Japan
Chapter 18 Japan the Impact of the Past

I. Geography, Resources, People, Culture, History
A. Four main islands, hundreds of small islands
   1. Influenced by Chinese culture but able to resist Chinese conquest
   2. Not unified until the end of the 16th century (Tokugawa Shogunate)
   3. Little arable land, much devoted to cultivating rice
B. The origins of the Japanese people and nature of early society not well known
   1. Jomon and Ainu
      a. Jomon were hunters and fishermen, huts, pottery, stone tools
      b. Ainu (descendants of Caucasian of Asia or Australoid of Australia/New Zealand); numerous dialects, unrelated to any other language
   2. Yayoi from northern Asia migrate by way of the Korean peninsula
   3. Chinese culture of the Ch'in and Han dynasties (103 BC) change and replace Yayoi culture (writing, philosophy, architecture, weapons)
   4. Tribes from Korea invade Japan around the 3rd century and centuries of warfare follow; the Ainu are eventually pushed to the northernmost islands of Hokaido, Sakhalin, and Kuril
C. Language: Japanese uses Chinese pictographs and Korean grammatical patterns
D. Religion
   1. Shinto: a simple polytheistic nature worship and veneration of ancestors
   2. Buddhism and Confucianism from China in the 6th century is adapted by Japan
E. Nihon: ("Sun Origin") Japanese name for Japan from the national myth that Japanese are descendents of the Sun Goddess (alternative form: Nippon)
F. Zipangu: Mongol name for Japan; recorded by Marco Polo
G. The attempted Chinese Mongol invasion of 1274 and 1281 A.D.
   1. Kublai Khan sent invasion fleets to conquer Japan
   2. Japanese warriors repel the invaders with help of Kamikaze ("Divine Winds")

II. Japanese Feudalism
A. Jimmu (descendent of the Sun Goddess) founds the Land of the Rising Sun (660 BC)
B. 3rd century AD, an imperial court appears in Yamato (burial site of Emperor Nintoku)
C. By the 7th century, central Japan largely unified on the Chinese imperial model
   1. The forms of Chinese centralized rule take root, but not the essence
   2. The emperor’s powers are usurped by powerful clan chiefs who can make or break figurehead emperors
D. Between the 9th and 12 centuries the centralized authority breaks down and for the next seven centuries feudalism rules Japan
E. The Structure of Japanese feudalism
   1. Tenno (Emperor) [eclipsed by the Shogun in 1600]
   2. Daimyo or aristocratic lords
   3. Samurai or knights, the warriors sworn to obedience and honor (bushido)

III. The Appearance of Europeans
A. In 1543, Portuguese navigators arrive in Japan
   1. Portuguese traders and Jesuit missionaries make inroads
2. St. Francis Xavier and the Jesuits impress many Japanese with their skill in argumentation and knowledge of astronomy
3. By 1582, approximately 150,000 Japanese (2% of the population) are converted to Catholicism

B. They are followed by the Spanish (1587) and the Dutch (1609)
C. Fearing European takeover, the Japanese ban Christianity in 1597 and in the next decades exclude Christian missionaries and slaughter Japanese Catholics

IV. The Shogun and the Unification of Japan
A. In 1600, the Tokugawa clan defeated the other clans and established the shogunate
B. The shogunate was a combination of feudalism, military rule, and a police state (spies guard against an uprising by the daimyo)
C. The shoguns moved the capital of Japan from Kyoto to Edo (later called Tokyo)
D. Isolationism and Xenophobia
   1. Fearing gaijin (“outsider”) influences and wares as a threat to Japanese culture and stability, the shogun effectively closed off foreign contact
   2. One small Dutch trading post was allowed to remain open in Nagasaki harbor (as the Dutch Protestants did no missionary work like Portuguese Catholics)
   3. The Japanese people were taught that foreigners were barbaric and menacing

V. The Opening of Japan by the Americans
A. By the mid-19th century, Japan had a distinctive and highly developed culture with basically no Western influence
   1. The Tokugawa era had brought two centuries of peace and prosperity despite lacking industry or trade with the rest of the world
   2. A merchant middle class emerged and the arts flourished
B. The United States, which by the 1840s was doing business in China, looked at Japan as a tempting target for commercial expansion
   1. In 1846, two U.S. warships sail into Yokohama Bay (Edo’s harbor) and requests opening up diplomatic relations
   2. Their request is denied
C. U.S. President Millard Fillmore then ordered Commodore Matthew Perry to go to Edo and force the Japanese to deal with the United States
   1. In the summer of 1853, Commodore Perry arrives with four steam/sail warships and presents his demands to the Japanese
   2. They plead for him to return in a year allowing them to prepare a response
   3. Perry agrees and leaves, but hearing of the arrival of the Russian envoy, Adm. Putiatin, Perry advances his return and arrives back in February 1854
   4. Negotiations are held at Kanagawa, near modern Yokohama, and on March 31, Japan agreed to open the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate to U.S. ships and to permit a U.S. consul/agent at Shimoda
   5. Soon, Europeans followed and Japan opened up to the West

