's school lunch and auxiliary expenses while attending the compulsory course of study and some scholarships and loans are available for those needing help to finance high school and university education.

The most important data supporting the thesis that there is relative equality of opportunity for education in contemporary Japan is that almost ninety five percent of the students completing the nine year compulsory course go on to high schools and almost forty percent finishing high school go on to colleges and universities. This percentage places Japan just behind the United States and significantly ahead of France, Germany and England.

4. The expansion of higher education has been especially pronounced in the postwar era. However, for the most part this has been due to an explosion in the number of private institutions while municipal, prefectural and national schools have experienced a much less accelerated expansion (Table #4, Chart #6). After the higher education reforms of the immediate postwar era increased the number of national universities and publicly supported institutions of education, there was leveling off of the expansion rate. By 1980, seventy five percent of the total

enrollment in higher education institutions was at private schools and private institutions of higher learning comprised seventy two percent of the total. Between 1955 and 1980, the number of private universities increased from 122 to 319, while the number of national universities only increased from 72 to 93. The financial resources of private universities during the major expansion period from 1960 to 1975 depended almost entirely on tuition from students. The cause of the growing demand despite of higher tuition lies in the rapid growth in income against tuition and strong higher educational aspirations.

The dramatic increase in the percentage of women seeking higher education has been a major factor both in the increase of school of higher education and in the number of students enrolled in them. In the prewar era only about eight percent of the total number of girls graduating from elementary school enrolled in the special girl's "high schools" (there were no girl's middle schools and the educational standards in girl's "high schools" were lower than the corresponding boy's middle schools). Those who did go on to one of the fifty some women's colleges were limited to a curriculum stressing language and literature, home-making and teacher training. By 1948 percentage of girls to boys studying in high schools was approximately forty percent to sixty percent and by 1965 it had risen to virtually equal percentages. Furthermore, presently forty percent of the men and thirty percent of the women of college age are attending colleges or universities.

5. In Japan there exists a social structure which allows a high degree of social mobility for those with a good education. Furthermore, there is great competition for careers and positions offering economic security. Thus the relative absence of social barriers for those wishing to climb the ladder to success, combined with the premium placed on high educational qualifications works as an incentive to both parents and young people to seek the highest level of education possible.

The high interest in education as a means of getting ahead is seen in areas outside the traditional school system as well. Two examples are the popularity of both correspondence courses and of preschool education. The Japanese public school system begins with the first grade for all who are six years old but today about seventy percent of the three to five years old in Japan are entered in some type of preschool training. A significant portion of these are officially recognized kindergartens, nearly all of which are private.

The Ministry of Education has set standards for these schools which outline the required age limits of those enrolled, student-teacher ratios, hours of class, classroom and playground equipment, etc. The Ministry also prescribes the goals of kindergarten education which include a long list of specific social, physical

and emotional developmental goals. However, there is a strong tendency among kindergartens to compete with each other in stressing academic training such as reading, writing and arithmetic in order to give the children in their particular school an edge over others when they reach the first grade.

On the other end of the education ladder are those who have completed their nine year compulsory course but for some reason have not entered a high school. Instead, they may continue their education through correspondence courses aided by radio and television broadcasts through the government sponsored NHK network. The high school curriculum offers a full college-preparatory program to working people who listen to class presentations on the radio or television in the evening. Texts, reading assignments, as well as written assignments are assigned and corrected by the staff of the NHK Correspondence School in Tokyo. The student is also associated with one of eighty cooperating high schools (latest figure) located throughout the country which the student attends at least ten times for one day each year. The enrollment cost is minimal and a diligent student could complete the regular three year high school in a minimum of four years. In 1973 150,000 students throughout the nation were enrolled in this program with average of one out of ten eventually receiving their diploma. However, in recent years since nearly all of the middle school graduates go on to the regular high schools, students enrolled in high school correspondence courses have decreased significantly.

A university degree has also been available through a combination of media assisted correspondence study and course work at one of eleven cooperating universities. The arrangements for course work towards a bachelor's degree are similar to that for a high school diploma except that degree candidates must study one year at one of the cooperating universities. However, by a much expanded program launched by the Ministry of Education for a Hoso University ("University of the Air") began in April, 1985, which virtually replaces the former system. The new Hoso University is a degree-granting institution itself and caters to both full-time and part-time students by offering a full curriculum in a number of disciplines. Like the high school program the student is assigned both texts to read and papers and reports to be written which is evaluated by both full and part-time members of the Hoso University staff. Students of the Hoso University do not have to be resident students for a year as in the former program but instead attend a regional center on ten to twenty Sundays each year.

6. Finally, it is important to recognize the interest in adult education in Japan. Although there are many avenues open to Japanese for continuing their education after receiving a terminal degree or diploma the most utilized are those available through the broadcast media, corporate training programs, and pro-

grams at local community centers. NHK operates an 18 hours per day educational television channel and a radio band which reaches every corner of the country. In addition to lectures and demonstrations concerning topics as diverse as new farming and fishing techniques to electronics and computer programing, NHK broadcasts a wide range of courses with coordinated text and study assignments. Especially popular are courses in foreign languages.

Technical training courses in corporations have existed in Japan since the early effort to industrialize in the 19th century but they expanded greatly during the post war era. These courses include job related training both for blue collar and white collar workers, as well as broader based academic courses in areas such as mathematics, foreign languages and engineering. It is not unusual for the larger corporations to send key employees back to school while maintaining their salary and paying all of their school expenses. In recent years a significant percent of Japanese studying in graduate courses abroad are sponsored by their companies or the government agencies for which they work.

In addition to the above, continuing education is also pursued through community centers throughout the nation. These centers vary widely since most are financed and operated by the local administrative unit. Some of these fall under provisions first inaugurated with the Social Education Law of 1949 to establish public halls in "backward" rural communities to promote educational, cultural and recreational programs. Amendments to the Social Education Law have gradually given the Ministry of Education more power in setting standards for facilities and administration of these facilities.

In some local communities, even in large cities, community centers are a prominent focal point in the life of many of the area's citizens. Together with local libraries and museums they offer those who utilize them the opportunity to continue being active intellectually. In recent years these centers have become especially important in the life of many middle aged housewives, retired persons and senior citizens.

VII. Challenges Facing Japanese Education

1. Improvement in the Entrance Examination System

It is ironic that many of the very factors which contributed to strengthening the Japanese educational system in the postwar era also tend to weaken it. Japan's comparatively open society combined with primary and secondary educational opportunities available to virtually all regardless of sex, social class or geographical location has resulted in even more intense competition to enter top colleges and universities than in the prewar era. The situation has developed so

that even though they have already completed high school, children who have been unsuccessful in entering the college of their choice spend the ensuing year until the next examination studying for the tests. But those who are again unsuccessful despite their year's efforts must once more study for another year or even longer. As a result, every year roughly one-half of the students taking entrance examinations are previously unsuccessful candidates who have been studying for a year or more. Thus, in reality, the educational system in Japan is not 6-3-3-4, but 6-3-3-X-4 or even 3-6-3-3-X-4 because of the increasing tendency among parents to put their children in preschool so as to give them a head start in primary school. (Even to enter "good" kindergarten children must often take examinations.)

A large number of preparatory schools specializing in training for entrance examinations exist for those children preparing for the next year's tests. A hundred thousand students are accommodated in these kinds of preparatory schools; some have become very successful business enterprises (Chart #7).

