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## In Pursuit of Perfection: The Economic Dynamic of Japan As Seen Through the Eyes of Contemporary Confucianism After World War II

Gabriel Allen Ipolani Alisna  
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# **In Pursuit of Perfection**

*The Economic Dynamic of Modern Japan as  
Seen Through the Eyes of Contemporary  
Confucianism After World War II*



**by Gabriel Allen Ipolani Alisna**

# **In Pursuit of Perfection**

## ***The Economic Dynamic of Modern Japan as Seen Through the Eyes of Contemporary Confucianism After World War II***

Tracing the development of Confucianism in China to contemporary Confucianism in Modern Japan can provide the adoptive and adaptive rationale for Japan's strategic economic dynamic after World War II. This paper will illuminate Modern Japan's economic success and deconstruct how she accomplished this "miraculous" feat in such a short period of time. Finally, looking at Confucianism's legacy in Japan and East Asia can provide valuable lessons for America, and highlight the interconnected bond Asia and America share as we anticipate the long awaited "Pacific Century."

**The Honors Program**

**College of Saint Benedict / Saint John's University**

**In Partial Fulfillment**

**of the Requirements for the Distinction "All College Honors"**

**and the Degree Bachelor of Arts**

**in the Department of History and Asian Studies**

**by**

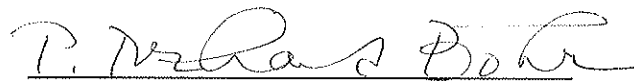
**Gabriel Allen Ipolani Alisna**

**May 1999**

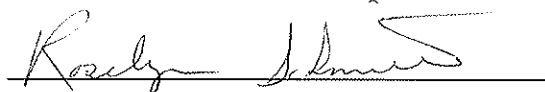
# In Pursuit of Perfection

## *The Economic Dynamic of Modern Japan as Seen Through the Eyes of Contemporary Confucianism After World War II*

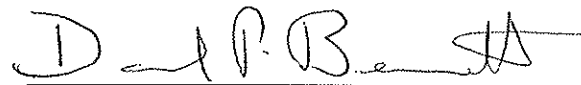
### Senior Honors Thesis Approval



Dr. P. Richard Bohr - Advisor  
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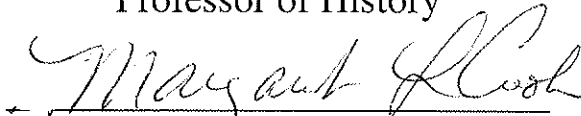
Dr. Roselyn Schmitt - Faculty Reader  
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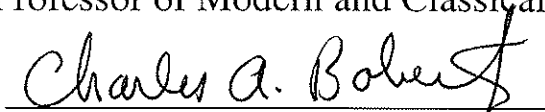
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# Dedication

For my mother . . . . whose strength and love  
cannot compare to any economy or educational endeavor.  
I couldn't have done it without you mom.

For my grandma Coller . . . . who taught me how to aggressively fight for  
minority rights in the face of grave adversity and challenge – no matter what.

For my grandpa Coller . . . . whose love of Asia  
transpired into a love I can now share with others.

For my grandpa and grandma Alisna . . . . whose life's lessons and great  
wisdom embody what I try to convey in this East Asian project.  
Through them I have learned what Confucianism truly is.

For Dr. P. Richard Bohr . . . . who eagerly, energetically, and enthusiastically  
intrigues and enlightens his students and takes great interest in spreading his  
love of Asia. Without him, I could not have possibly conceived and continued  
this idea almost five years ago. His phenomenal insight and extensive wisdom  
have taught me more than I could have ever imagined and made me proud of  
who I am and . . . . what I can be.

For Dr. Roselyn Schmitt and Dr. David Bennetts . . . . whose inspiration and  
enthusiasm for this project have made me focus and channel my thoughts into a  
more complete and clear project. Thank you for your patience and time.

For my father . . . . who forbearance and endurance tempered my commitment  
and dedication to such a complex and complicated project.  
Thank you dad for teaching me to overcome the seemingly impossible.

# A Word to the Wise

Manifest plainness,  
Embrace simplicity,  
Reduce selfishness,  
Have few desires.  
– Lao Tzu - *Tao Te Ching*

## *Seven Deadly Sins*

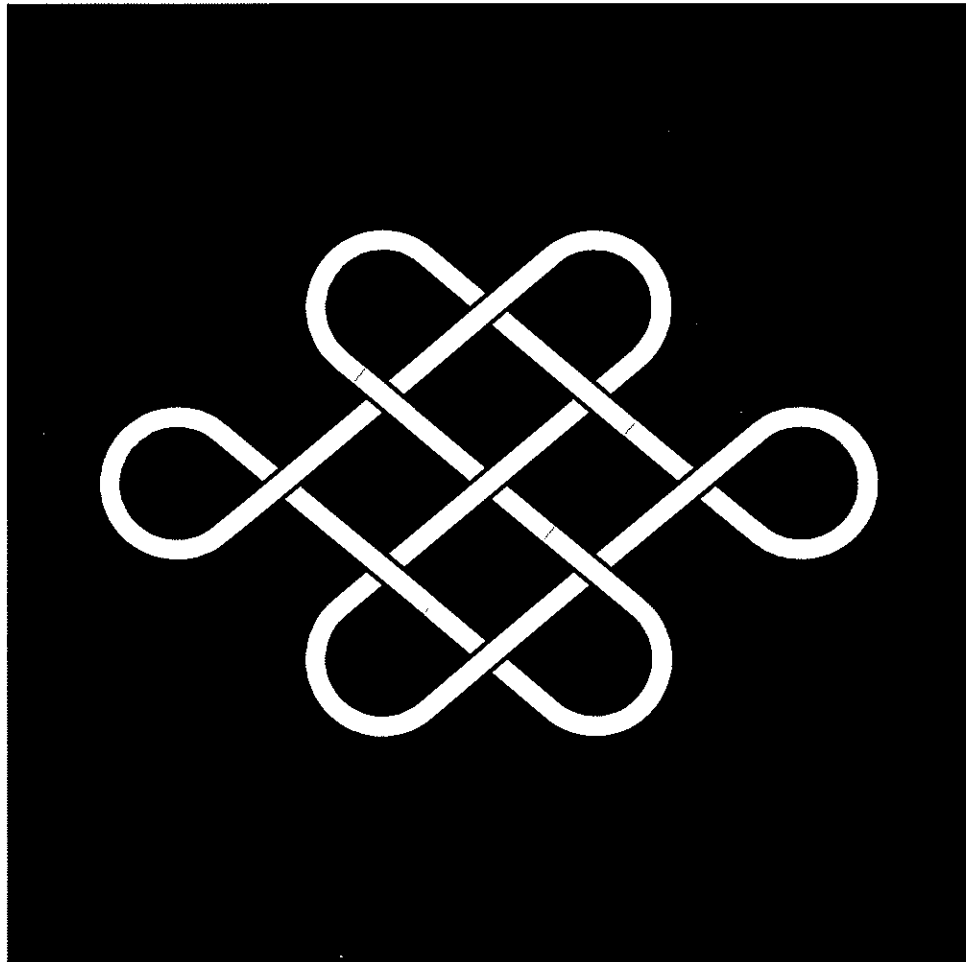
Politics without Principle  
Wealth without Work  
Commerce without Morality  
Pleasure without Conscience  
Education without Character  
Science without Humanity  
Worship without Sacrifice.  
– Mahatma Gandhi

Where there is Faith, is Love,  
Where there is Love, is Peace,  
Where there is Peace, is God,  
And where there is God  
There Is Perfect Happiness.  
– Unknown

To be able to practice five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue . . . gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness.  
– Confucius - *Analects*

# In Pursuit of Perfection

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# **In Pursuit of Perfection**

## **The Economic Dynamic of Modern Japan as Seen Through the Eyes of Contemporary Confucianism After World War II**

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# In Pursuit of Perfection



## **In Pursuit of Perfection**

### **The Economic Dynamic of Modern Japan as Seen Through the Eyes of Contemporary Confucianism After World War II**

#### **Introduction - “Mastering the Magic and Mystery of Money?”**

What can be said about a region so unique and so different from its Western counterparts that it was able to economically stabilize the entire country in less than a decade after a devastating world war? Was this the work of a military dictatorship? Was the result because of central government control? Was this phenomenon due to tight foreign seclusion from *poisonous* Western and worldly ideas? Or was it a dead Asian’s philosophy that enabled this small area in East Asia to grow efficiently and faster than any other region documented in history? These and other vital questions accentuate the vital questions countries around the globe try to settle, economists continuously debate, and American politicians desperately try to understand to pinpoint the magic and the mystery behind this so-called miracle economy – Japan.

After World War II, Japan was in shambles, destroyed as a military superpower and kneeling before the mercy of the Allied powers – primarily the United States. A brutal and catastrophic end, Japan had buried herself in the ashes of military defeat and nationalism which transpired into a spirit of conquering “*Asia for Asians.*” With little to no resources and a torn nation, the Japanese people could not help but lament their terrible defeat with millions of lives forsaken and forever scarred memories. Yet, like the “*Phoenix from the Ashes,*” Japan – with the help of the United States – modernized more quickly than any other industrialized nation and adopted its economic model from the West while preserving traditional Asian roots. The debate, however, is more than just explaining or justifying Japan’s economic legacy after World War II. The debate lies in understanding Japan’s Confucian economic dynamic with the advent of the West’s modern

advancements. One cannot deny the West played a pivotal role in shaping Japan's economic miracle, but one also cannot deny that Japan adopted and refashioned the Western model of capitalism into a distinctly Asian prototype. But Japan's economic legacy must be understood in more than just theoretical and philosophical frames – Japan's legacy lies in its tradition based Confucian roots.

Over the years, scholars and economists have debated Japan's economic success after the Allied occupation and attributed the phenomenal results to several varying characteristics: central government control; strict meritocracy; US involvement; foreign aid; a value oriented and religious-less culture. Some Confucian scholars and economists have attributed common characteristics to Master *Kung Fu Tzu*, Latinized to Confucius. Others have denounced Confucianism and believe pure economic remodeling was the key to Japan's economic success. Yet, in identifying the educational and socio-cultural aspects of this unique country, Japan has become the Confucian model for other East Asian nations and city states: South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and now China. East Asian nations have traced back their Confucian base and have desperately tried to salvage what is left from a destruction of the Old Order with the advance of the West. Although pinned between securing prosperity and achieving recognizable economic status in the world, East Asian countries like Japan have adapted well. However, the advent of modernity has brought Japanese Confucian scholars and politicians to a crossroads, stuck between choosing age-old, traditional values and new, modern, Western models for development and prosperity in a highly technological global community. As this research paper will illustrate, however, Confucianism has never collapsed and has actually solidified its hold in Asia as the oldest and most widely used way of life in most areas of Asia. Although Confucianism has continually evolved and developed, the tradition which Confucius intended for China to perpetuate has crystallized into a pursuit for

economic and social harmony -- perfection. This does not mean, however, that Japan has not faced stumbling blocks or that Confucianism is a perfect system or religion by any means. But, in education, business, and culture, Japan has set a standard other Asian nations and even industrialized countries like America and Great Britain have tried to emulate to produce the same results.