VI. The 1868 Meiji Restoration
A. The accession of Emperor Mutsuhito, whose era took the name of Meiji, began with a series of imperial decrees that ordered the modernization of everything from education and military organization to industry and commerce
   1. Supported by the samurai caste, which had become unemployed and “superfluous,” the cause was to save Japan by quick modernization
2. Although it was called a “restoration” of the Emperor’s powers from the hands of the shoguns, the Emperor was mostly a figurehead symbol for rule by certain samurai clans

B. Social, economic, and political revolution
   1. Japan became a modern nation in one generation
   2. Feudalism ended, and, at least on paper, all Japanese were legally equal
      a. The Tokugawa shoguns were out of power
      b. The daimyo lost their big hereditary estates (in return for interests in the new industries)
      c. The samurai clans could no longer legally kill, but along with the daimyo were given monopolies on branches of industry becoming a new social class, the zaibatsu

C. Japanese emissaries went abroad to bring back to Japan the best of the West
   1. From Britain, shipbuilding and naval warfare
   2. From France, commercial law and bureaucratic organization
   3. From Germany, medical care, steelmaking, and military organization

D. The Meiji elite desired Western technology, but not Western values nor philosophies on democracy, individual rights, or equality
   1. On issues of governance and social structure, Japanese values were superior
   2. However, they approved of Bismarck’s authoritarianism and included some of newly unified Germany’s political system

E. The 1889 Japanese Constitution
   1. Institutionally, the constitution provided for the Emperor, an elected parliament, and political parties
   2. Underneath, patterns of governance were thoroughly Japanese and largely handled by traditional power brokers

F. Between 1885 to 1919, Japan doubled its per capita GDP, the purpose of which was not to make individual Japanese wealthy but to make Japan a powerful nation

VII. The Rise of Japanese Militarism and Aggression
A. Once sufficiently armed with Western style weapons, Japanese aggression began
   1. In 1895, Japan waged war with China, seizing Taiwan
   2. In 1904, anticipating a Russian assault over Manchuria, it launches a surprise attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, destroying the inept Russians on land and sea (the Russian Baltic Fleet at the Tsushima strait)
      a. Victorious but strained, the Japanese accept U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt’s offer to mediate a peace treaty at Portsmouth, N.H.
      b. Under the terms, Japan’s primacy in Korea is recognized, the Russia surrendered its interests in South Manchuria to Japan (including the Liaotung peninsula and the southern half of Sakhalin Island
      c. The victory represents a major achievement for Japan nationalism
   3. Gradually, the Japanese begin the conquest of Korea which culminates in its colonization in 1910

B. Political Corruption and the Military’s Reaction
   1. As the economic power of the zaibatsu grew, so did their control over political parties and politicians
   2. With the collapse of the Japanese economy in 1927, the income inequality between the rich zaibatsu and the rest of Japan’s social classes was stark
3. This angered Japan’s military officer corps, “long a hotbed of fanatic right-wing nationalism and emperor worship”- Roskin
4. Turning their hatred against democracy and capitalism, the military officer corps set out to subvert the system
5. Without civilian control over it, the military was able to operate without having to answer to civilian authorities or diplomats
   a. In the cabinet, the war minister was a general, the navy minister was an admiral
   b. The military was able to get whatever budget it wanted
6. However, rival cliques within the military fought each other
   a. In Korea and Southern Manchuria, the Japanese army built a state within a state aimed at further conquest
   b. Any civilian politician in Tokyo protesting the expansionist program was assassinated
C. By the 1930s, the Japanese army was in control of the Tokyo government
   1. The fiction of civilian authority was maintained merely for appearance sake
   2. Japan’s army run security police, the kempeitai kept watch on everyone
   3. The militarist’s ideology was similar to the German Nazis: a combination of racism, extreme nationalism, militarism, and a bit of socialism
   4. It believed Japan needed to expand in order to support its population
   5. It built a society structured on military lines into tight, obedient hierarchies
   6. It offered the working class and farmers minimum economic standards
   7. Political parties were unimportant, it was the army that governed
D. In 1931, the Japanese bomb the railway at Mukden (Manchuria) but claim the Chinese Nationalist army was responsible
   1. The Japanese army then conquered Manchuria and renamed it Manchuko
   2. The League of Nations condemned Japan, and Japan walks out
   3. Britain and France are silent, the U.S. protests but doesn’t take any action