But "examination hell" is not limited to university entrance examinations. Since it is to one's advantage to obtain the best possible high school education in order to be prepared for the university entrance examination there is equally fierce competition to enter top high schools. Entrance to public high schools is by examination and thus preparation for this examination is also necessary. This vicious cycle has resulted in a mushrooming of "cram schools" to prepare for examinations and put high schools, middle schools and even some elementary schools under pressure to prepare their pupils for examinations which in the space of a few minutes, are supposed to test a student's knowledge of a given subject area. Schools tend to be rated by parents and students according to the success its graduates have in entering top schools. Thus the standards for achievement are sometimes set above the level of the average student. There is also a tendency to distort the purpose of education by compelling schools to neglect problem-solving methods in the social sciences, experimental techniques in science and oral-aural techniques in language training in order to prepare students for short written examinations.

The problem of the examination syndrome is recognized by students, parents, educators and politicians but as yet no satisfactory solution has been found. In an attempt to help alleviate the problem the Ministry of Education introduced a national-wide uniform preliminary test for applicants to national and public universities in 1975. The Ministry has also made curricular changes for elementary, lower and upper secondary schools to make them more relevant to the average student.

2. The Necessity to Improve and Expand Vocational and Technical Education

The establishment of the open-type one track school system in the postwar era has made it difficult for Japan to respond to the changing needs of the nation's rapidly expanding and changing economy. Since over sixty percent are in academic track in high schools, vocational and technical schools have a much lower status and tend to attract students who have failed in their effort to enter academic track schools. In some sense Japan faces much the same problem which they faced earlier when economic development and social and educational needs were out of synchronization. Presently, there is a shortage of young workers in a number of technical and para-professionals. There are many graduates of academic track high schools who find the need to seek more specific vocational training and turn to *senshu gakko* ("special training schools") which are private, "for-profit" institutions. There is a clear need for publicly supported vocational and technical secondary schools with both significant social status and recognition to fill the needs of students seeking gainful employment.

3. Assuring Equal Opportunity for Education

While it is true that it is neither to the advantage of individual students nor to their communities for all Japanese to receive the same education the original aims of the postwar reforms which strive to guarantee equal access to education for everyone must not be abandoned. The present system which still does not meet this goal in at least two areas must continue to be reevaluated and adjusted so that equal access to education for all is assured.

One problem is the variance in educational opportunities between urban and rural areas. As was pointed out earlier, the expansion of higher education depended on the private sector of higher education. This brought about an unequal distribution of higher education in various regions. In the 1960's, although private two and four year institutions were built in rural areas, many more new private institutions were established in metropolitan areas. The big cities were a good market for private institutions to recruit students because of the large student-age population and they could attract students from other rural areas as well. As a result, the opportunity for higher education was distributed unequally among various regions in Japan. For example, in 1975, thirty four percent of the enrollment in higher education was in Tokyo and another twenty four percent was in other major urban areas (Table # 5). In recent years this problem has been somewhat alleviated through enforcement of the Ministry of Education's policy to limit the growth of educational institutions in metropolitan areas in order to equalize higher education opportunities in rural areas. Due to this policy, by 1979, the share of enrollemnts in Tokyo decreased to thirty percent and in other major urban areas to twenty three percent.

The second area limiting equal access to education is for some families

related to the urban-rural disparity. Despite great efforts to make education in Japan affordable to all statistics clearly indicate that the level of education attainment of individuals is closely related to the economic level of the person's family. Recent figures concerning Tokyo University students, for example, show that the majority of their families are members of Japan's corporate and bureaucratic elite. Furthermore, it is significant that the differential between the status and income of Tokyo University students' families, and those of students studying in other institutions, is steadily growing.

4. Promotion of Social values in Education

Pressed by the need to inculcate an ever-increasing amount of knowledge in a technological age, Japanese schools in the postwar era paid little attention to the social aspect of education. At the same time, great changes have taken place in the traditional family system which formed the primary basis for nurturing social values. The average Japanese family today has two children and lives separately from the parents. This type of nuclear family did not participate in the socializing process afforded by the traditional family. On the other hand, the strong competition for success in life, starting at the entrance examination for kindergarten, focuses young people's attention on their material welfare. These and other factors, coupled with the ineffective moral education courses in the schools, are blamed for the declining interest in moral values and concern for the aged and handicapped in Japan today. Since they play such a vital role in the society the schools are challenged to help address this problem too.

5. Re-evaluation of the Concept of Education in the Post Industrial Age

A review of the parameters of the entire education system from the point of view of life-long education seems to be in order. As in other countries, life styles and work patterns are rapidly changing as a result of technological innovation. In the future, the time available for leisure for most Japanese will increase. In order to cope with these changing social conditions it is necessary to consider education which will prepare individuals to take full advantage of these new developments. The concept of continuing education must be seriously studied and facilitated wherever possible. Indeed, all the challenges facing the present education system such as entrance examinations, technical and vocational education, moral education, and equality of education should be confronted in the context of an overall plan for life-long education.

6. Training of Japanese to Work in an International Age

Japan closed its door to foreign countries until the end of the Tokugawa Era, and began contact with the outside world only after the Meiji Restoration. Japan

is an isolated country surrounded by seas, and ethnically the Japanese are a homogeneous nation sharing the same cultural background and speaking the same language. Even though economic and other relations between Japan and foreign countries have increased dramatically since the end of World War II, the average Japanese still does not have a strong awareness of being a member of the international community and takes a rather conservative attitude toward contact with foreigners.

This may be one reason that number of foreign students studying in Japanese universities is far smaller than that of other advanced countries. The foreign students in Japanese universities represent only 0.5 percent of the total enrollment as compared to approximately 9% in Britain, West Germany, France and the United States.

To nurture Japanese who can work effectively in an international age, it will be necessary to establish a system under which Japanese students can study together with foreign students, speaking foreign languages at least in part of the curriculum. Only in this way can they develop the awareness that they are Japanese and at the same time they are members of the international community.