But what is the secret to Japan's success? How was Japan able to economically stabilize, then ferociously compete with the world's economic leaders like the United States? What factors or characteristics compose Japan's economic miracle? What economic design was utilized? As Japan recovers from the *Asia Crisis*, the rest of the world waits in wonder and asks the question, "When will the *Asian Giant* re-emerge economically victorious?"

Tracing the development of Confucianism in China to Contemporary Confucianism in Modern Japan can provide the adoptive and adaptive rationale for Japan's strategic economic dynamic after World War II. This paper will illuminate Modern Japan's economic success and deconstruct how she accomplished this "miraculous" feat in such a short period of time. Finally, looking at Confucianism's legacy in Japan and East Asia can provide valuable lessons for America, and highlight the interconnected bond Asia and America share as we anticipate the long awaited "Pacific Century."

## Section I

### Confucianism

*If there is righteousness in the heart, there will be beauty in character.*

*If there is beauty in character, there will be harmony in the home.*

*If there is harmony in the home, there will be order in the nation.*

*If there is order in the nation, there will be peace in the world.*

– Confucius<sup>1</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> Smith, Huston. **The World's Religions: Our Great Wisdom Traditions.** New York, New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991. 174.

## Master Kung Fu Tzu

Who was Master *Kung Fu Tzu*? Who was this man named Confucius? How was he able to teach not only his generation, but thousands of generations after his death? “The name Confucius is a Latinized Western form of the Chinese *K’ung Fu Tzu*, which literally means Master *K’ung*,” – *K’ung* meaning his family and ancestral name.<sup>2</sup> Confucius was given the name *Ch’iu*. “Later he was called *Chung-ni* (*Ni* the Younger), for his crippled brother was called *Po-ni* (*Ni* the Elder).”<sup>3</sup> Although we have no definitive proof of Confucius’ birth, the traditional date has been set as 551 B.C.E. Confucius was born in *Lu* (now *Ch’u Fu* in the *Shangtung* province), which was the focus of the *Chou* dynasty. “*K’ung*’s family traced its ancestry to the dual house of *Sung* (in central *Honan*), which was descended from the royal house of *Shang*, the dynasty which preceded the *Chou*. His ancestors had thus all been men of eminence in politics and letters. Because of political troubles, his great grandfather had lost his noble position and moved to *Lu*. His father, the elder *K’ung Shu-liang Ho* (624-549? B.C.) was a distinguished soldier who died when Confucius was only three years old.”<sup>4</sup>

Although much is not known about Confucius after his father’s death, most scholars note his early education beginning at age 7. In the *Lun Yu* -- or more commonly referred to as the **Analects** -- we discover at age 15 Confucius was determined to learn, but was probably more self-taught. Beginning his career as a grain manager, Confucius gradually worked his way up to overseeing cattle and sheep. From menial means and borderline poverty, Confucius was probably aware of the

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<sup>2</sup> Chai, Ch’u and Winberg Chai. **Confucianism**. Woodbury, New York: Barron’s Educational Series, Inc., 1973. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

conditions of the lowliest of China, and knew what hard work and sheer determination would provide. But Confucius also knew the ruling elite held power beyond what he could accomplish without proper education or training. Moreover, without proper cultivation and civil training -- as achieved through education -- Confucius understood the crucial importance of life long learning.

Tracing Confucius' roots to Early China, the sage lived in an era wrought in widespread turmoil and war where violence and terror ruled the day. Historian Huston Smith recognizes the unspeakable horror Master Kung witnessed:

By Confucius' time, however, the interminable warfare had degenerated from chivalry toward the unrestrained horror of the Period of the Warring States. . . . Contests between charioteers gave way to cavalry, with its surprise attacks and sudden raids. Instead of nobly holding their prisoners for ransom, conquerors put them to death in mass executions. Whole populations unlucky enough to be captured were beheaded, including women, children, and the aged. We read of mass slaughters of 60,000, 80,000 and even 400,000. There are accounts of the conquered being throw into boiling cauldrons and their relatives forced to drink the human soup.<sup>5</sup>

Given the turmoil and destruction of the time, Confucius realized the value of self-cultivation in order to promote the welfare and well-being of the whole state. For without the self cultivation of the citizens of the state, government cannot properly exist for the people. For it is the politicians -- the literary elite -- who are regarded as the highest officers and enforcers of the age old traditions which will preserve the future of the state for generations to follow. Asian scholar Arthur Wright summarizes the main tenant of Confucian philosophy suggesting:

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<sup>5</sup> Smith, Huston. **The World's Religions: Our Great Wisdom Traditions.** New York, New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991. 160.



Confucians of all ages viewed the natural and human worlds as an organism made up of multitudinous interconnected parts. When any one of the parts fell from its place or was disrupted in its functioning, the harmony of the whole was impaired. Heaven, which was neither deity nor blind fate, presided over this organic whole and was a force for harmony and balance. But man was the principal agent of both harmony and disharmony. Out of ignorance or perversity, men could cause serious disruptions; by the application of knowledge, wisdom, and discipline, men could restore harmony. Either man in the mass or an irresponsible elite might destroy harmony, but only the learned and the wise could restore it.<sup>6</sup>

As a result, for Master *K'ung* harmony was central for the existence of the state and, more importantly, the individual. For it is the individuals who collectively compose, create, and continue the state.

### ***Jen* - The Dignity of Human Life**

Confucius states in his **Analects** "Learning has no limit." For Confucius, this central tenant is the pivotal focus by which humans balance or harmonize themselves and one's physical, spiritual, and emotional surroundings. Yet, "Learning alone, . . . did not make a sage. A man [and now a woman] became a sage only through long study and self-discipline."<sup>7</sup> Philosopher Huston Smith beautifully and poignantly summarizes Confucius' "First Virtue":

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<sup>6</sup> Wright, Arthur F. **Confucianism and Chinese Civilization**. New York, New York: Atheneum, 1965. vii.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

Jen involves simultaneously a feeling of humanity toward others and respect for oneself, an indivisible sense of the dignity of human life wherever it appears. Subsidiary attitudes follow automatically: magnanimity, good faith, and charity. In the direction of *jen* lies the perfection of everything that would make one supremely human. In public life it prompts untiring diligence. In private life it is expressed in courtesy, unselfishness, and empathy, the capacity to “measure the feelings of others by one’s own.” Stated negatively, this empathy leads to what has been called the Silver Rule – “Do not do unto others what you would not want others to do unto you” but there is no reason to stop with this negative wording for Confucius put the point positively as well. “The person of *jen* desiring self- affirmation, seeks to affirm as well.” Such largeness of heart knows no national boundaries for those who are *jen*-endowed know that “within the four seas all men are brothers and sisters.”<sup>8</sup>

As one of the “Five Virtues” of Confucian thought, the idea of *jen* cultivates a rich resource of inner reflection and active social reaction. But *jen* also demands the individual willingly sacrifice for the collective good of the state and the inner harmony of oneself. Consequently, individual sacrifice is paramount to the collective harmony of the state which benefits the individual.

### ***Chun tzu* - Humanity-at-its-Best**

The second tenant of Confucius’ “Five Virtues” is *i* or *chun tzu* – the idea of righteousness. What is right does not necessarily equate individual, subjective, private righteousness, but an ever changing, evolving pursuit of ensuring that everything one does is right and pleasing for the inner

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<sup>8</sup> Smith, Huston. **The World’s Religions: Our Great Wisdom Traditions.** New York, New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991. 172-173.

and collective harmony one so actively and aggressively seeks. Smith suggests:

The *chun tzu* is the opposite of a petty person, a mean person, a small-spirited person. Fully adequate, poised, the *chun tzu* has toward life as a whole the approach of an ideal hostess who is so at home in her surroundings that she is completely relaxed, and being so, can turn full attention to putting others at their ease. Or to switch genders, having come to the point where he is at home in the universe at large, the *chun tzu* carries these qualities of the ideal host with him through life generally. Armed with a self-respect that generates respect for others, he approaches them wondering, not, “What can I get from them?” but “What can I do to accommodate them?”<sup>9</sup>

Obviously, what one believes to be right does not necessarily exist in a vacuum of self-righteousness or arrogance. Thus, *chun tzu* takes into account the idea that one’s personal philosophy must not only correspond and adhere to society’s, but must also change and flourish as society does the same. But *chun tzu* also means bringing “goodness” to others, so the energy and power one shares is spread throughout society – somewhat like a domino effect. Moreover, *chun tzu* incorporates the idea of utmost respect for “life.” For without “life,” one cannot exist: Life with oneself, life with others, life with nature, life with the spirits, life with the harmony of heaven.

### **Li - Right and Rite**

Confucius’ third of the “Five Virtues” is the concept of *li*.

Its first meaning is propriety, the way things should be done. Confucius thought it unrealistic to think that people could wisely determine on their own what those ways

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 173.

should be. They needed models, and Confucius wanted to direct their attention to the finest models their social history offered, so all could gaze, and memorize, and duplicate. . . . Propriety covers a wide range, but we can get the gist of what Confucius was concerned with if we look at his teachings on the Rectification of Names, the Doctrine of the Mean, the Five Constant Relationships, the Family and Age.<sup>10</sup>

“Rectification of Names is the call for a normative semantics – the creation of a language in which key nouns carry the meanings they should carry if life is to be well ordered.”<sup>11</sup> The Doctrine of the Mean basically encultures one to cultivate respect for oneself without indulgence or excess. In other words, one must live simply. “Respect for the Mean brings harmony and balance. It encourages compromise, and fosters a becoming reserve, wary of excess, toward pure values ‘equally removed from enthusiasm as from indifference.’”<sup>12</sup> In Confucian thought, the Five Relationships represent a pivotal and focal centerpiece where one recognizes the emperor to subject, parents to children, husband to wife, elder to younger siblings, and friend to friend relationships as essential to promote and maintain harmony. Thus, the Five Relationships foster respect for authority and respect for oneself – truly an Asian value. As a result, the institution of family was central to one’s existence in this life and the after life. Ancestors who have passed and elders who remain are held in the utmost regard and respect because they have aged with wisdom and knowledge from whom the young can learn from and emulate. Furthermore, the aged are the keepers and guardians of past traditions which enliven the present. Consequently, in the Confucian tradition, family and the respect and care

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 174.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 175.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

of the elderly was primary because within both there is opportunity for learning and a social utilitarian purpose of caring for one's elders. A reciprocal dynamic is at play where benevolence and care are paramount to the existence of both the young and old.