VIII. The Path to War with the United States
A. In November, 1936, Japan and Germany sign the Anti-Comintern Pact
B. “Asia for Asians”
   1. Evil European colonialists were to be expelled from Asia
   2. The nations of the region would form the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere, led, of course, by Japan
C. In 1937, Japan’s army began the conquest of China, the U.S. protests
D. In 1940, Japan occupied northern Indochina to block aid to China
   1. The U.S. responded with economic embargoes on scrap steel and oil
   2. In reaction, Japan conquered the Dutch East Indies for its petroleum
E. In September 1940, Japan, Germany and Italy sign the tripartite Axis Alliance
   1. The three agree to assist each other if any one was attacked by a power not then at war
   2. The agreement is directed against the U.S.
F. In July 1941, Japan announced a “joint protectorate” with Vichy France over the colony of Indochina
   1. The U.S. reacts by freezing Japanese assets
   2. Japan’s Second Kanoe Cabinet, failing to get the U.S. to agree to a meeting without prior Japanese concessions, is forced to resign by General Tojo
G. On November 29, U.S. Secretary of State Hull refused Japan’s “final offer” to withdraw from Indochina after China came to terms, in return for resuming oil shipments, unfreezing Japanese assets, and ceasing aid to China
H. Preparations for the strike against the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor were set in motion

IX. World War II: The U.S.-Japanese War (1941-1945)
A. December 7, 1941 the Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor
B. The first months of the war was marked with astounding victories (Manila, Corregidor, Singapore, the Netherland Indies, Rangoon)
C. The Battle of Midway (June 4-6, 1942) devastated the Japanese aircraft carrier fleet
D. Guadalcanal (Solomon Islands) in February 1943 ended in Japanese withdrawal
E. Fighting island after island was waged “without mercy”
F. Air (fire) raids over Tokyo and every major city (except Kyoto) brought destruction
G. In April 1945, U.S. Marines landed on Okinawa (fierce fighting lasted three months)
H. On August 6, 1945, the first A-Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima; on August 9 a second A-Bomb fell on Nagasaki
I. On August 14, Emperor Hirohito announced the surrender of Japan
J. On September 2, formal surrender was signed in Tokyo Bay aboard the U.S.S. Missouri

X. Postwar Japan
A. Without resistance, General Douglas MacArthur and his staff assumed control
   1. He allowed Emperor Hirohito to retain the throne “as an ordinary mortal, not a living god”
   2. In 1946, MacArthur’s staff (under Col. Charles Kades) wrote Japan’s new constitution (modeled after Great Britain) in five days
      a. The document guaranteed freedom, parliamentary democracy, and a declaration never to wage war
      b. Despite some grumbling, it was accepted when the Emperor endorsed it
B. Industry was revived
   1. The old zaibatsu was broken up, but banks reassembled them under the new name of Keiretsu (giant industrial-financial combinations)
   2. MacArthur let many of the old elite back into political power
C. Supervised and encouraged by government bureaucracies, economic growth was spectacular
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III. The Appearance of Europeans
   A. In 1543, Portuguese navigators arrive in Japan
      1. Portuguese traders and Jesuit missionaries make inroads
Chapter 18 Japan the Key Institutions

I. The Monarchy
A. It is not clear if the emperor can influence Japanese politics
   1. The constitution specifies that he has “no powers related to government”
      a. Constitutionally, he is a “figurehead”, a symbol of Japan
      b. Limited to ritual/ceremony, he goes along with what is expected of him
   2. In 1945, he did play a role in deciding for peace by supporting the peace party
      against those in the military willing to keep fighting
B. Some believe, he gives a kind of “tacit assent”, remaining silent if conditions aren’t bad
C. “If during a crisis, an emperor should take a clear stand on an issue, however, he might
   have considerable impact.” - Roskin

II. The Diet
A. The 1947 constitution makes the Diet the “highest organ” of Japanese government
B. It is a bicameral legislature
   1. The House of Representatives has 480 members
      a. 300 elected from single-member districts
      b. 180 elected by proportional representation from party lists in 11 regions
      c. A representative’s term is a maximum of 4 years
      d. In 1996, the new system resembles the German system, but like the
         Russian system doesn’t use PR to set the overall number of seats/party
      e. The House can be dissolved early for new elections (e.g., 1993, 1996)
      f. The HR can override the House of Councilors rejection of a HR bill with
         a 2/3 vote
   2. The House of Councilors has 252 members
      a. A councilor’s term is 6 years
      b. Half of the councilors are elected every 3 years
      c. Japan’s 47 prefectures and districts elect 152 councilors
      d. Since 1982, 100 councilors are elected nationwide by party preference
      e. The HC cannot be dissolved early for new elections
C. With only one break from 1955 to the present, the HR has been controlled by the
   Liberal Democrats (as usually is the HC)
D. “A raucous debating society”: opposition parties attack the LD and LD factions fight
E. Career bureaucrats dismiss Diet politicians as “clowns,” using “pork” to get reelected,
   who have little time, knowledge, or interest to run the government
F. The Diet has a Question Time, but it is bureaucrats who answer most of the questions,
   not ministers