Chart 1. Rapid Achievement of Compulsory Education, Prewar

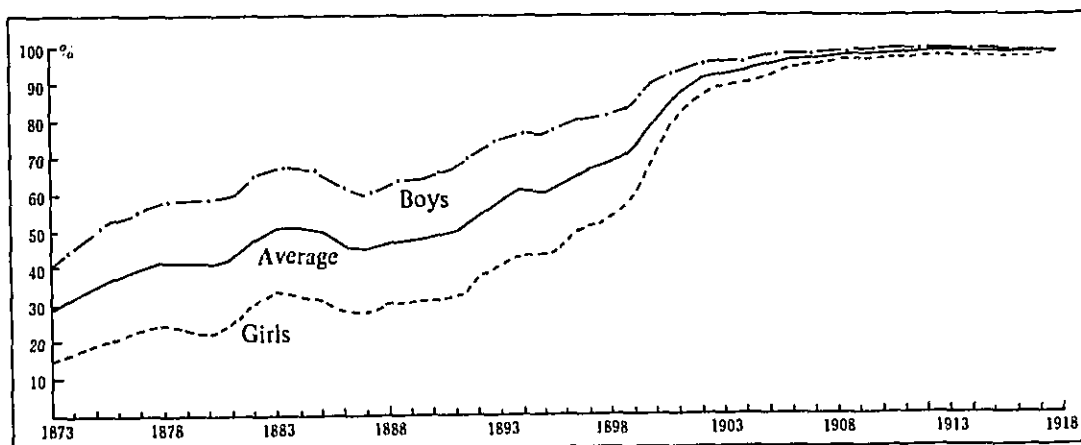
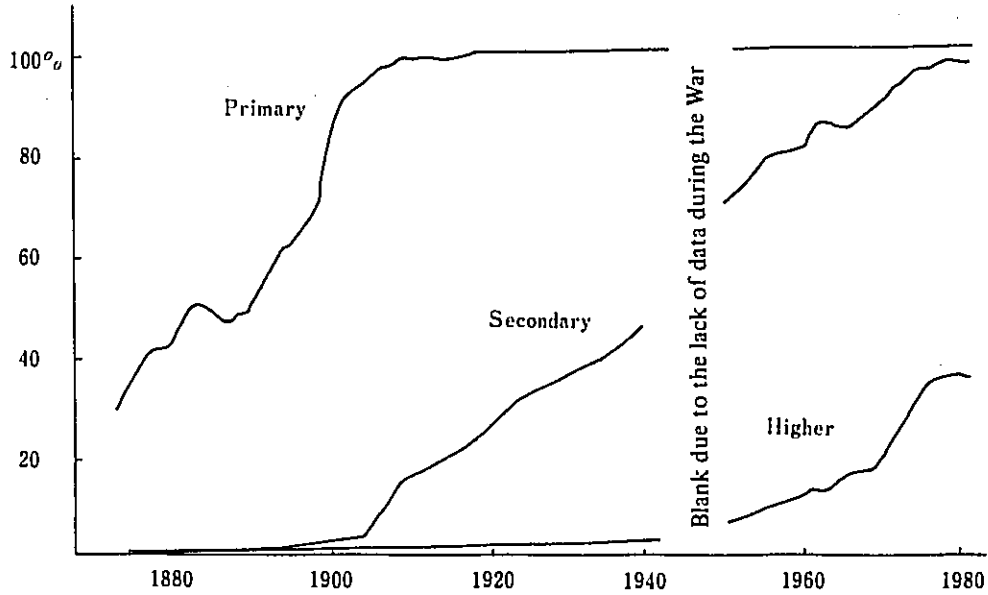


Chart 2. Enrollment Ratio



Source:

"Prospects and Problems in Japanese Higher Education"

M. YANO

F. MARUYAMA 1985

Chart 3. Organization of the School System in Japan (Prewar – 1919)

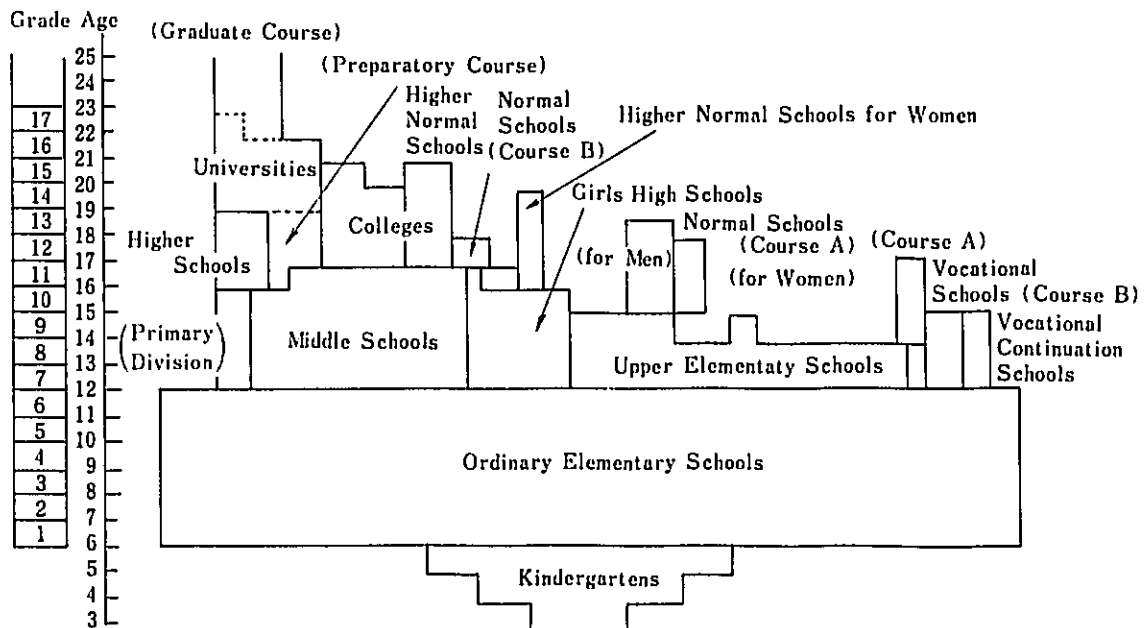


Chart 4. Organization of the School System in Japan (Postwar - 1983)