### ***Te* - The Power by Which the Governed are Ruled**

“Literally this word [*te*] meant power, specifically the power by which men are ruled. But this is only the beginning.”<sup>13</sup> Confucius crystallizes the meaning of *te* in his **Analects**:

*He who exercises government by means of his virtue [*te*] may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn toward it.*

*Asked by the Baron of Lu how to rule, Confucius replied: “To govern is to keep straight. If you, Sir, lead the people straight, which of your subjects will venture to fall out of line?”*

*When on another occasion the same ruler asked him whether the lawless should be executed, Confucius answered: “What need is there of the death penalty in government? If you showed a sincere desire to be good, your people would likewise be good. The virtue of the prince is like the wind; the virtue of the people like grass. It is the nature of grass to bend when the wind blows upon it.”*<sup>14</sup>

Obviously for Master K'ung, the consent of the governed is superior and essential to the authority the ruling impose. For if the rulers are honest and sincere and their motives and intentions pure, the

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 177.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 178-179.

people will respect and bow to the wishes of their government. If the government is dishonest and corrupt, then not only do the people have a right, but a responsibility to overthrow that government and restore harmony through new leaders. Thus, Confucius' classic "Mandate of Heaven" imposes on rulers – like the emperor and regional governors – the moral, social, and political obligation to promote harmony and prosperity for the people. Consequently, rulers are obliged to be benevolent and reciprocate the cultivation of self and the people. In this process, not only do the emperor and the officials gain favor with the people, but the people entrust the government to uphold and advance their lives. Consequently, in the Confucian tradition, the pure intentions of government are essential to the harmony and equilibrium it tries to promote.

### ***Wen* - The Arts of Peace**

"The final concept in the Confucian [tradition of the "Five Virtues"] is *wen*."<sup>15</sup> Huston

Smith suggests *wen*

refers to "the arts of peace" as contrasted to "the arts of war": to music, art, poetry, the sum of culture in its aesthetic and spiritual mode. Confucius valued the arts tremendously. A simple refrain once cast such a spell over him that for three months he became indifferent to what he ate. He considered people who are indifferent to art only half human. Still, it was not art for art's sake that drew his regard. It was art's power to transform human nature in the direction of virtue that impressed him – its power to make easy (by ennobling the heart) a regard for others that would otherwise be difficult.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 179.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

In his **Analects**, Confucius remarks on the power of *wen* suggesting, “*By poetry the mind is aroused; from music the finish is received. The odes stimulate the mind. They induce self-contemplation. They teach the art of sensibility. They help to restrain resentment. They bring home the duty of serving one’s parents and one’s prince.*”<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the idea of *wen* incorporates a sense of self-cultivation, one comparable to the European gentleman or lady. But in the Chinese Confucian tradition, *wen* also incorporates not only education, social values, and proper etiquette, but a responsibility to the state and higher authority of heaven – namely one’s ancestors. In this sense, *wen* is an interconnected bond of spiritual and cultural self in a larger communal web of being. One studies culture, one’s spiritual self, and nature – a distinctly Asian tradition. In Europe, men and women tried to conquer, dominate, and control nature, but in Asia – at least under the Confucian and Taoist tradition – one is to cultivate and understand nature as one’s role is pivotally placed in this web of being. As a result, one does not destroy or simply manipulate nature. Instead, one strives to be in harmony with nature, and find the spiritual well being nature can so readily provide.

## **Confucianism Revisited**

Indeed, China has witnessed a phenomenal revival of its classic texts under the close scrutiny and guidance of Master *Kung*. In fact, Political Science professor Suzanne Ogden notes:

From the fifth to third centuries B.C., the level of literature and the arts was comparable to that of Greece in the Classical Period, which occurred at the same

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<sup>17</sup> Confucius. **The Analects**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. XVII:9.

time. Science flourished, and the philosopher Confucius developed a highly sophisticated system of ethics for government and moral codes for society. These were dominant until the early twentieth century, and even today they influence Chinese thought and behavior, not only in the People's Republic of China (China or the PRC), but also in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore.<sup>18</sup>

For such a powerful influence, the ideas of Confucius have taken root elsewhere in Asia as his ideas developed in Chinese culture and way of life traveled outside China's borders to nations like Korea and Japan. In a feudalistic state like Japan, no wonder Confucianism seemed plausible and even adoptable. What better system to ease the war-like confusion which terrorized Tokugawa Japan. What did the Japanese see in Confucianism? What role did Confucianism play in the development and evolution of Modern Japan? How were the Japanese able to adopt and adapt Confucianism to accommodate their unique and different lifestyle from the Chinese? Lastly, why was Confucianism so readily adopted, and then adapted to the Japanese way of life?

Harvard scholar Tu Wei-ming suggests, "If we focus on the Confucian revival, however, it may become clear that the "search for roots," which has been identified as fundamentalistic in nature, proceeds from a critique of modernity that presents a threat to, rather than a confirmation of, values held by the Western academy: tolerance, reasonableness, flexibility, open-mindedness, dialogue, and pluralism."<sup>19</sup> The Confucian roots -- easily identified as Asian values -- are the building blocks of what scholars and government officials around the world have been trying to

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<sup>18</sup> Ogden, Suzanne. *Tensions Between Modernization and Ideology. China*. Guilford, Connecticut: Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1995. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Wei-ming, Tu. *The Search for Roots In Industrial East Asia: The Case of the Confucian Revival. Fundamentalisms Observed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. 742.



distinguish and understand as the commonalities emerge in Asia's economic development and prosperity. But is Master Kung responsible for the tidal wave of value oriented governments in East Asia – namely Japan? Was it Confucianism that transformed Japan into a modern-day industrial giant and powerful nation? Why is Confucianism so important to the Japanese way of life?

## Section II

### Japanese Confucianism

Much of Japan's Business society is strange to us.

Everyday words such as *law*, *contract*, *board of directors*, *labor union*, *manager*, and *shareholder* – down to basic terms like *company* and *employee* – hold different meanings for the Japanese than they do for us. Their standards are different. Where our business society grew from the Christian ethic of individuals, theirs grew from the Confucian ethic of relationships.

Their people have different priorities from ours –  
different views of wealth, of sufficiency, and of satisfaction.

– Frank Gibney<sup>20</sup>



<sup>20</sup> Gibney, Frank. **Miracle By Design: The Real Reasons Behind Japan's Economic Success.** New York, New York: Times Books, 1982. 5.

## Meiji Restoration

Japan is thought to have begun around 250 B.C. E., yet some scientists note that humans have lived on the Japanese islands since 20,000 B.C. E. Emerging from a military aristocracy, the most powerful clans of Japan fought for control and power of the emerging feudal state. Eventually the *Yamato* clan rose to power after exhibiting divine blessing. “Under *Yamato* rule the Japanese began to import ideas and technology from nearby China . . .”<sup>21</sup> One important import, however, was the Chinese style of government and ethics – namely Confucianism.

As the *shoguns* – or warrior class – ruled the feudal state between 1185 and 1333, Japan was primarily enveloped in Buddhism and Shintoism. However, Confucianism did play a pivotal role shaping the cultural revolution which was to take place years later during the Meiji Restoration. Yet, this period is, in some regards, the foundation where a centuries-old feudal lord system – referred to as *daimyos* who ruled over common folks like a modern-day governor or mayor – was influenced and eventually replaced with a stricter and more rigid class system of samurai, farmer, craftsman, and merchant during the Tokugawa period between 1600 and 1868.<sup>22</sup>

During the Tokugawa Period, Japan grew enormously in the aesthetics developing such culturally indigenous inventions as *kabuki*, or puppet plays, *haiku*, Japanese poetry, Japanese painting and calligraphy, *bushido*, or the Samurai code of honor. In fact, Director of Asian Studies and Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at Weber State University in Utah, Dr. Dean W. Collinwood notes “Literacy among males rose to about 40 percent, higher than most European countries of the day. Samurai busied themselves with the education of the young using

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<sup>21</sup> Collinwood, Dean W. *Japan: Driving Force in the Pacific Rim*. **Japan and the Pacific Rim**. Guilford, Connecticut: Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1995. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

teaching methods that included strict discipline, hard work, and self denial.”<sup>23</sup> Indeed, a powerful influence of the Confucian tradition.

Soon after the Portuguese arrival, however, the black ships of Commodore Matthew Perry prried open Japan’s market to trade – an event the Japanese would not forget. Thus, greater communication with the West brought about huge changes for Japan altogether – especially militarily. In the end, the leaders of the Tokugawa period knew Japan could not afford to isolate itself from the rest of the world. Consequently, Tokugawa’s leaders carefully crafted and created a new nation which would forever revolutionize feudal Japan into Modern Japan as envisioned in the *Meiji Restoration*.

The goals of the *Meiji Restoration* were explicitly clear and simple during this great transition of change. Unfortunately, the manner this transition took was one detrimental and disadvantageous from a vantage point of today’s Japan. The goals of the Meiji Restoration can be synthesized into five major points.

The first is Japanese government leadership with Western ideas -- the contemporary Confucian idea of adopting from the best and adapting it to fit one’s own system. The elimination of the Shogunate was a clear indication that traditional Japan could no longer exist on its own in the forever changing world. The foreign arrival of “black ships” in the harbors of Japan was a mystery, yet clear message to the Japanese. The foreign powers could not simply be fought off or driven out. The “barbarians,” as the Japanese called them, were in Asia, and they were there to stay because of the goods the West desired (i.e., tea, silk, porcelain, and gun powder). But incorporation of Western techniques which later proved worthwhile and effective would not harm the traditions and values

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

deep within Japanese culture. For example, the Lexus commercial, which is a subsidiary of the Toyota Corporation, has a motto that fits the Japanese model well: "*The relentless pursuit of perfection.*" In essence, Western ways – specifically modernization and technology -- were essential to Japan's future success.