III. The Prime Minister
A. Japan’s PM is not like European or Canadian PMs, he is more of a figurehead
B. Japanese prime ministers average only about two years in office
   1. Much of the problem is the fragmented nature of the Liberal Democrats, in
      which leaders of factions make/break prime ministers in back-room deals
   2. Many prime ministers are merely front men for their factions
   3. LDP faction leaders may be more powerful than prime ministers
      a. Some LDP politicians have declined to become prime minister because
         faction chief was a more important job
b. Typically, the dominant faction chief (shadow shogun) arranges deals to set up the cabinet and the prime minister.

C. The real weakness of the prime minister lies in the fragmentation of the LDP or the splintering of coalitions among political parties.

IV. Political Parties

A. Japan has a dominant party system (i.e., one strong party and several weak parties); it has been called the “one-and-a-half party system” (the Socialists being the “half”).

B. The LDP was the merger of several existing centrist and conservative parties in 1947 with the encouragement of the U.S. to prevent Japan from going communist or neutral.

1. An electoral success (it controlled Japan from 1947-1993), it barely cohered as a party (winning and dividing the spoils kept it from breaking apart).

2. Some saw it less of a party and more of an electoral alignment of factions grouped around powerful chiefs.

   a. This “feudal arrangement” meant that no single faction or chief dominated for long.

   b. And, that no one was interested or responsible for policy.

3. The LDP is considered “conservative” not out of any ideological convictions, but because it opposes change.

   a. There are no important ideological divisions within the party.

   b. There are only loyalties to faction chiefs.

C. Japan’s party system is messy and constantly changing.

1. In the early 1990s, the LDP fell into disarray.

   a. Dozens of LDP members left to form centrist-reformist parties [Japan Renewal, Japan New Party, New Party Harbinger].

   b. These were constantly reshuffled and renamed.

2. The Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), which calls itself “liberal,” is now the leading opposition to the “conservative” LDP.

D. The Socialists (formerly the Japan Socialist Party [JSP]):

1. The “half party” of the old system, it is stuck in permanent minority status.

2. Formed with MacArthur’s approval, its high mark was in 1958.

3. It has declined because of its extremely doctrinaire and rigid positions.

4. Renamed the Social Democratic Party of Japan it joined then left the ruling coalition (1993-94) to ally itself with the LDP coalition (1994-96).

   a. This “sellout” alienated many Social Democratic voters.

   b. Now, the JS DP has ¼ the seats it had in 1990.

E. The Komei (Clean Government) Party:

1. 1960s offshoot of the Soka Gakkai religious movement of evangelical-fundamentalist Buddhism (which many Japanese think is warped/fanatic).

2. It was a reaction to LDP corruption scandals.

3. Komeito’s program aside from clean government, is vaguely in favor of improved welfare benefits and quality of life.

4. In 1996, the Komei split into three parties (the largest, the New Komei, joined the LDP headed coalition in 1999).

5. In 2000, the Soka Gakkai tried to patch up the splintered party.

F. The Communists (JCP):

1. Supporters are certain working class groups and radical intellectuals.

2. It has consistently won a score of seats in the HR.
V. Japan's Electoral System
A. Pre-1993
1. Elections for the HR were by 130 districts, 128 of which sent 2-5 deputies to the Diet (one small district sent 1 deputy, one huge district sent 6 deputies)
2. Instead of European-style proportional representation, Japanese voters voted for 1 candidate not 1 party, the one with the most votes was the winner
3. Example: In a 4 deputy district, the 4 highest vote getters were the winners
4. Candidates of the same party would compete against each other
   a. Such a system promoted party factionalism and corruption
   b. The need to spread around campaign money became desperate and with it the opportunity for corrupt political payoffs by private industry
B. 1993 Reform
1. Japan was divided into 300 single member-districts with roughly the same number of people
   a. Yet, even today, gerrymandered districts give some rural votes twice the weight of urban votes
   b. This increases the power of farmers and gives the LDP rural prefectures
2. Each district elects 1 deputy by a simple plurality of the votes
   a. This was intended to cut the number of parties in the Diet
   b. But this isn't always the case, since territorially concentrated minor parties have good chances to win at least a few districts
3. It ended the competition of candidates from the same party in multi-member districts (in order to curb factionalism)
4. 180 members of the HR are elected by proportional representation of parties
   a. Candidates from the same party have to run as a team not competitors
   b. This was intended to give the parties "ideological coherence"
   c. A decade later, these reforms have yet to accomplish this
5. Electoral reform of the House of Councilors
   a. Half the members run for reelection every 3 years (6 year terms)
   b. 47 prefectures have 2-8 Councilors based on population (252 total)
   c. Voters have 2 ballots (German style)
      1) 1 for individual candidates; the winner elected by plurality vote
      2) 1 for parties; members elected by proportional representation