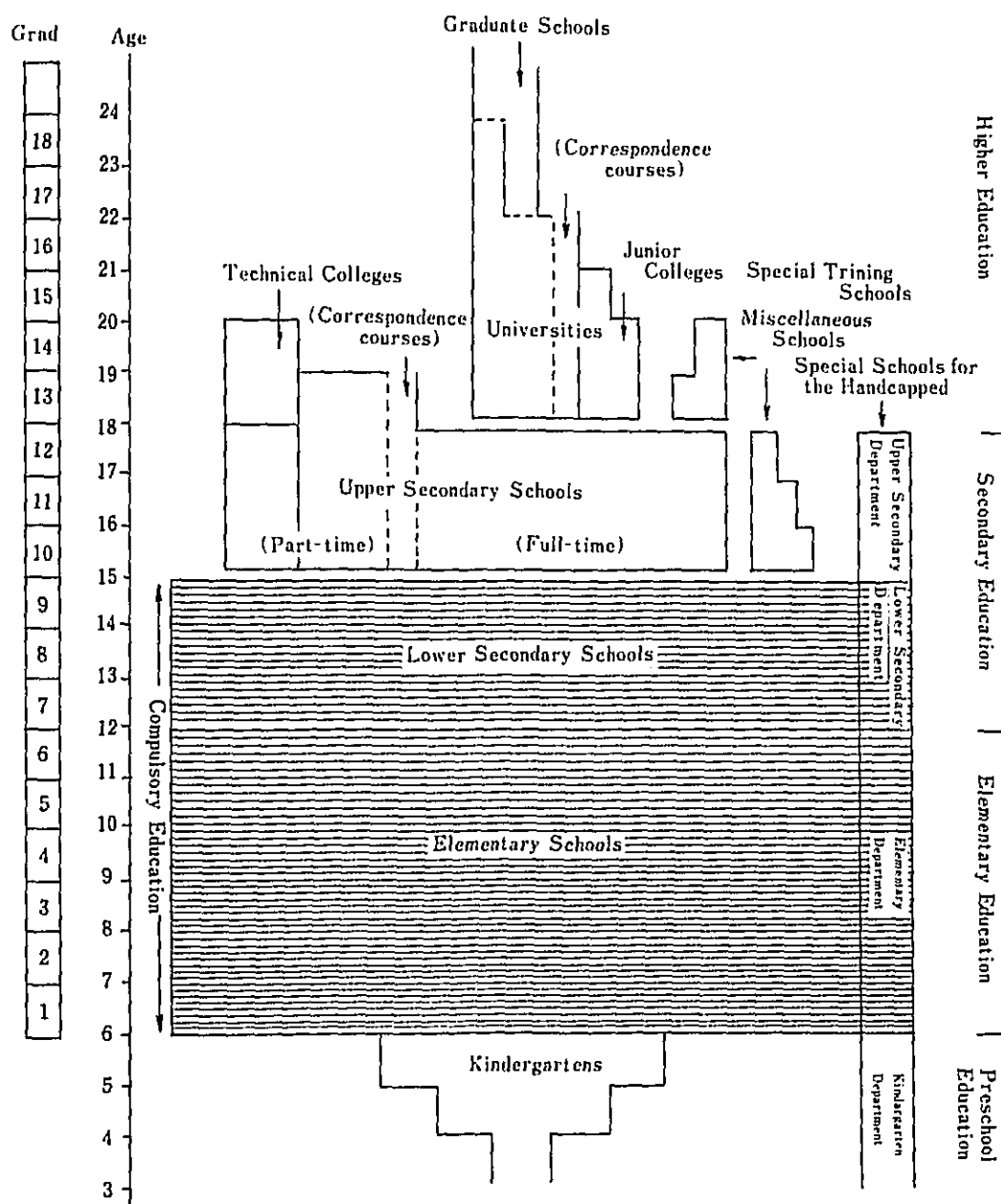


Chart 5. Share of Manpower Stock

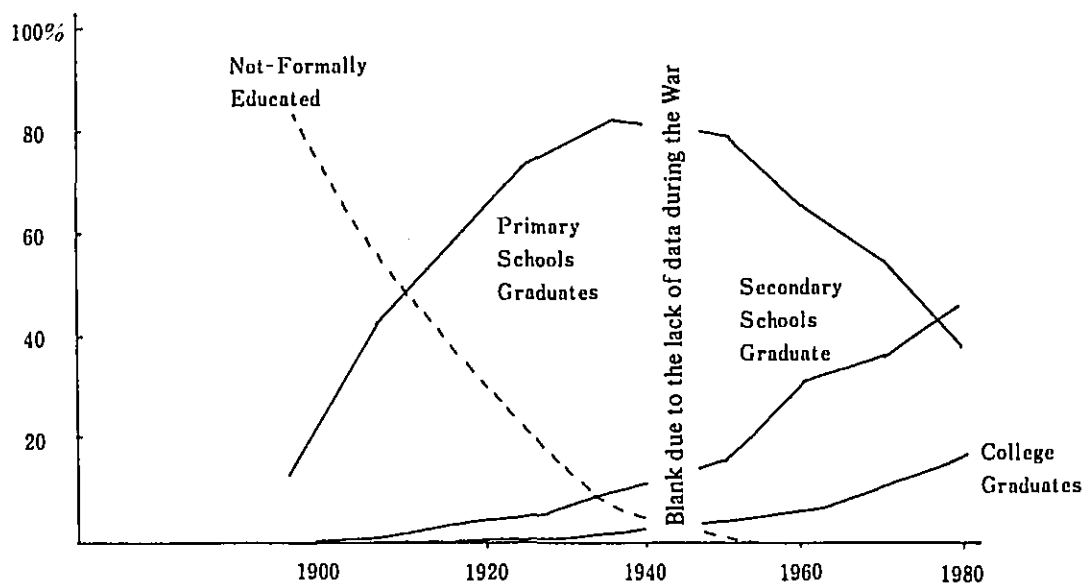


Chart 6. The Rapid Increase in Students at Private Colleges

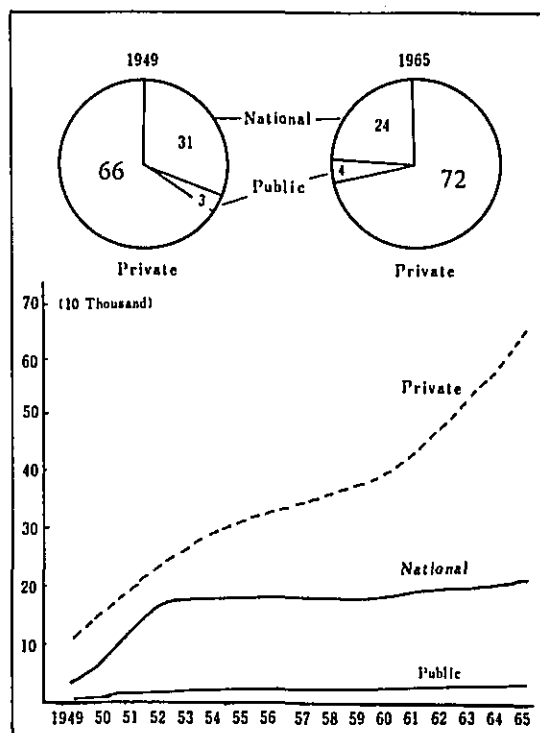


Chart 7. Examination Hell

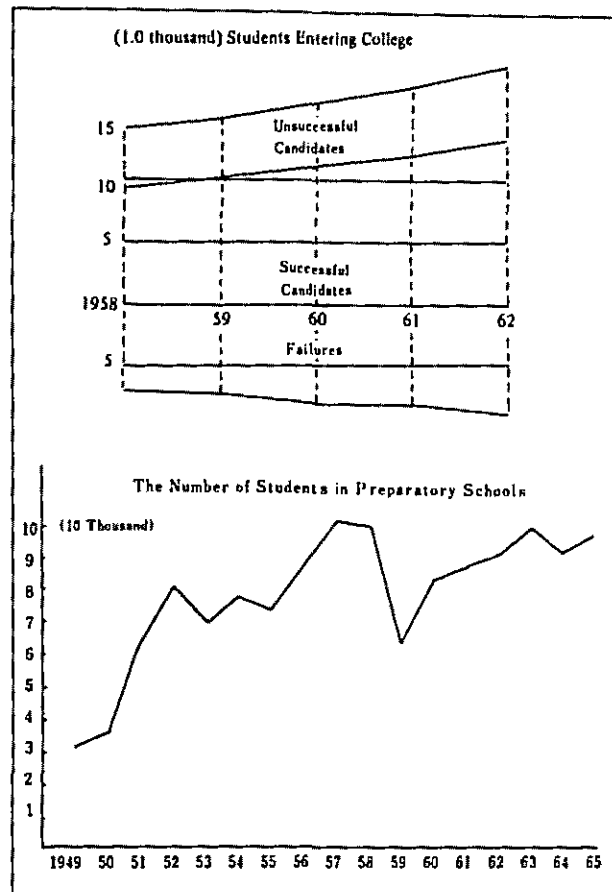


Table 1 Number of Foreign Teachers by Nationality and Period

Period Nationality	1867 - 72	1873 - 77	1878 - 82	1883 - 87	1888 - 92	1893 - 97	1898 - 1902	1903 - 7	1908 - 12	Total
Germany	9	33	25	22	17	13	10	4	3	136
Britain	9	12	14	11	11	7	6	4	5	79
U.S.A.	13	20	11	5	5	3	3	4	3	67
France	7	13	5	3	4	3	3	2	3	43
Others	2	—	4	4	—	1	3	4	5	23
Total	40	78	59	45	37	27	25	18	19	348