The elimination of the Tokugawa and the restoration of the imperial government was imperative for the Japanese citizenry. The populace yearned for a figurehead, one which they could be proud of and show fond affection for. Such a liquidation of the feudalistic state proved effective when Western ideas led to successful modernization and the construction of a new Meiji Constitution. The imperial government was the result of mysticism and a play on people's spiritual and emotional aspects. In the Japanese culture, such religious mysticism is necessary if not paramount to her economic success.

The development of a modern military was also necessary in competing with the West's fast ships, expansive navies, technologically advanced guns, and military arsenal. China's defeat and humiliation in both Opium Wars were strikingly clear indications of a necessary national defense. Japan knew from China's defeat that she could not afford to fight with existing feudal weapons and indigenous traditions against the power and strength of the West.

The abolishment of the class structure meant all Japanese would be considered equal and given rights not ordinarily bestowed before the Meiji Restoration. But the gap between the city dwellers and the country peasants was a downfall of the Restoration's efforts. In the final analysis, the poor country farmers paid for industrialization and the country's success, while the newly crowned aristocracy substantially benefitted from their hard work.

The economic development and transition from a government controlled to capitalist (public-private partnership) economy was also necessary for Japan's great leap forward. These five goals of

the Meiji Restoration were beneficial, but had serious and damaging consequences for some of the Japanese people.

First, women and peasants were not receiving the rights they rightfully deserved. Not until General Douglas MacArthur's proposal to give the farmer's land rights did the working class receive any kind of liberties and privileges. In other words, the Confucian ideals were forgotten in order to nationalize and unify the country for the sake of the few, while the common class greatly suffered.

Second, the military rise was central to Japan's success. Of course, Japan's stubbornness and bullheaded attitude could not possibly alter its course of events until its defeat after WWII. But it took almost five years and two atomic bombs for Japan to realize this. Once again, the common people paid the price of Japan's militaristic rise before and during World War II. In fact, more than 2 million Japanese had been killed because of Japan's military rise and thousands of other civilians – most of whom were under strict order of the military and the mysticism of the Emperor – injured.<sup>24</sup>

Third, the Meiji Restoration neglected the socio-economic gap among the population. The bureaucrats' attitude of neglecting the common people created huge disparities between a new aristocracy and a struggling working class. As a result, in the tradition of Confucius' "Mandate of Heaven," the common Japanese people would passionately fight for new, ethical leadership and refocus their government.

Japan's Meiji Restoration was a great step for the Japanese society altogether. But some flaws were embedded in the Meiji Constitution, and some crucial conflicts were not addressed until after Japan's tragic and catastrophic defeat. The main lesson learned, however, is that change requires alteration, even at the very pinnacle of a nation's success. For it is the equality of all that

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 21.

will do justice to the nation in the end, where freedom and truth will preserve and perpetuate the integrity and success of any nation. Japan learned this lesson the hard way through brutal and aggressive violence which ended in tragic defeat – mainly for her common people.

### **Fukuzawa Yukichi and Modern Japan's Educational System**

But the Meiji Restoration facilitated the foundation for new ideas and systems which would help launch Japan into modern and industrial prosperity. Although he despised Confucianism and China personally, Fukuzawa Yukichi would engineer Japan's new vision which, ultimately, incorporated Confucian ideals at the center of his architectural feat.

As modern Japan evolved from a violent feudal state into more of a highly organized and structured society, the notions of what rules governed the day became institutionalized and nationalized for the sake of the unity and harmony of the country. As the samurai retired their rusting swords, the highly academic elite began to form a tightly constructed nation where a renaissance of Japan's past was indispensable to the future of the nation as a whole. Relying on myth and superstition, Japan's former Samurai – now the intellectual elite often called the technocratic bureaucrats – fashioned a new government with central power, national goals, and futuristic ambition. One such Japanese Renaissance man who greatly contributed to the creation of Modern Japan was the architect of the Rising Sun -- *Fukuzawa Yukichi*.

Son of a low-ranking samurai, Fukuzawa founded an institution to teach Western learning -- which is *Keio* University today. Fukuzawa believed that "modernization" was the key to Modern Japan's strength. Above all, Fukuzawa was a visionary who believed the strength of a nation was in education through modernization, industrialization, and Western practices and technology rather

than military arsenal – all Confucian concepts.

Yukichi Fukuzawa's **The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa** presents a self-testimony of his concept of modernization and proposals for how Japan should achieve its goals.

First and foremost, Fukuzawa and many progressive Japanese of his time, believed that Japan should utilize Japanese values and traditions with Western technology in order to achieve economic and social progress. Again, the Confucian idea of reciprocal adopting and adapting is at play. Case in point: The nationalistic pride of the Japanese steamship venturing to America was a great example of “Japanese know how” combined with Western technology.<sup>25</sup> One may ask the question, “How hard was it for Japan to adapt to the industrial revolution that the West encountered in previous years?” The answer would be absolutely little if any effort or time to study, understand, adapt, change, and continue Western ideas, then formulate them into even greater concepts that equal or surpass their counterparts – Confucius’ idea of reciprocity. This friendly economic competition is highly regarded as the crux of the Japanese economy, even in contemporary times. Basically, as one continually understands Japan’s economic success, “Confucianism” is accentuated because fundamentally the Japanese took all of the best ideas of the West if not the entire world, through paid foreign government interns and studies, and developed them into better, more efficient, and economically sound technologies and concepts that the world economy thrives on and strives for.

Second, Fukuzawa believed that English was the new-found language the Japanese should learn to adapt to the world’s changing time.<sup>26</sup> With little doubt, the Dutch language used in

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<sup>25</sup> Fukuzawa, Yukichi. **The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa**. New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. 110.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 96-97.



Fukuzawa's time could not possibly uphold present-day Japan's financial domination in the world. In other words, English was the new language for the Japanese which could not only be limited to linguistic background, but discovered more in the language's cultural and societal traditions. In the long run, this proved worthwhile for the ever changing Japanese society.

Third, Fukuzawa noted that cultural awareness was of higher value and significance than technological advances.<sup>27</sup> By understanding Western cultures, especially the American and European, Japan could easily relate to these countries better when foreign affairs and international relations came into play. Essentially, the Japanese did not need the technology of the West because they had it in books. What Japan needed was an "understanding of commonplace things."<sup>28</sup> Yet, the ideas of traditional Japan were not forsaken and dumped at the expense of importing Western ideas. In fact, preserving the richness of their own Japanese culture, while incorporating the new Western ideas, was the pivotal philosophy most Japanese technocrats used. Moreover, the Japanese took the best of what foreign societies offered and fashioned these new, distinctly Japanese models.

Lastly, Fukuzawa undoubtedly believed that national exclusivity would be Japan's bittersweet downfall.<sup>29</sup> Fukuzawa remarked, "What hope for the future of Japan as long as our people showed this 'foolish pride,' keeping aloof from the actual give-and-take of the rest of the world? The more this movement of Expel-the-Foreigners increased, the more would we [Japan] lose our national power, to say nothing of prestige. . ."<sup>30</sup> As Confucius remarks in his **Analects**,

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 132-133.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 133.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 135-136.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 135.

“Learning has no limit.”<sup>31</sup>

Fukuzawa, a man of great intellect and insight, was a key facilitator of Japan’s future economic success. Ultimately, although Fukuzawa personally disagreed with Confucianism and anything Chinese, his ideas and vision are particularly Confucian. Similar values of family, education, hard work, loyalty, respect, and reciprocity are but a few of the Confucian ideals developed and crafted under Fukuzawa’s lead. Moreover, Fukuzawa added another Confucian trait which evolved from the idea of reciprocity – incorporation to adopt and adapt to fit one’s own needs. Fukuzawa knew the West – particularly America – was too powerful for Japan to compete with. Taking the West’s ideas, however, and refashioning them into a distinctly Japanese model was essentially a Confucian ideal Fukuzawa integrated into Japan for her survival and modernization. Primarily, Fukuzawa revolutionized the Japanese way of thinking and doing, while still preserving the continuity of Confucianism in Japan. Thus, without abandoning the indigenous beliefs or philosophy of his mother country, Fukuzawa ingeniously took both the Western model of democracy and modernization and the traditional virtues and values of Asia and formulated a new Japanese model which would prove immensely beneficial. The society which he hypothesized and dreamed as being a economic forerunner in the international community would be an enormous asset for their society’s citizenry, political affairs, and future prosperity.

Unfortunately, the model of Fukuzawa’s legacy would take its toll as Japan militarily advanced and stock piled huge amounts of war supplies in view of China’s ongoing saga with the West (i.e., the Opium Wars). Japan witnessed first-hand the destructive power of the West as China kowtowed to Western demands and an unrelenting infiltration of the country altogether. In the end,

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<sup>31</sup> Confucius. **The Analects**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Japan would do anything to protect her small nation from an invasion or takeover.

### **“Kamikaze” - Japan’s Military Arsenal**

The rise of militarism in Japan after 1868 was a substantial step towards a formidable national defense, tough enough to take on a country as powerful and militarily advantageous as the United States and other Western powers (i.e., Great Britain) which ultimately led to World War II. In fact, “Japan’s rapid modernization soon convinced its leaders that the nation was strong enough to begin doing what other advanced nations were doing: acquiring nations. Japan went to war with China, acquiring the Chinese island of Taiwan in 1895. In 1904 Japan attacked Russia and successfully acquired Korea and access to Manchuria . . . Siding against Germany in World War I, Japan was able to acquire Germany’s Pacific empire – the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands. Western nations were surprised at Japan’s rapid empire-building but did little to stop it.”<sup>32</sup> But Japan also faced hardship and great economic tragedy during the 1930s feeling the effects of the Great Depression. Since Japan was resource deficient, but densely populated, “the country had come to rely on trade to supply its basic needs. Many Japanese advocated the forced annexation of Manchuria as a way of providing needed resources. This was accomplished easily, in 1931. With militarism on the rise, the Japanese nation began moving away from democracy and toward a military dictatorship. Political parties were eventually banned, and opposition leaders were jailed and tortured.”<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Collinwood, Dean W. *Japan: Driving Force in the Pacific Rim. Japan and the Pacific Rim*. Guilford, Connecticut: Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1995. 21.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Japan's rise of military arsenal, however, was not traditionally rooted in this Asian society. Regarded as the lowest of the low in Chinese civilization, military men (soldiers) were on the last rung of the Confucian hierarchy and were treated as the very destroyers of the fabric of peace and harmony in Confucian society. But the reasons for Japan's military activity were not limited to an act of self-defense against foreign intervention and aggression. In analyzing Japan's situation, one must take into account the four great pillars of this gigantic, military leap forward which ended in defeat and progressed toward economic dominance. These four pillars account for Japan's trend to militarize and the significant consequences she eventually faced.