VI. The Ministries
A. Power in Japan is diffused among several centers, but, arguably, the 19,000 career bureaucrats who staff the executive levels of the ministries are the real seat of power
B. Especially powerful are:
   1. The Finance Ministry
   2. The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI)
C. The 4 most important ministries (trade, finance, foreign affairs, and police) usually assign one of their top bureaucrats to serve as secretaries to the prime minister
D. Japanese cabinets change yearly, with ministries combined, renamed, or instituted
E. The cabinet also includes "ministers of state" for lesser-ranked specialized functions
   1. In 2000, Defense was in the cabinet but did not rate the title of "ministry" because Japan is not supposed to have an armed forces
   2. At least 5 ministries/agencies deal directly with economic development
   3. The foreign minister doubles as deputy prime minister
   4. A state minister serves as chief cabinet secretary under the prime minister
F. At least ½ of the ministers must be members of the Diet (most from the HR)
G. A few are from the HC or respected specialists or academicians
H. Ministers are not necessarily experts in their ministerial assignments (portfolio)
I. Bureaucrats, not ministers, run ministries
J. Every party in a coalition has at least one top leader named to be a minister
   1. Such distributions are payoffs to form and hold a cabinet together
   2. Still, most portfolios remain in the hands of the LDP
K. Below the minister, a civil service vice-minister really runs the ministry
   1. Analogous to the British “permanent secretaries”
   2. They are more powerful than their “bosses”
   3. They meet twice weekly to draw up the cabinet’s agenda
   4. The ministries’ top appointed officials (appointed internally on the basis of
      merit as defined by the individual ministry) have years of experience
   5. This is why the top civil servants feel that they alone should run Japan

VII. Japanese Territorial Organization: unitary with certain federal features (local democracy)
A. Japan has 47 administrative divisions
   1. 43 of these are prefectures
   2. Four have special status
      a. Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto are run as large metropolitan districts
      b. The island of Hokkaido is one big district
B. Prefecture organization
   1. Each prefecture has an elected governor
   2. Each has a unicameral assembly to decide local matters and raise local taxes
C. Local taxes
   1. Local taxes cover only 30% of prefecture needs (“30% autonomy”)
   2. The prefectures depend on the Diet for additional revenues
D. The Ministry of Home Affairs in Tokyo still oversees all matters concerning the
   prefectures and can override the local governor
Chapter 18 Japanese Political Culture

I. No guilt, just shame
   A. Unlike Westerners, the Japanese are not driven by a sense of guilt but by the more
      superficial feeling of shame
   B. Guilt is found in Western Judeo-Christian societies
      1. Westerners are taught that God gave man free will to make moral choices
      2. There is guilt from the fall from the Garden of Eden to the Crucifixion
      3. In this tradition, God judges each individual according to his/her deeds
   C. Japanese culture has no religion or philosophy which teaches this
      1. Shintoism: there is no God or afterlife
         a. Originally a form of animism and ancestral veneration
         b. Today, it is basically worship of Japan/obedience to authority
      2. Buddhism: similarly does not teach “guilt”
         a. Buddha was enlightened, not divine
         b. Buddhism is vague that there is a god
         c. Instead, one is taught to renounce desire, endure pain and difficulties,
            and to be respectful of all persons and things
      3. Confucianism: isn’t a religion as much as an ethical philosophy
         a. One is born in a strict hierarchy and must obey authority and treat
            superiors with deference and politeness
         b. “Guilt” is not a part in this philosophy
   D. Rather than guilt, the Japanese feel shame if they dishonor or disappoint “the group”
      1. E.g., in WWII, many Japanese soldiers preferred death to shameful surrender
      2. Today, a student may commit suicide for failing his exams and disappointing
         his family
   E. Shame may also explain Japanese anti-individualism

II. Japanese Denial of Guilt for Crime Committed in World War II
   A. For many Japanese, Japan fought WWII in self-defense and for the independence of
      Asian countries
      1. The rape of Nanking, germ warfare experiments on American POWs, Korean
         comfort ladies never happened, they are fiction
      2. Japan was the victim; see Hiroshima and Nagasaki
   B. Unlike Germany, Japan never had to acknowledge its acts of brutality
      1. The U.S. did not instruct the Japanese as it did the Germans about such acts
      2. MacArthur did not depose the emperor or dismantle the political structure but
         used them to run post-war Japan
   C. Only recently have Japanese officials begun to admit Japan’s crimes and apologize
      1. Emperor Akihito apology to Korea and China
      2. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi’s acknowledgment of Japanese crimes in
         China (while continuing to pay homage at Japan’s Yasukuni Shrine)
      3. Japan’s Education Ministry in 1992 substituted tougher language to history
         textbooks referring to Japanese actions during WWII