Table 2 Number of Japanese Students Sent Abroad by the Ministry of Education

Period	1875 - 79	1880 - 84	1885 - 89	1890 - 94	1895 - 99	1900 - 1904	1905 - 8	Total
No.	28	28	24	27	128	175	36	446

Table 3 Total Educational Expenditure of Total Government Expenditure

	Japan	Korea	Philippine	Thailand	Malaysia	Indonesia
1960	---	---	---	---	---	---
1965	22.7	17.2	---	17.3	---	---
1970	20.4	21.4	24.4	17.3	17.7	---
1975	22.4	13.9	11.4	21.0	19.3	13.1
1980	19.6	14.1	10.3	20.6	16.4	8.9

Table 4 Number of Institutions and Students

		Universities		Junior Colleges	
		Institutions	Students	Institutions	Students
National	1955	72	186055	17	3637
	1960	72	134221	27	6632
	1965	73	238380	28	8060
	1970	75	309587	22	9886
	1975	81	357772	31	13143
	1980	93	406644	35	14685
Public	1955	34	24936	43	11080
	1960	33	28569	39	11086
	1965	35	38277	40	13603
	1970	33	50111	43	16136
	1975	34	50880	48	17973
	1980	34	52082	50	19002
Private	1955	122	312366	204	63168
	1960	140	403625	214	65719
	1965	209	660899	301	125900
	1970	274	1046823	414	237197
	1975	305	1325430	434	322666
	1980	319	1376586	432	337437

**Table 5 Fluctuations in Total Enrollments of Higher Education
and Their Geographical Distribution**

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980
Tokyo	711,870 (34.1) %	718,369 (33.3) %	722,103 (32.6) %	686,658 (30.6) %	674,465 (30.4) %
Big Cities Designated Cabinet Order	502,171 (24.0)	505,121 (23.4)	508,020 (23.0)	510,723 (22.8)	503,721 (22.7)
Other Regions	873,823 (41.9)	933,176 (43.3)	983,484 (44.4)	1,045,180 (46.6)	1,042,178 (46.9)
Total	2,087,864 (100.0)	2,156,666 (100.0)	2,213,607 (100.0)	2,242,561 (100.0)	2,220,364 (100.0)

4. JAPANESE ECONOMY

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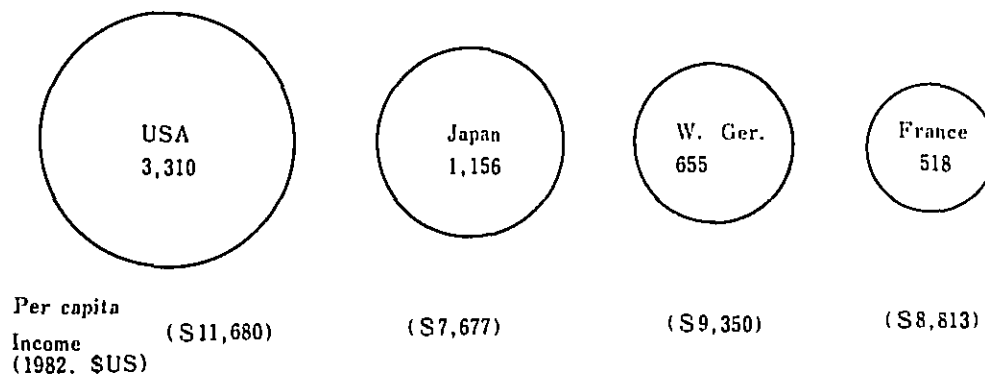
Japanese Economy

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I. General View of Japanese Economy

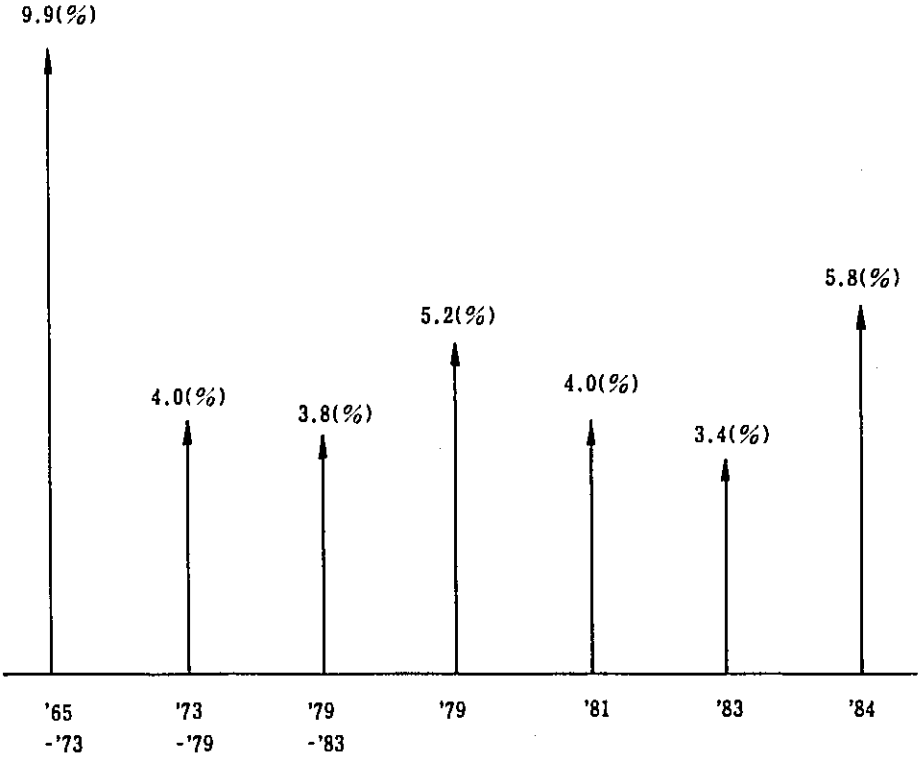
1. Small and poorly endowed with natural resources. Japan nevertheless had a large population and GNP. With an area of only 378,000 km², Japan is only one fourth the size of Indonesia or one ninth the size of India and indeed is smaller than the state of California. Seventy percent of her land is covered with rugged mountains and only 16% is arable.
2. Her population of 120 million, sixth largest in the world, is highly concentrated in 5 major urban area. (Tokyo, Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto, Nagoya, Northern Kyushu, and Southern Hokkaido). Indeed, population density in Japan is among the highest in the world with 35 million people crammed into less than 1% of the country's total area.
3. This population produced an estimated GNP of approximately \$1,233 billion with a per capita GNP of about \$10,360 in 1984.

Figure 1. GNP (1983 SUS bil.)



4. Until 1973, the economy had continuously grown at an average rate of 10% per year in terms of real GNP. But in 1974, affected by the "oil shock", the annual growth rate dropped to minus 1.3%, the first experience of negative growth in the post-war period. In 1975, the growth rate was only 2% but the economy recovered in 1976, showing a growth rate of 6%. The average annual growth rate in the coming decade is projected to be 4%, considerably lower than in the past decades.

Figure 2. Real Economic Growth Rate



II. Modern Economic History until World War II

Early Days of Japan's Modernization

1. Meiji Restoration (1868) Marked the Beginning of Modernization:

The history of the Japanese economic progress dates back to more than 100 years ago. Japan celebrated in 1968 the Meiji Centennial commemorating the one hundredth year from the Meiji Restoration. Japan began modernization and industrialization with the restoration of imperial order.