The first pillar was of course the downfall of the Mother of all Asian civilizations - China. The destruction of the Chinese society was a clear indication that the root of all of Asian civilization was not the prime model for other Asian societies anymore. The legalization of opium, both Opium Wars, the collapse of the social structure (especially the corruption within the government domain), foreign exploitation, colonialism, poverty, famine, and widespread death which plagued China are just a few examples that show the inability of the once considered "greatest civilization on earth" to take the reins of power creating "Asia for Asians" -- a nationalistic Japanese slogan during the time. This inability glossed with massive internal and external forces was a warning to Japan. The lesson was simple and clear: China's collapse in the wake of Western invasion was a caution sign to Japan. If China could not pave the way toward voicing her opinion in the global community, then Japan would have to take the reins to steer Asia in that direction. China's inability proved most unworthy when the Japanese invaded the country. Consequently, China would face a "Century of Humiliation" from foreign intervention and treaty ports and Japan would trudge its way to amassing its country's success in its political, social, economic, international and military aspects.

The second pillar of militarism was a strong nationalism which quickly grew in Japan. Of

course demographic conditions and cultural influences seem to explain this theory. The islands of Japan are formed like a battleship. Moreover, the homogeneity of the population, 99.4% pure Japanese, serves to account for the common interests and modes of thought this society engaged in.<sup>34</sup> In addition, the pride the Japanese enjoyed was a clear indication of their determination to take all of the world's best ideas and incorporate them into their society. This attitude is of course only accentuated in the heart of Asian society - Confucianism. The life blood flowing from this Confucian well was imperative to bringing life to the veins and arteries of Asian culture. This nationalist tradition embedded within Japanese culture triggered the war Japan eventually immersed itself in. Japan needed its country's approval and support to endure and engage in such a costly and exhaustive endeavor. Although the Japanese people were duped into believing her military forces were the defenders of freedom in the Pacific, they were also blinded under a veil of imperial authority and hegemonic militaristic nationalism. Thus, the Confucian ethic of despising military and violence was pushed far behind the Japanese while the nation amassed an enormous national defense in which the common people rationed, sacrificed, and slaved to supply for such a futile and inexpedient war. The "Mandate of Heaven" in Confucian tradition would later be replaced by a humiliating Allied defeat and a United States occupation. In other words, Confucius was right – military is innately and inherently evil and destructive to communal peace and harmony – no balance.

The third pillar of militarism was instituted during the Meiji reforms. The Meiji Restoration program tried to employ democracy in the absence of a democratic tradition. The Meiji constitution, modeled after its inspirational country Germany, would have flaws and holes that could not simply

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<sup>34</sup> Vogel, Ezra. **Japan As Number 1: Lessons for America**. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1979.

be mended and fixed in a short period of time. Land reform and women's rights were missing in the constitution, and not until after the American occupation after WWII were these issues adequately addressed. Government leadership was central to Japan's rise to military activity as well as the elimination of the Tokugawa and the restoration of the imperial government which gave the people a political and social figurehead -- one which they could look up to for inspiration and motivation. The abolition of the class structure and the widespread economic development from government control to a public-private capitalism proved beneficial to the rise of advanced military technology. All in all, the Meiji reforms were central to the rise of militarism in Japan.

The final pillar of militarism is parallel to German society, Japan's future war partner. The admiration and adoration of the German constitution and society (i.e., Nazism) was paramount in establishing Japan's mighty military machine. The unfortunate part of the entire ordeal rests in the massive and merciless destruction of both societies. The Nazis and the Kamikazes were machines of steel which indulged in horrific philosophies of human experimentation, barbaric torture, and senseless massacre to uphold the "pure" homogeneity of their societies. Most people do not realize the Nazis were not the only demons of destruction before and during WWII. Japan had its hands just as dirty, if not more, as Germany. Obviously, this is not something Japan should be proud of, but these militaristic consequences prove the point of Confucian theory: placing military personnel at the bottom rung of the social hierarchy seems appropriate and necessary because they do not produce any good for the collective society. They defend at the risk of killing and harming with no constructive or productive end.

Essentially, the rise of militarism in Japan after 1868 was a by-product of four pillars of Japanese society. The four pillars were the consequences of government and social pathways and the repercussion of pretentious egoism in light of national mobility. In other words, the Japanese

wanted international recognition at the expense of investing in superfluous and costly military technology and a starving countryside which paid for the quick wave industrialization.

### **“Phoenix from the Ashes” - The Road to Recovery**

The military build up, unfortunately, led to Japan’s ultimate defeat, marked on August 15, 1945 by Emperor Hirohito’s surrender to the Allied Powers – primarily the United States of America. With millions of Japanese injured or killed, the nation that once was conquering “Asia for Asians” had kowtowed before the very nation she had learned and adopted from. But the senior country would do more for Japan economically and socially as a nation than it could ever possibly envision. With the onslaught of Communism and the ever-growing presence of the Soviet Union in areas like China and Vietnam, the United States could not have possibly afforded to allow the Communists add to their political ideology arsenal in Asia. With strong ties in the Philippines and Japan – which would be followed by South Korea, Vietnam, and Taiwan – the United States was obliged to help Japan reconstruct her nation and ensure the rest of the world that the horrific atrocities of the nationalistic and militaristic Japanese would never happen again.

On August 15, 1945, the emperor’s thin, reedy voice crackled over radio loudspeakers announcing Japan’s decision to surrender to the Allied powers. Children stood half-comprehending, and adults with bowed heads and tears, as the emperor spoke of his determination to ‘endure the unendurable.’ For the first time in its history Japan stood as a defeated nation. All the wartime suffering, sacrifice, and hardship has ended in disastrous failure. The cost in human life had been enormous. Over 2,300,000 men (about one in every five households) had been killed or wounded in battle since the outbreak of the China incident. Manpower losses were

so fearful that by 1945 fifteen-year-olds were being recruited. At home 800,000 civilians were injured or killed in air raids and nearly a third of the population had lost their homes.<sup>35</sup>

But where was Japan heading after her defeat? What path would the United States lead Japan down? Would Japan become a colony -- or worse yet a supervised nation -- like her nearby sister China? Under the wings of the United States government -- led by General Douglas MacArthur -- and the Allied powers, what was Japan to expect and envision with scarce resources, depleted food supplies, and a hungry and impoverished populace? How could Japan rise above her current devastated state and economically salvage a nation so completely annihilated?

### **The Allied Occupation - An Uncertain Future?**

Emperor Hirohito's official declaration of defeat over the radio waves proved to be the prescribed approval for General Douglas MacArthur and the supposed Allied Occupation which was more of a American Occupation.

Defeat seemed to inspire the Japanese people to adopt the ways of their more powerful conquerors and to eschew militarism. Under the Occupation forces, the Japanese Constitution was rewritten in a form that mimicked that of the United States. Industry was restructured, labor unions encouraged, land reform accomplished, and the nation as a whole demilitarized. Economic aid from the

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<sup>35</sup> Duus, Peter. **The Rise of Modern Japan**. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976. 238.



United States, as well as the prosperity in Japan that was occasioned by the Korean War in 1953, allowed Japanese industry to begin to recover from the devastation of war. The United States returned the governance of Japan back to the Japanese people by treaty in 1951 (although some 60,000 troops still remain in Japan as part of an agreement to defend Japan from foreign attack).<sup>36</sup>

Yet, what is most interesting about Japan's defeat is the Japanese people's view of its military.

Famous Harvard University historian of Japan Edwin Reischauer and Princeton University historian Marius Jansen suggest:

Instead of feeling guilt, the people [the Japanese] felt that they had been betrayed. To their surprise, they discovered that their armies, far from being welcomed in Asia as liberators, were universally hated. The great respect for the military as selfless patriots and servants of the emperor turned to anger and contempt. In the early postwar months, most Japanese were absorbed in the struggle to keep body and soul together, but underneath these immediate concerns there was a great longing for peace and a determination to avoid any repetition of this great catastrophe. People wanted something new and better than the old Japan that had come to grief. They were confused but open to change in a way they had never been before.<sup>37</sup>

Remember, that in the Confucian model, soldiers were the last class in the social hierarchy who were shunned. Such is the case in Japan after the end of World War II in the Pacific. Beyond the

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<sup>36</sup> Collinwood, Dean W. *Japan: Driving Force in the Pacific Rim. Japan and the Pacific Rim*. Guilford, Connecticut: Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1995. 22.

<sup>37</sup> Reischauer, Edwin O. and Marius B. Jansen. *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995. 103-104.

militaristic notions of Japan's nationalistic fanatics, the Japanese people were eager to change and better their society. But was the military build up of Japan the Japanese people's fault? Or was it their leaders who deserved admonishment for countering the consent of the Japanese people? In many aspects, this overall attitude of betrayal the Japanese felt is Confucian. They knew that the leaders of Japan no longer deserved the "Mandate of Heaven" and should be overthrown to pave way for a better, moral governing body. The Japanese were also aware of the chaos and burden, war brought to their country. They were deceived, they were hurt, they were destroyed where some 668,000 civilians were killed in aerial bombings. The Japanese people did not wish for war nor did they want to participate in one.<sup>38</sup> Ironically, the overall sentiment of desiring change and an open receptivity to new ideas and technology would foster a trust between the Allied American forces and the Japanese people. In one sense, America became the Confucian sage, and Japan learned eagerly and patiently, incorporating a great respect for America and a reciprocal relationship which still holds firm today.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 103.

### Section III

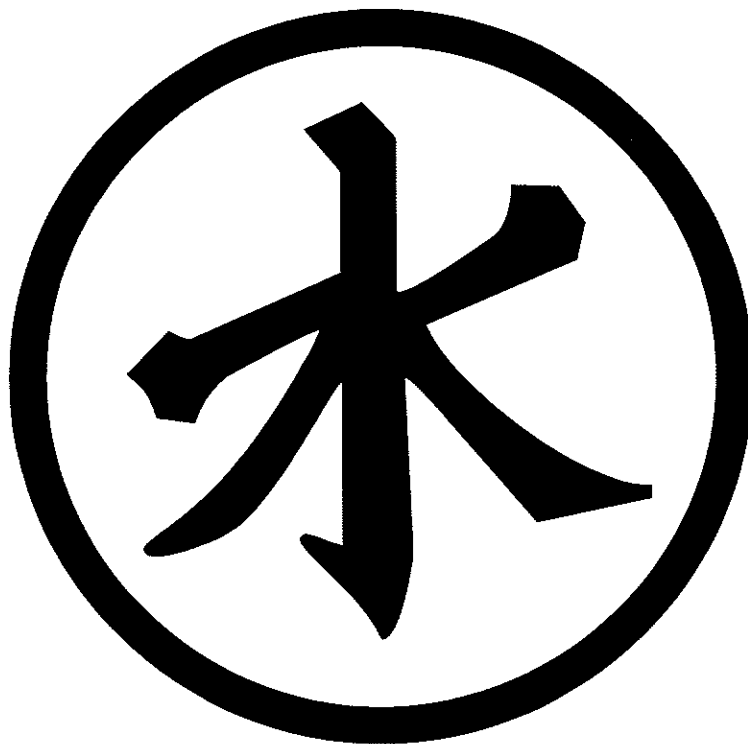
#### Japan Incorporated

The Japanese, partly, from old tradition and partly, . . . from modern necessity, simply infused human values into the corporation. They made the company a village.