III. The Cult of the Group
   A. The Japanese are socialized to be part of “the group”
      1. Enryo: one should never draw attention to oneself or make a fuss
2. One should be polite and smile at all time

B. This group identity is the result of centuries of isolationism and feudalism
   1. Of being taught to be “Japanese,” and that being Japanese was special
   2. Being taught to honor and obey one’s superiors, and to keep one’s place

C. Dependency on the group is a cultural trait inculcated into every young Japanese by parents and teachers
   1. To be dutiful and submissive to authority (family, work, governmental)
   2. In the family, the patriarch had complete control over wife and children
   3. Rice farming requires sharing water and working in teams
   4. Crowded together, politeness and cooperation are a necessity

IV. The Importance of Education
A. The Japanese are much better educated than Americans, especially in mathematics
B. There is great pressure on the young to pass their tests and go to the right schools
   1. An almost perfect meritocracy, admissions are based on tests; athletic ability or parental connections do not help; “cram courses” may help
   2. Getting into the right school or university means “examination hell” (a period of several days during which entrance exams are given)
   3. Those who do poorly on exams may commit suicide out of shame
C. Once in college, however, many students relax and do little work
   1. Getting into “the right college” is more important than what one learns or what one’s grades are
   2. Most students care and know nothing about politics
   3. After graduation, students either get a job with a big company or are “nothing"

D. School Curriculum
   1. Japanese education is slanted heavily towards rote memorization and multiple-choice exams
   2. Creativity and innovation are not highly prized [although problem solving in math does encourage flexible thinking]

V. “Death of a Sarariman”
A. Until recently, most employees felt a duty to stay with “their firm” and not “job-hop”
B. Japanese workers also were noted for their hard work ethic
   1. 12 hour workdays, working 50 days without a day off, working 100+ hours of overtime a month
   2. Some Japanese literally die from overwork (karoshi)
C. Centuries of obedient, feudal relations taught the Japanese not to ask for much but to work hard for the lord/company and take pride in living modestly, even frugally
D. A new generation of Japanese seem to be abandoning this practice (see below)

VI. Political Suicide
A. Originally part of the bushido (noble’s code of honor), seppuku (hara-kiri) showed that a samurai was willing to die to avoid shame on himself and his family
   1. As U.S. forces took Saipan in 1944, some 4,000 Japanese women and girls jumped off cliffs rather than surrender
   2. In 1945, Prime Minister Konoe committed suicide rather than stand trial
B. Besides atoning for one’s own shame, seppuku may be used to induce shame in others
   1. In 1993, a right-wing politician shot himself before the editors of the newspaper Asahi, to protest its liberal bias
2. In 1999, a Bridgestone manager disemboweled himself before the company president to protest downsizing.

C. In 1970, Yukio Mishima (internationally acclaimed writer, fanatic, right-wing militarist, and homosexual) committed *seppuku* after a failed attempt to seize control of the Imperial Army Headquarters in Tokyo.

D. Political suicide occurs less and less frequently.

VII. The New Human Race (*shin jinrui*)

A. Young Japanese are changing, physically they are taller, heavier.

B. Attitudes among Japan’s young generation are also changing.
   1. There is a greater desire for leisure time with family, hobbies, travel.
   2. Young Japanese want the good life and they want it now.
   3. Some turn their back on the standard path of work and marriage.
      a. They move backing with their parents and take temporary jobs.
      b. They avoid marriage, have fun, and spend their money on clothes and “colorful hairdos.”

C. Gradually (and grudgingly) Japan is accepting *gaijin* ways.
   1. Some ways are superficial, others altered to fit Japan.
   2. Such changes are usually incremental and nearly invisible.
   3. “But they will always preserve that inner core of Japanese ness.” - Roskin.
Chapter 25 Japan Patterns of Interaction

I. The Iron Triangle
A. Japan's iron triangle consists of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), economic interest groups, and the ministries
   1. Since the 1993 electoral reform, all prime ministers have vowed to break the iron triangle
   2. None have
B. How the iron triangle works
   1. LDP politicians promise most of the economic interests (especially agriculture and construction) help and protection
   2. The interest groups deliver plenty of campaign funds (some of which goes into politicians' pockets)
   3. The LDP then lets the ministries/agencies adjudicate the demands by way of contract, regulations, subsidies, and trade protection
C. The ministries ("the commanding corner of the triangle")
   1. The ministries have their own agenda and it isn't free market competition
   2. The ministries focus narrowly on their industries and sectors and seek to protect them by controlled markets limiting domestic competition and excluding foreign competitors
   3. Some 10,000 regulations govern every aspect of the Japanese economy