2. Japan under Feudal Regime – A Static Economy Waiting for Changes:

When Commodore Perry of the United States visited the Japanese islands in 1854, he found a nation of approximately 30 million people living in the stage of economic development no more advanced than that of the 15th century Europe.

3. The new Meiji government drastically changed the entire economic, political and social systems. The feudalistic class system under which Samurai (warriors) was top-ranked and followed by farmers, craftsmen and merchants at the bottom was discontinued. Restraints on domestic and international transportation were greatly reduced and people were given right to select their jobs and places to live. The right to own and transact private property was authorized.

4. Economic development was one of the basic policy targets of the Meiji government. The government took initiative to induce from abroad advanced economic systems. Banking system, inland and coastal transportation systems and mining industry were developed with priority. The government actively engaged itself in the induction of foreign technologies and construction of model factories in various manufacturing sectors, such as shipbuilding, steel, telecommunication, machinery and textiles. Those state-owned factories were later sold to private business.

5. Factors that Helped the Quick Building of Modern Nation:

There were a number of favorable factors of social tradition, geography and historical circumstances that helped to produce aggressive leadership in forging a united country. Japan entered the modern era far better equipped for economic expansion than contemporaries realized.

1) Strong sense of national unity

In spite of internal dissensions, the people possessed an underlying sense of national unity which was the product of her geographical positions, of

linguistic uniformity and of her history as a single nation.

- 2) Tradition of central administration inherited from the feudal era.
Though the feudal magnates enjoyed autonomy, Japan possessed a central administration which managed to impose its will upon the country.
- 3) Ripening of economic conditions for change and progress
In the decades before the Restoration economic and technical inheritance had been ripening seeking change and growth. Already, a surplus of agricultural income had been increased by the rise in agricultural productivity during the centuries preceding the Meiji era.
- 4) Readiness to adapt themselves
There were, above all, the qualities of the Japanese at that time their curiosity, their readiness to try everything once, the welcome that they gave to novelties in things if not in ideas, their strong sense of reciprocal obligation, their passionate personal loyalties that could be directed by political art into the task of nation-building.
- 5) Relatively high level of education
Public education had already been developed considerably under the feudal regime. At the end of the Tokugawa era, it is said, more than 40% of the Japanese could write and read. Education prevailed widely even among Commoners, many villages and towns had what was popularly called temple schools. Upper class people, in particular Samurai, ceased to be warriors after 250 years of peace, and were encouraged to compete among themselves brushing up their talents and capabilities in reading and writing and administration.
- 6) Quick absorption of foreign technologies
The Japanese demonstrated remarkable ability to absorb new foreign techniques rapidly and improve them systematically. This was done even during the Tokugawa period. People often criticize that the Japanese are good at imitating foreign things. However, it is more or less, we think, that a country behind others must emulate and import foreign things in the early stage of development. In this sense, the Japanese did not hesitate at all.
- 7) Strong government leadership
The government played an active part in introducing new industries and

importing western technologies, financing necessary investment from taxation or deficit financing. The government, however, was by no means the only source of industrial enterprises in those years. With the opening of the century, a host of small-scale undertakings came into existence, most of them based on traditional economic activities.

6. At the time of World War I (from 1914 through 1918) the Japanese economy grew vigorously. However, around 1920, the economy began to slip into a long slump. The worldwide great depression of the late 1920s hit hard the Japanese economy. The depression and other factors at the time eventually led the country to the disastrous World War II.

III. Rapid Economic Growth after World War II

1. Production in 1946 was only 28 percent of the prewar peak (1936-37). Most of economic indicators, however, restored the prewar level in 1955, 10 years after the war ended.
2. In the two decades from 1950 through 1970, the average annual growth of real GNP was 9.8%. In the 1960-70 period, it was 11.1%. These figures represented the highest rates among the industrialized countries.
3. After the War, the Allied Force compelled the Japanese government to change drastically the political, economic and social systems. The change was so drastic and properly comparable with the reform in 1868. Zaibatsu families or extremely powerful industrial groups were disbanded. The farm-land reform enabled numerous tenants to have their own farming lands. Labor Unions were permitted and labor movements were encouraged. These reforms gave a great stimulus to the economy through promoting competition, and stimulating renovation.
4. In the years that immediately followed the war, when most of the production facilities in Japan were not yet reconstructed, priorities were given to selected industries such as coal mining, steel or fertilizer. But in the 1950's light industries headed by textile led Japan's industrial development.
5. In the latter half of the 1950's active induction of foreign technology resulted in increasing private investments in machinery and equipment. One example to show the technological development achieved in the period: In 1952, the

production of one metric ton of blast furnace pig iron required 6 m/h, but in 1957 it was reduced to 3.75 m/h and in 1962 only 1.86 m/h. Investments in some sectors stimulated investments in other related sectors and the cumulative effect brought about a great investment boom.

6. In 1960, an ambitious "national income doubling plan" was announced by the government. The plan projected to double GNP in 10 years with an average annual growth rate of 7.2%. The target was fulfilled in 5 years instead of 10.
7. Meanwhile, during the decade of 1960's the liberalization of trade and capital had proceeded with a rapid pace. In April 1960, when the government announced a basic plan of liberalizing trade and foreign exchange, only 42% of Japan's total imports was free from restriction. But by April 1964, four years later, the rate of free import had risen to 93%. In regard to capital transaction, Japan joined the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development in 1964 and pledged to discontinue strict regulation on capital movements in conformity with the OECD Code of capital liberalization.
8. In the 1960's, heavy and chemical industries became the prime mover of the Japanese industry replacing the textile and other light industries. Today more than two-thirds of Japan's manufacturing output represent heavy industry and chemical products such as steel, cars, ships, machines, fertilizer, and petrochemicals. The shift to the heavy and chemical industries in Japan met quite effectively the growing world demand for those products. The tempo of Japan's export expansion, therefore, was twice as rapid as the world average.

Table 1 Industrial Structure

(1) Composition of industries (Production base)

	1970	1975	1980	1983
Primary	4.6	4.0	3.0	2.8
Secondary (Manufacturing)	59.4	55.3	55.1	52.8
Tertiary	36.0	40.7	41.9	44.4

(2) Working population by Industry (%)

	1970	1975	1980	1984
Primary	17.4	12.6	10.4	8.9
Secondary	35.2	35.2	34.8	34.2
Tertiary	47.4	52.2	54.8	56.9

9. With the advent of the 1970's the Japanese economy entered an entirely new period it has never experienced before. At the end of 1971, the Yen was first revalued against the dollar by 17%. About one year later, in February 1973, Japan adopted the floating rate system and the yen has substantially been appreciated again. These successive changes of the foreign exchange rate made Japanese exports more expensive in foreign markets. In winter 1973, Japan faced an energy crisis. The import price of crude oil was drastically raised. The price of other natural resources increased sharply. The stable supply of raw materials and foodstuffs was thus threatened and the Japanese began to have a great concern over the future of these imports.