And in so doing they have not only given the worker a sense of belonging, they have also given the company a constituency that speaks up for it: Its own workers.<sup>39</sup>

One of the most important functions of the state is to facilitate economic development and to enhance the popular welfare.<sup>40</sup>

– Sadanori Yamanaka, former MITI minister



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<sup>39</sup> Gibney, Frank. **Miracle By Design: The Real Reasons Behind Japan's Economic Success.** New York, New York: Times Books, 1982. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Lincoln, Edward J. *Industrial Policy: U.S. and Japanese Philosophies.* **Japan: Exploring New Paths.** Washington, D.C.: Japan Economic Institute, 1988. 39.

## From Zaibatsu to Kereitsu

In understanding the Confucian model for Post WWII Japan's economic dynamic – often referred to as Japanese capitalism – it is important to understand the changes and developments the Allied Occupation enforced and the Japanese bureaucracy adaptively revolutionized.

“To encourage the rise of democratic elements by effecting a wider distribution of income and the ownership of the means of production and trade, the United States policy statement of September 6, 1945, directed SCAP [Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers] to ‘favor a program for the dissolution of the large industrial and banking combinations which had exercised control of a great part of Japan’s trade and industry’”<sup>41</sup> The Allied powers separated the major *zaibatsu* which ruled Japan’s economy much like the “old family merchant houses in Tokugawa days.”<sup>42</sup>

There were four major *zaibatsu* (money clique) enterprises – Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda – conglomerates with interests in almost every branch of industry. Mitsui’s prewar interests, for example, included mining, shipping, oil, cement, automobiles (Toyota was originally a Mitsui company), chemicals, precision machinery, textiles flour, real estate, and of course, at the center of the group’s activities, the Mitsui Bank. There were about sixteen other smaller *zaibatsu* organisms, organized in more specialized areas, like Furukawa, Okura, or Asano. All of them were controlled by tight family organizations at the top. Through holding companies and interlocking directorates ( a control device beloved by Japanese businessmen to this day), smaller subsidiaries were knit into the organization. Close to government and themselves governed by ponderous hierarchies, these Japanese-

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<sup>41</sup> Hane, Mikiso. **Modern Japan: A Historical Survey**. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986. 346.

<sup>42</sup> Gibney, Frank. **Miracle By Design: The Real Reasons Behind Japan’s Economic Success**. New York, New York: Times Books, 1982. 28.

style conglomerates were nonetheless a far cry from the later American variety that bought and sold companies for quick profit. As with Tokugawa protocapitalists, they were territorialists who habitually put their money into capital improvement and expansion.<sup>43</sup>

Overall, SCAP directed “*zaibatsu* busting” through a three step plan. The first required the “key holding companies of the *zaibatsu* to dispose of their stocks to the general public. An antimonopoly law was also passed prohibiting such things as trusts, cartels, interlocking corporate controls, and agreements in restraint of trade. The third step of the plan was the most controversial. It involved the enactment of the Law for the Elimination of Excessive Concentration of Economic Power.”<sup>44</sup>

Another effective SCAP plan involved the redistribution of land. By the end of World War II, “70 percent of the farmers were tenants or had to rent some land to augment what they owned. About 46 percent of the cultivated land was tenanted, but there were, however, no gigantic landowners. Only about two thousand landlords owned as much as 100 acres; most individuals owned no more than 10 acres.”<sup>45</sup> Thus the Japanese Diet passed the Farm Land Reform Law in October of 1946 which forbade “absentee landlordism.”<sup>46</sup> Such laws – under the direction of SCAP which influenced the Diet greatly – helped create more democratic institutions for the Japanese common people. Moreover, SCAP’s democratic influence helped create improved working conditions and rights – even for women – which was a great plus from the former military

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Hane, Mikiso. **Modern Japan: A Historical Survey**. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986. 346.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

dictatorship the common Japanese endured and suffered under.

Yet, SCAP's economic reforms, primarily the "zaibatsu busting," proved futile because most *zaibatsu* reformed allegiances soon after the US Occupation. These Japanese business conglomerates are now referred to as *kereitsu*.

Indeed, the family centered Confucian ideal is evident in the old *zaibatsu*, but has evolved into strong company partnerships that American companies are strongly pursuing (i.e., Microsoft and Intel, and IBM). Moreover, the idea of central, family-oriented business presupposes that reciprocity for the welfare and prosperity of both company and employee will flourish and blossom into full fruition – undoubtedly a Confucian value.

Journalist Frank Gibney explains this intricate and complex organization of the former *zaibatsu* and modern day *kereitsu*.

- ◆ Where the typical American corporation is a functional economic organ, seeing itself primarily as a means of doing a job, the Japanese company is a functional organization, which also very consciously thinks of itself as a community of *people* . . . . Unlike the American corporation, which hires and fires freely as it needs the particular kinds of skills that abound in the outside labor force, the Japanese community-company prefers to grow its own labor force, recruiting "the whole man" out of school or college and training him within the company, with a maximum of job security. . . .
  
- ◆ Ask an American manager where his duty lies and he will answer, "To the shareholders." The business community – not to mention the Securities and Exchange Commission – would be disturbed if he said anything different. The Japanese manager, by contrast, generally feels at least an equal obligation to the

workers in the company. If he keeps their work community flourishing and intact, he does his job. . . .<sup>47</sup>

Again, the idea of family permeates the Japanese company at all levels. Moreover, the Japanese company integrates the whole person, not just the person's particular learned skill or trait. Granted Japanese women – as is still the case in America – still do not receive equal treatment or as much rights as men, but are slowly changing the situation.

- ◆ Although there is a greater percentage of union members in Japan than in the United States (31 percent as against 23 percent), most are not tightly organized on a national level. Even among those who belong to a national federation, the single-enterprise union is more likely than not law unto itself. Although the Japanese “company” union can be a tougher negotiator, belying the pejorative implied in that American term, its interest centers in the progress of the one company, not that of the union at a national level. . . .
  
- ◆ Although legalistic in their exasperating fondness for proper forms and procedures, the Japanese are resolutely not litigious. The public adversary procedures now riveted into American business are frowned on in Japan, both inside the company and out. Discussion and consultation are paramount. Open confrontation is strenuously avoided, as befits a country with only 12,000 lawyers. The courts are appealed to only as a last and often desperate resort. This is characteristic of a society that prizes

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<sup>47</sup> Gibney, Frank. **Miracle By Design: The Real Reasons Behind Japan's Economic Success.** New York, New York: Times Books, 1982. 7-9.

harmony people rather than a winner-loser type of justice.<sup>48</sup>

As in the Confucian model of family and the Five Relationships, Japanese businesses have learned to create a community of employees committed to the company's vision – a vision which incorporates and values all of its employees. Moreover, the company is seen – like in the Confucian model – as the elder or parent which empowers, enlightens, and educates the younger or child (the employee) to manifest the best relationship and reciprocate a social harmony which emphasizes balance. In return for company favorability and well being, Japanese employees ensure loyalty and respect -- two basic Confucian principles -- to the company.

- ◆ The Japanese government, as Chalmers Johnson put it in his recent book *MITI and the Japanese Miracle*, plays a “developmental” role in its relations with business, as opposed to the “regulatory” function of government in the United States. The Japanese economy, he noted is “plan-rational,” whereas the American is “market-rational.” Which is to say that the government is a supportive force helping business attain various long-term goals and actively planning for them. . .
  
- ◆ The Japanese executive tends to think of himself as a community-builder as much as a profit-maker. Prestige considerations can weigh heavily with him as monetary reward. His idea of community service is a narrow one, however, concentrating on a single industry or a single company – often to the exclusion of everything else.<sup>49</sup>

As the parental figure heads of a huge family, Japanese CEOs ensure that the company's success

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.



does not interfere with its employees happiness or well being. In addition, Japanese companies foster a sense of love and life for its employees. In other words, as the parental figure head, the company is always concerned with the overall welfare and well being of its employees which extend beyond mere office and manufacturing spaces. Such love and concern extends to the private family and to the nation as a whole. Thus, the collaborative effort of Japanese businesses, for the most part, is rooted in the tradition of familial love and reciprocity where the child is loyal, respectful, responsible, and always learning – all aspects which will eventually benefit the social harmony.

### **Industrialization and Modernization**

Although the zaibatsu were dismantled, the Japanese economy witnessed a phenomenal growth period following US Occupation after World War II. From a stagnant and virtually dead economy, Japan catapulted to unbelievable economic success which baffled Western economists and scholars alike.

As noted earlier, industrial production was at a virtual standstill at the end of the war, and recovery was slow. In 1946 industrial production stood at 30.7 percent of what it had been during 1934-1936. In the few years following 1946 it rose slowly: to 37.4 percent in 1947, 54.6 percent in 1948, 71.0 percent in 1949, and 83.6 percent in 1950. Then the Korean War broke out and the figure jumped to 114.4 percent in 1951. . . . In 1953, however, industrial production rose to 155.1 percent . . . The truly spectacular growth occurred after this period – between 1953 and 1960, the economy grew at an average rate of 9.3 percent each year. . . . The economic growth continued, and the gross national product which stood at \$10.9 billion in 1950, reached \$202 billion in 1970. This was third largest in the world, after the United

States, whose gross national product in the same year came to about \$1,000 billion, and Soviet Russia, with \$350 billion.<sup>50</sup>

Yet, economists around the world have an awfully difficult time trying to deconstruct this economic miracle. What's more fascinating, however, is that Japan's economic success during the time period – about 20 years after World War II and the US Occupation – has led the way for other newly industrialized nations which have enjoyed the same economic prosperity as Japan (e.g., Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, the former city-state of Hong Kong, and now China). But it was the *zaibatsu* which played a critical role in shaping the public-private partnership – much like of that of the Confucian parent and child or elder and younger.