II. Bureaucratic control of Japan's economy
A. State control of Japan's economic system began during the Meiji Restoration
B. The militaristic system put munitions, heavy industry, transportation, communications, and many other sectors under state control and supervision
C. Not "socialist" (ownership was kept private and there was no income redistribution), it may be called "guided capitalism" (with emphasis on Japan's economic growth)
D. The numerous public corporations the government has are aimed at aiding various industries and developing the economy of regions (especially poor ones like Hokkaido)
E. Industries certified as growth leaders get long-term, low-interest loans from banks connected with the important ministries
   1. Industries not moving down the desired paths do not get big loans
   2. Stronger than French "indicative planning," it is the Japanese way where business obeys government and the cash flows
F. The top bureaucrats of Finance and METI are handpicked from the brightest graduates
   1. They are promoted rapidly and given major responsibilities
   2. Salaries aren't high, by mid-career they move into private industry
G. Japanese bureaucrats do not like civilian control or reform
   1. "We won't accommodate them, I assure you. They will accommodate us."
   2. When foreign ministry civil servants mutinied over foreign minister Makiko Tanaka's imposing accountability to fight corruption, she was fired
H. The loss of bureaucratic image in the 1990s
   1. Bureaucrats were unable to pull Japan out of an economic slump in the 1990s
   2. Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations) bypassed METI and made its own recommendations including threatening to move factories overseas

III. Corruption Scandals: A normal practice in Japan
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III. Corruption Scandals: A normal practice in Japan
A. Most Japanese accept a little corruption
   1. "Walking-around money" (relatively small payments by politicians buying votes) is part of the political system
   2. Indeed, voters expect favors from their politicians
   3. But as corruption scandals have gotten bigger, the media has begun going after corrupt politicians, and the public has become less tolerant

B. Major Scandals
   1. 1974, Lockheed bribes politicians to buy jets for Japan's air force; Prime Minister Tanaka resigns, he is arrested and jailed briefly in 1976
   2. 1988-89, Recruit Corp. privately sold shares to politicians at bargain prices; Prime Minister Takeshita resigns, a top aide commits suicide
   3. 1992, Sagawa parcel express pays off 60 politicians ($4.2 million to LDP faction chief Shin Kanemaru; in his office safe are $50 million cash/gold)

C. Corruption involves not only politicians, but many civil servants

D. Prior to 1993 reforms, elections involved the lavish use of money (money politics)
   1. Neither the government nor the party provided much funding for candidates or incumbents, who were left to raise money for themselves
   2. And Japanese campaigns aren't cheap (then a typical LDP incumbent spent 120 million yen or $1.4 million a year from an allowance of 20 million yen)

E. 1993 reforms were designed to end major corruption
   1. Make public disclosure of all contributions
   2. Limit corporate contributions to parties only, not to individuals
   3. Offer public subsidies totaling 30.9 billion yen to parties for campaign costs

F. In 1993, many voters (especially younger Japanese) expressed their disgust by leaving the LDP and the Social Democrats

IV. "No one in charge"
A. Karl van Wolferen (a Dutch journalist) articulates what many think, that there is no real center of decision-making power in Japan
   1. Prime ministers do not lead; they merely hold office until they're replaced
   2. Faction chiefs do not lead; they merely amass feudal power to fight each other
   3. Politicians do little but collect money from private interests to run for office
   4. Even bureaucrats lead only in their one ministry, promoting its vision of economic growth and nothing more (parochialism)

B. "No one in charge" helps explain the uncoordinated policies of Japan since WWII
   1. Each Tokyo ministry is a feudal fiefdom, unanswerable to outside authority
   2. They have no common purpose nor leadership
   3. They don't so much respond to interest groups as direct them to go along with bureaucratic plans, few of which are coordinated at the top

V. "No Losers"
A. A basic principal of Japanese politics is that no one gets injured by economic change
B. Even if an enterprise is out of date or trivial, it is protected
   1. Japanese whalers will be defended despite international opposition
   2. Small retailers may block big department stores and supermarkets
C. Japan has a unit veto system in which any component, no matter how small, can block an innovation desired by most