Table 2 Degree of Energy Dependency on Import

	Total Energy (1981)	Petroleum (Import/Consumption)
Japan	89.8	102.6 (1983)
U.S.A.	11.0	26.1 (1983)
U.K.	△ 11.4	7.2 (1980)
France	73.7	100.3 (1983)
W. Germany	52.1	99.4 (1983)
Italy	85.2	109.0 (1982)

IV. Sources of Japan's Rapid Economic Growth

1. The whole Japanese economy was crushed down at the end of World War II. Economic recovery started from the very low level, which resulted in a very high economic growth rate. Economic assistance by the U.S. and the special procurements by the American Army during the Korea War contributed to the economic recovery of Japan.
2. Various changes of social systems enforced by the Allied Force gave healthy stimulus to the people for economic development and induced competition in the economy. The constitutional renunciation of war has diminished the military burden and released resources — including human and capital — to be used exclusively for economic recovery efforts. Dissolvment of Zaibatsu families with enactment of the anti-monopoly law, farm-land reform, encouragement of labor movements; those social innovations vitalized the economic activity in Japan. The development of a social security system has functioned as a built-in-stabilizer.
3. One of the most basic underpinnings of growth is a highly skilled and motivated labor force which welcomes the introduction of new technology. Education, therefore, is the base upon which everything must rest. A highly effective mass education system was established in the early Meiji era.
4. Japan has developed a rather unique labor-management system. Among all, the practice of lifetime employment is the essence of this system.
 - A. The System of Life Time Employment:
 - 1) A graduate upon completing university or high school immediately joins a company. It is highly unlikely that he will either change jobs or be dismissed. An important result of this system is a great sense of loyalty to one's company which pervades even one's private life.
 - 2) The life time employment system serves to secure him a job and in turn his loyalty to his company. The worker is highly receptive to technological improvements which will increase his company's competitiveness and efficiency. Thus while improved technology may displace workers, the assurance of employment results in endorsement of such changes.
 - 3) In Japan official retirement is between the ages of 55 and 60 and when an employee reaches this age he "retires" with a severance pay equal to two

to three years' full pay. The "retired" employee may, however, continue employment on a temporary basis at approximately seventy percent of his former salary. The employer, assured of labor force continuity and confident of return on his investment, is, therefore, willing to spend more on training his workers.

B. The Seniority System:

- 1) A new employee upon entering a company receives a relatively low salary but regardless of ability is assured of step increases which reach their peak during the employee's 50's. Wages, then, are a function primarily of length of service and are decided neither by the nature of the job nor the amount of responsibility involved. But at age 40 there is a weeding out process with management positions and in the case of college graduates, top management positions being allocated.
- 2) This uniform system of promotion is definitely different from the Western emphasis on individualism and promotion on the basis of ability. It is frustrating not only to Westerners but also to an increasing number of younger Japanese. However, faced with guaranteed advancement and security, a worker is understandably reluctant to change jobs and risk losing his place on the escalator.

C. Enterprise Unions:

- 1) Japanese unions are generally enterprise unions with individual and occupational unions being very limited in scope. This emphasis on enterprise unions is consistent with the Japanese workers' identification with his company and a consequent rejection of outside loyalties. Competition between parallel groups in different companies rather than cooperation is more consistent with the Japanese social milieu.
- 2) Industry wide federations wield more political power than a negotiating union having little control over their constituent members. Although increasingly, as a result of the Spring Labor Offensive, company-based unions are looking outward and are more cognizant of pattern setting settlements, no concerted action or cooperation is yet to be found. Concern of the union centers primarily around the protection and promotion of one's employees whose fates are tied inextricably to the success of the company. Union demands therefore are tempered by a sensitivity to the company's financial position unknown in Europe or the U.S.

D. In-Company Training:

- 1) The adaptability of Japanese workers and their ready acceptance of improvements which in the West would often be opposed by workers and unions is also a function of universal "in-company" training. Occupational skills are developed within the enterprise with companies often being reluctant to employ anyone possessing a degree higher than a BA. The feeling is that such an employee is already too specialized and can not fit into the slot the company will eventually determine for him.
- 2) Every employee is involved in continuous training and often he may be trained not only for his own job but for all jobs at his own level, thus being able to take over another job. Such flexibility is possible in Japan since company loyalty takes precedence over occupational specialization and craft or industrial unions are almost nonexistent in Japan, thereby offering none of the resistance that one is likely to find in the West.
5. Bold decisions of companies to adopt new technology developed domestically or induced from abroad, and to expand their production facilities through investments are another factor to note. Percentage share of gross fixed capital formation in GNP has been more than one-third compared with 18% in U.S. or 26% in West Germany. Severe competition among companies has contributed to high investment rate and rapid technological developments.
6. This high rate of capital investment has been stretched even further by Japan's unique banking system. In Japan companies have large amounts of debt with debt-equity ratios of 5:1. Unheard of in the West this system does, however, ensure that financing will be available for rapid and sustained growth. However, without government concurrence and backing — they do in fact ultimately guarantee the debt — this system would not be possible. Behind the banking system, there is a very high saving ratio of households. The rate is more than 20% compared with 7% in the U.S. and 16% in W. Germany.
7. Implicit cooperation between government and business is another factor to enable high economic growth. This differs markedly from the restrictive and regulatory role performed by governments in the West. Reasoned industrial policy based on broad and long-range planning and careful selection of priority industries made by consensus between government and business is a feature of such cooperation.

8. But all efforts can go to waste if goods cannot be marketed or raw materials supplied on a continuous basis. For Japan, highly dependent on overseas supplies of raw materials as well as on exports to pay for these imports, a highly efficient overseas marketing channel was necessary. Japan's largest 13 trading companies, are today the most efficient international marketing channel and handle about 50% of Japan's international trade.

Table 3 Price, Wage, Productivity

(1) Price

1. Annual Increase of Wholesale Price (%)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Japan	5.0	1.9	△2.6	7.3	17.8	1.4	1.8	2.2	0.3
U.S.A.	4.4	6.5	7.8	11.1	13.5	9.2	4.0	1.6	2.1
U.K.	—	18.2	9.9	10.9	14.0	9.5	7.8	5.4	—
W. Germany	5.8	1.8	△0.8	6.9	7.4	7.8	5.4	△0.1	2.8
France	—	8.6	5.6	11.5	10.3	14.1	12.3	9.3	—

2. Annual Increase of Consumer Price (%)

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Japan	9.3	8.1	3.8	3.6	8.0	4.9	2.7	1.9	2.1
U.S.A.	5.8	6.5	7.7	11.3	13.5	10.4	6.1	3.2	4.3
U.K.	16.5	15.8	8.3	13.4	18.0	11.9	8.6	4.6	5.0
W. Germany	4.4	3.6	2.7	4.2	5.4	6.3	5.3	3.3	2.4
France	9.6	9.4	9.1	10.8	13.6	13.4	11.8	9.6	7.4

(2) Wage (Japan = 100)

	1750	1980	1983
Japan	100	100	100
U.S.A.	165	138	154
U.K.	89	95	76
W. Germany	135	138	104
France	96	102	—

(3) Productivity (Manufacturing, %)

	1974-1983	1974-1980	1980-1983	1983
Japan	3.4	4.8	1.1	3.0
U.S.A.	2.5	2.2	3.0	6.2
U.K.	2.1	0.9	5.3	6.0
W. Germany	2.7	2.6	3.4	6.1
France	3.0	3.1	2.0	6.0
	(74-82)		(80-82)	(82)