The large Japanese corporations with strong ties to industrial conglomerates are formidable competitors on foreign markets because they cannot go bankrupt and need not show any profit for a very long time. When a more or less concerted effort is waged to compete with domestic manufacturers in one particular foreign market, they are basically unbeatable. This was shown by the conquest of the world markets for cameras, motor cycles, and videotape recorders (VTRs), and by the reduction of the home market share for US machine-tool and semiconductor manufacturers to a fraction of what it was before the Japanese began to focus on it.<sup>51</sup>

The strong government-business partnership, however, is a strategic government sponsored bureaucracy which controls the business and industry sector altogether. With the help of such

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<sup>50</sup> Hane, Mikiso. **Modern Japan: A Historical Survey**. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986. 362-363.

<sup>51</sup> van Wolferen, Karel. **The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation**. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. 398.

powerfully concentrated government organizations like MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry), large Japanese corporations – which are household names all over the world (i.e., Sony, Panasonic, Toshiba, Toyota, Honda, Nissan, etc.,) – dominate specifically targeted markets with heavy investment in research and development and a strong financial backing from *keiretsu* banks which can absorb large economic shortcomings in one market as the company's subdivisions can promise other profitable returns. Sharing resources and committing contracts within a large corporation with smaller companies is like the former *zaibatsu* which is indeed the Confucian value of family. As a result, companies – like American or European – simply cannot compete with large Japanese corporations because they have enormous leverage. Such was the case in the late 1970s and early 1980s in America and the rest of the world with videotape-recorders, VTRs (what we now commonly refer to as videocassette recorders or VCRs). Author Karel van Wolferen explains this VTR war between Japan and America.

Investments in production capacity made by Japan's seven VTR manufacturers quadrupled output between 1979 and 1981 to 9.5 million units. Two years later the figure had almost doubled, reaching a peak of 33.8 million in 1986. The more than 13 million sets produced in 1982 represented 140 per cent of world demand at the time. Such overproduction caused colossal inventories and made possible foreign sales at almost any price; and roughly five-sixths of annual production was exported. RCA and Zenith in the USA had long given up (and were pasting their brand names on Japanese-made VTRs), and Philips and Grundig, with their 700,000 units, could hardly compete seriously with the 4.9 million VTRs sent to Europe in 1982 by Japanese firms.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> van Wolferen, Karel. **The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation.** New York: Vintage Books, 1989. 398.

Consequently, large Japanese corporations have been able to fiercely compete in other foreign markets. Moreover, in specific targeted industries, Japan has climbed the industrial and modern ladder faster than most industrial nations in the entire world.

In specific areas we find that the production of crude steel was 5 million tons in 1950, and by 1969 it had risen to 82 million, thus making Japan the third largest steel producer in the world after the United States and Soviet Russia. Already in 1956 Japan had become the world's leading shipbuilder, and in 1969 she produced 48.2 percent of the world's merchant vessel tonnage. In 1950 Japan produced only 1,593 passenger cars whereas in 1969 she produced 2, 611,499 and in doing so became the world's third largest manufacturer of passenger cars. In prewar years Japanese products were equated with shoddy workmanship and cheap materials, but in the postwar period the Japanese industrialists concentrated on the production of high quality goods such as cameras, watches, radios, televisions, precision instruments, electronic devices, electrical appliances, and heavy industrial goods.<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, the Japanese economy sprinted through industrialization and modernization like a phoenix rising from the ashes. But the economic prosperity, which relied heavily upon foreign trade, would bring unforeseen trouble for international relations between the United States and Japan.

### **America as Ally**

How did the Japanese economy recover so quickly? What components contributed to

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<sup>53</sup> Hane, Mikiso. **Modern Japan: A Historical Survey**. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986. 363.

Japan's miraculous success in less than 20 years? Moreover, what conditions allowed Japan to economically stabilize a country in ruin after a scornful World War and a humiliating Occupation?

Just because the US Occupation ended officially in Japan, did not necessarily mean that the United States would relinquish all ties with her little sister in Asia. In fact, the growing tide of Communism in China and other Asian nations stirred American officials to take offensive positions, thereby willingly and eagerly endorsing Japan which it helped defeat and rebuild like herself. The partnership of bilateral relations between the United States and Japan proved beneficial because Japan provided American forces with necessary supplies to fight in wars like the Korean and Vietnam War. Unfortunately, a surging Japanese economy would also strain relations between both nations as Japanese corporations infiltrated American dominated markets (i.e., electronics, passenger cars, etc.). America would no longer view Japan merely as an ally during the 1970s and more as a threat in the 1980s.

By 1951, the United States had poured more than \$2 billion into the Japanese economy. The Japanese economy also received a strong impetus from the Korean war boom. By the mid-fifties the United States had spent about \$4 billion in Japan for "special procurement," i.e, the purchase of supplies, equipment, services, and recreation for American troops. As a result, the Japanese economy grew by 9 percent or more each year. . . . In terms of world conditions, one of the very beneficial outcomes of the Cold War was that it resulted in the United States adopting liberal political and economic policies toward non-Communist nations, including Japan.<sup>54</sup>

In addition, the United States encouraged other non-Communist nations to keep their markets open

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<sup>54</sup> Hane, Mikiso. **Modern Japan: A Historical Survey**. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986. 364.

to foster free trade and deter communism. In fact, the United States openly welcomed Japan and sponsored her entry into such organizations as GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Moreover, because Japan had a peace clause in her Constitution – as initiated and drafted by the US Occupation – she only needed to spend 1 to 2 percent of her GNP (Gross National Product) on military, and invested government funds in industrial development all targeted to enhancing Japan's exporting capabilities (ships, machinery, and other mechanisms).<sup>55</sup> Overall, Japan and the United States shared a bond where Japan economically advanced and America discouraged communism's spread in the Pacific. But the relationship of the 1950s and 1960s would be tested as Japanese companies took full advantage of what was up for grabs in America and the rest of the world.

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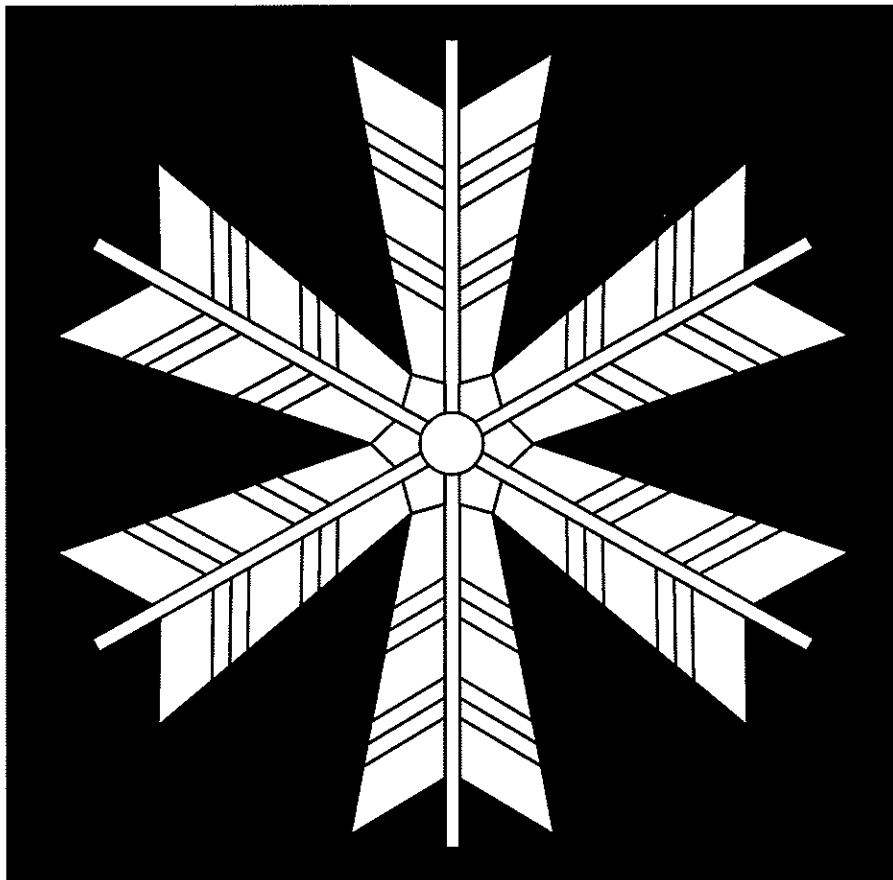
<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

## IV

### The Relentless Pursuit

Considering the nature and scope of Japan's successes,  
it is remarkable how little interest Americans have shown in profiting from the Japanese example  
. . . . It is perhaps understandable that the Japanese, in the habit of looking abroad for things to learn,  
continue studying, while Americans in the world of affairs, in the habit of teaching the rest of the  
world, find it difficult to assume the posture of the student,  
even when such indifference to or casual dismissal of foreign success blinds us to useful lessons.

– Ezra Vogel - **Japan As Number #1: Lessons For America**



## People Before Profits

For Confucius the people were the paramount concern of all philosophy. From the time of Meiji to Contemporary Japan today, the ghost of Confucian ideals has left its legacy of promoting the people first and foremost even before profits and yields most Western businesses would never forsake. The most famous of these modern Meiji architects was Shibusawa Eiichi – “the founder of the Dai Ichi Bank (today Dai Ichi Kangyo, Japan’s largest).”<sup>56</sup>

A boy from a farming family who received Samurai rank under the last Tokugawa shoguns, Shibusawa helped set up the Ministry of Finance in the early Meiji government, but he left government early to go into finance and business. His object was very specific: to ‘bring respectability to the businessman’ and remove the old image of the half-crooked, servile, ‘trader’ still prevalent among the young samurai who staffed the Meiji government. . . . Shibusawa was involved in the organization of some five hundred companies. . . . He was a Confucian who kept a copy of the Master’s *Analects* constantly with him and felt business needed the Confucian ideal of strong mutual relationships and service to keep it from degenerating into selfish profit-making. . . . To him learning was as much a part of business as sound morality. He had no patience with businessmen who neglected education.