VI. Japan's Multi-Party Coalition Headaches
A. In 1993, reform Prime Minister Hosokawa led an 8 party coalition (most LDP splinters)
   1. The coalition held together because all member parties were committed to
      electoral reform
   2. As cabinets attempted other reforms (e.g., breaking up the iron triangle), one
      or more coalition members balked and dropped out
B. The lesson of Japan is: the more members there are, the harder it is to hold together
   1. Holding together becomes a full-time job
   2. Major initiatives become impossible
   3. This leads to immobilism
C. The Komeito party has recently become the governing coalition’s pivotal member; if it
   withdraws, the coalition will no longer command a majority in the Diet
D. The goal for Japan should be to change the party system to fewer and bigger parties
   1. However, recent elections have not resulted in this; the LDP still needs support
      from other parties
   2. The Democratic, Liberal, and Conservative LDP breakaway parties have few
      ideological differences, but personality conflicts and the issue of leadership
      keep them from merging

VII. Reform without change
A. Some believe that Japan is frozen in institutional paralysis that is causing its economy to
   slow down and its status as regional leader to lapse
B. For years, Japanese prime ministers have pledged to deregulate the economy, to break
   up the iron triangle, but it has been mostly empty rhetoric
C. “In Japan, reform is always coming but never arrives.”-Roskin
Chapter 18 What the Japanese Quarrel About

I. What caused Japan’s economic recession in the 1990s and what should be done today?
   A. By the 1990s Japan was plagued with high unemployment, the collapse of its stock market, the real estate bubble burst, and an unhappy younger generation
   B. The elements of earlier Japanese success (Confucianism, high productivity, emphasis on education, savings thriftiness, and state supervision) were no longer working
      1. Japanese banks wasted large capital reserves on bad loans
      2. Some state supervised sectors did poorly despite plenty of help
   C. To fight the economic slowdown, the government threw approximately $1 Trillion, (mostly in public works spending) to solve the problem
      1. Japan became the world’s most indebted country, yet no economic growth
      2. Under MITI prodding and financing, Japanese electronic firms sank and lost vast sums of money trying to develop 5th generation computers and HDTVs
      3. MITI encouraged carmakers to go for larger world market shares instead of profits, the result was most lost money in overexpansion
      4. Ministries and banks pushed automation, high productivity/low wages, and efficiency, yet protected inefficient sectors like agriculture
      5. Restrictions on imports angered Japan’s trading partners (e.g., the U.S.)
   D. Under bureaucratic guidance the Japanese economy produced “excess liquidity” which fueled the stock and real estate markets, both of which burst in 1989
      1. The Tokyo exchange lost ¾ of its peak value and never recovered
      2. Real estate prices plummeted
      3. Many banks and corporations became insolvent or nearly so
      4. Japan suffered from deflation
   E. Another problem was Japan’s huge trade imbalance, especially with the U.S.
      1. Japanese goods bought with U.S. dollars created an excess of dollars
      2. This resulted in a decline of the dollar to the yen
      3. This meant that Japanese goods sold in the U.S. were being sold too cheaply (Japanese companies were not getting enough in return)
      4. If the Japanese had saved less and consumed more (including imports), Japan might have avoided excessive liquidity that fueled the bubble
   F. Also, if profits had been channeled into pay and dividends, consumption would have increased and the Japanese would have lived a better life
      1. But older Japanese don’t want a better life if it means harming other Japanese
      2. Younger Japanese disagree, they don’t think they should have to bear the cost for others who are either too foolish or selfish to change

II. Should Japan repeal Article 9?
   A. After WWII, MacArthur’s staff wrote into the new Japanese Constitution this clause:
      1. “(The Japanese) forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes”
      2. “(And) land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential will never be maintained.”
   B. However, in the 1950s, Japan began building “Self-Defense Forces”
      1. Defense spending has been limited to 1-2% of Japan’s GDP, but, given its size, this makes Japan’s defense budget among the highest in the world
2. There is no military draft, but its 238,000 manpower is among the best funded and equipped
C. Japanese leftists have argued that the Self-Defense Forces violates the letter and spirit
of the constitution and object to its expansion as compounding the violation
D. Most Japanese think their forces are prudent and necessary
E. Some Japanese are in favor of repealing Article 9
F. Current U.S. policy not only is that Japan has a right to defend itself but that it should
take a leadership role in regional security
G. Many East Asian countries see Japan as a strategic partner in a defensive situation
H. But, Roskin feels that Article 9 will probably not be repealed directly
   1. One defense minister was forced to resign after making such a suggestion
   2. Indirectly, new laws or interpretations will likely allow Japan’s forces to
      participate in UN and other multi-lateral peace-keeping efforts

III. Should Japan acquire nuclear weapons?
A. For many Japanese the answer is absolutely not
B. With North Korea in development stages of acquiring nuclear weapons and with China
   and Russia having nuclear arms, some Japanese, more than before, have begun to think
   Japan should acquire a few nuclear weapons as a deterrence
   1. Still, even the hint of a nuclear program could set off massive protests
   2. “Accordingly, the issue is likely to linger out of public debate for a long time,
      but it will always be there.”-Roskin