V. Japan's Involvement on the International Economic Scene

A. Trade

1. Lacking in natural resources, Japan must import practically all her energy and raw material requirements. To pay for these imports, Japan must export. Japan's economy is, therefore, critically dependent on free trade.
2. In 1984, Japanese exports totaled \$170 billion and import \$137 billion on a customs clearance basis.
3. The proportion of Japan's exports and imports in the Gross National Product is modest, a little over 10 percent.
Commodity composition of Japanese imports is rather unique. The proportion of food, raw materials and fuels in her total imports amounted to 70% in 1984. In its exports, however, the share of chemicals, metals and machinery is 88%
4. In 1984, oil imports reached \$39,379 million.
But in quantity, oil imports have been declining since 1973 (290 mil. kl. 1973 and 213 mil. kl. in 1984). The share of oil in total imports in 1973 was 16% and is now 29%

Table 4

(I) Composition of Imports (%)

	1961	1970	1980	1984
Foods	11.5	13.6	10.4	11.7
Raw Products	48.0	35.4	16.9	14.3
Mineral Fuels	16.0	20.7	49.8	44.2
Manufactured Products	24.5	30.3	22.9	29.8

(2) Composition of Exports (%)

	1960	1970	1980	1984
Textiles	30.2	12.5	4.8	4.0
Chemicals				
Metals	22.7	28.0	23.1	17.1
Machinery	23.5	46.3	62.8	70.4
Others	23.6	13.2	9.3	8.5

Table 5 Export-Import by Countries & Regions
(% Customs clearance basis)

(1) Exports

	1960	1970	1980	1984
U.S.A.	27.1	30.7	24.2	35.2
Canada	2.9	2.9	1.9	2.5
E.C.	4.3	6.7	12.8	11.4
Australia	3.6	3.0	2.6	3.0
Latin America	7.5	6.1	6.9	5.0
S.E. Asia	24.6	25.4	23.8	21.6
Middle East	4.4	3.3	11.1	8.4
Africa	6.3	5.2	3.8	1.8
China	0.1	2.9	3.9	4.2
U.S.S.R.	1.5	1.8	2.1	1.5

(2) Imports

	1960	1970	1980	1984
U.S.A.	34.6	29.4	17.4	19.7
Canada	4.5	4.9	3.4	3.6
E.C.	4.7	5.9	5.6	6.8
Australia	7.7	8.0	5.0	5.3
Latin America	6.9	7.3	4.1	5.3
S.E. Asia	15.6	16.0	22.6	23.4
Middle East	10.0	12.4	31.7	24.2
Africa	1.7	3.7	1.5	0.9
China	0.5	1.3	3.1	4.4
U.S.S.R.	1.9	2.5	1.3	1.0

B. Investment and Aid

1. Japan's foreign investment has increased rapidly in the past several years. The cumulative total of outward direct investment at the end of March, 1985 amounted to \$71,431 million on an approval basis.
2. Foreign direct investment into Japan amounted to more than \$4.4 billion at the end of 1984. Activities of the foreign affiliated firms cover practically the whole spectrum of business, finance and industry.
3. Japan started from 1971 the preferential tariff system on imports from developing countries. Virtually all the developing countries and regions are covered by the system. Number of items and their quotas have been increasing.
4. Japan's Official Development Assistance amounted to \$4,319 million in 1984. The ratio of the ODA to GNP was 0.35% in 1984.

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5. READING GUIDE ON JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE

READING GUIDE ON JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE

This reading guide is a sample booklet and not complete in its coverage of Japan and the Japanese. It is hoped that this will serve as a list of selected readings which will be of some value and benefit to those who are interested in things Japanese. The books listed here are found in the TIC Library.

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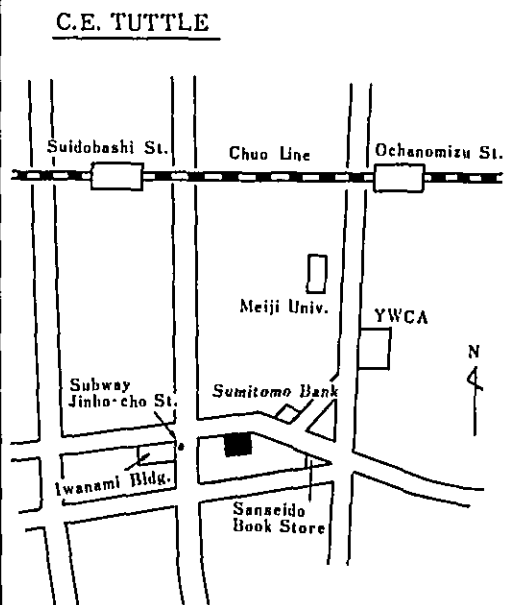
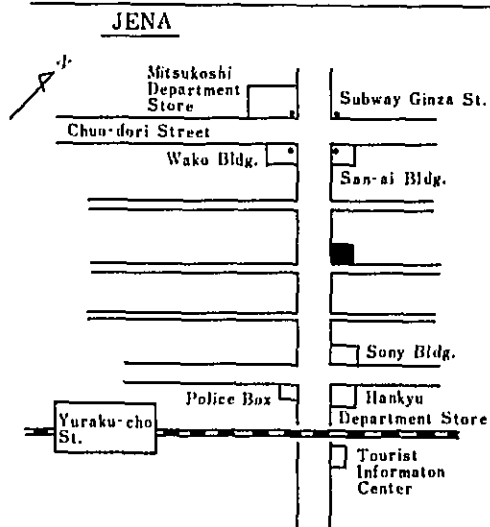
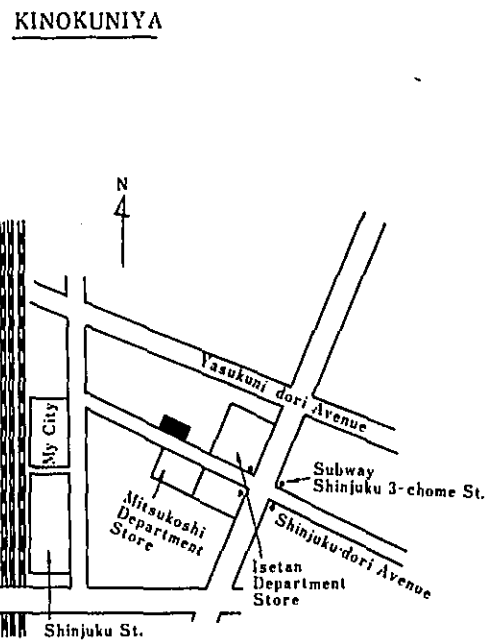
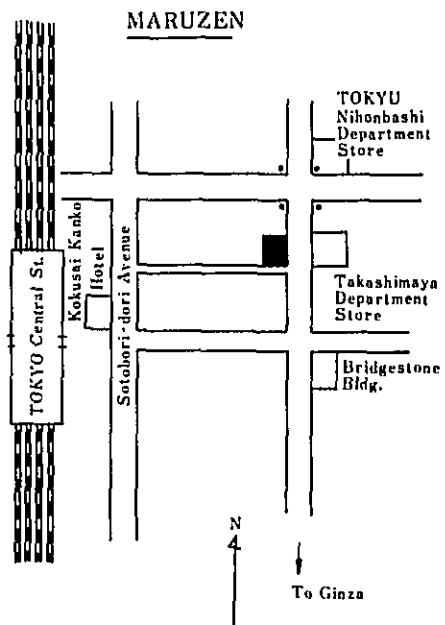
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