Much later in his life when he explicated why Confucian idealism and economics go hand in hand, he suggested:

Morality and economy were meant to walk hand in hand. But as humanity has been prone to seek gain, often forgetting righteousness, the ancient sage, anxious to remedy this abuse, zealously advocated morality on the one hand and on the other, warned

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<sup>56</sup> Gibney, Frank. **Miracle By Design: The Real Reasons Behind Japan’s Economic Success.** New York, New York: Times Books, 1982. 30.



people of profit unlawfully obtained. Later scholars misunderstood [Confucius's] true idea . . . . They forgot that productivity is a way of practicing virtue.<sup>57</sup>

### **Miracle By Design?**

What was Japan's model of economic success? More important, however, how did she achieve the economic prosperity other nations are so envious of?

#### *The 10 Commandments of Japan's Economic Success*

1. Some of Japan's entrenched business conglomerates called *zaibatsu*, were broken up by order of the U.S. Occupation commander after World War II; this allowed competing businesses to get a start. Similarly, the physical infrastructure – roads, factories – was destroyed during the war. This was a blessing in disguise, for it paved the way for newer equipment and technologies to be put in place quickly.<sup>58</sup>

Obviously, as Japan was in rubble after its humiliating defeat, American aid helped supply new, better, advanced technology -- replacing the old homegrown infrastructure -- as well as industry and technology. Interestingly, after working long and hard hours for the militaristic state, it is obvious why the Japanese would oust the nationalistic military and desperately seek the aid of better ways to live. Nothing could be worse than the nightmare of World War II, so what did the Japanese have to

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Collinwood, Dean W. *Japan: Driving Force in the Pacific Rim. Japan and the Pacific Rim*. Guilford, Connecticut: Dushkin Publishing Group/Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1995. 24-25.

lose trusting the friendly and heroic nature of the United States Occupation. Indeed, although speculation can be made as to why the Japanese so openly embraced the change, it is obvious the modern technological advances helped propel Japan into a industrial competitive economy in the global community after a humbling war.

2. The United States, seeing the need for an economically strong Japan in order to offset the growing attraction of communist ideology in Asia, provided substantial reconstruction aid. For instance Sony Corporation got started with help from the Agency for International Development (AID) – an organization to which the United States is a major contributor. Mazda Motors got its start by making Jeeps for U.S. forces during the Korean War. . . .<sup>59</sup>
3. Japanese industry looked upon government as a facilitator and received useful economic advice as well as political and financial assistance from government planners. (In this regard, it is important to note that many of Japan’s civil servants are the best graduates of Japan’s colleges and universities.) . . .<sup>60</sup>
4. Japanese businesses selected an export-oriented strategy that stressed building market share over immediate profit.<sup>61</sup>
5. Except in certain professions, such as teaching, labor unions in Japan were not as powerful as in Europe and the United States. This is not to suggest that unions were not effective in gaining benefits for workers, but the structure of the union movement – individual company unions rather than industry-wide

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

unions – moderated the demands for improved wages and benefits.<sup>62</sup>

6. Company managers stressed employee teamwork and group spirit and implemented policies such as “lifetime employment” and quality-control circles, which contributed to group morale. In this they were aided by the Japanese tendency to grant to eh company some of the same level of loyalty traditionally reserved for families. In certain ways, the gap between workers and management was minimized.<sup>63</sup>
7. Companies benefitted from the Japanese ethic of working hard and saving much. For most of Japan’s postwar history, workers labored 6 days a week, arriving early and leaving late. The paychecks were carefully managed to include a substantial savings component – generally between 15 and 25 percent. This guaranteed that there were always enough cash reserves for banks to offer company expansion loans at low interest.<sup>64</sup>
8. The government spent relatively little of its tax revenues on social welfare programs or military defense, preferring instead to invest public funds in private industry.<sup>65</sup>
9. A relatively stable family structure (i.e., few divorces and substantial family support for young people, many of whom remained at home until marriage at about 27), produced employees who were reliable and psychologically

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

stable.<sup>66</sup>

10. The government as well as private individuals invested enormous amounts of money and energy into education, on the assumption that in a resource-poor country, the mental energies of the people would need to be exploited to their fullest.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

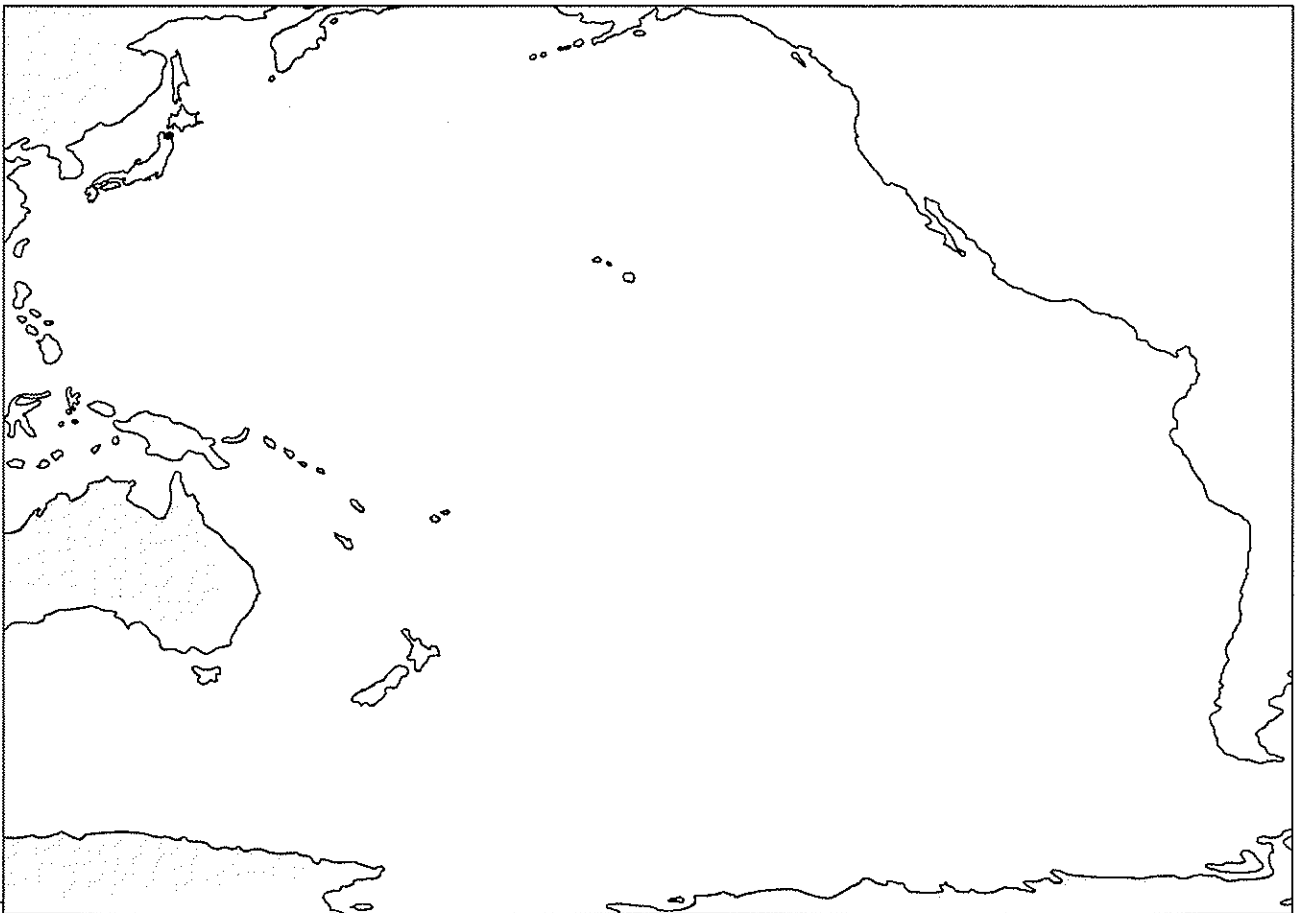
## Epilogue

### The Dawning of a Pacific Century

Ever since the early modern era, countries along the north Atlantic shores have dominated international relations. Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, England, and, most recently, the United States succeeded each other as the premier economic and military power in the past five centuries.

During the last three decades, however, the Asia Pacific region has led the world in rapid industrialization and commercial expansion. This process points to a shift in the center of the global political and economic gravity from the Atlantic to the Pacific area, prompting many observers to describe the approaching twenty-first century as the Pacific Century.

– Steve Chan - **East Asian Dynamism**<sup>68</sup>



<sup>68</sup> Chan, Steve. **East Asian Dynamism: Growth, Order, and Security in the Pacific Region**. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990. 1.

## **Prelude to the Pacific: Who Prospers?**

As the next millennium draws near and the twentieth century comes to a close, certain prospects are certain for Japan and the Pacific community. Undoubtedly, for Japan the last century has proven to be full of change: political transition, war, violence, destruction, chaos, military build up, technological advancement, economic success . . . and failure, and a new role in the global community. Thus, are economists and politicians correct in asserting the next century as the “Pacific Century?” As the world recovers from the aftermath of two World Wars and the Cold War, and witnesses the ongoing conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East, and Africa, where is Japan? As she has technologically advanced in such a short period, Japan has become a pivotal member in the global community. She has spread her industry and technology to Europe, Asia, South America, Africa, and even North America. But from a bloody feudal state to a modern state, from a nationalistic military arsenal to annihilation, from the ashes of destruction to economic prosperity, what has Japan learned? Where is her path leading to? What role will she play in Asia as China economically democratizes its policies and becomes a stronghold in the region? How will Japan overcome its current economic recession and ensure its stability in an ever changing and fluid market? As the flow of capital continues to shrink from the shores of the Atlantic and flows to the Pacific, will the twenty first century indeed be the “Pacific Century?”

Yet, the question is not one of isolationist or protectionist policy – a lesson Japan has learned in the late 70s and early 80s. The question we need to ask results from a interconnected bond the global community must strive for if it wishes to peacefully coexist without the ramifications of conflict and warfare, without ethnic and racial and religious tension, without exploitation and the fear nuclear devastation, without the threat of destruction. Indeed, Japan has become a powerful

player in the global community and slowly, but surely climbs the echelons of power in such influential and authoritative organizations like the United Nations and APEC. But what will she do to lead the way to economic prosperity in the Pacific Century? What leadership role will she take as gargantuan corporations as Sony, Panasonic, Hitachi, Toyota, Suzuki, Honda, Lexus, Infiniti, Accura, Nissan, Mitsubishi, and Matsushita, to name a few, dominate their respective markets? What role will Japan have in the Pacific Century?

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A culmination of five years of interest and intrigue in a project I never thought I would see complete and a major I passionately and whole heartedly love, **In Pursuit of Perfection** has opened my eyes to the world beyond our safe United States of America. Yet, as a multicultural and Japanese subject, I find fulfillment in tracing my roots and history in Confucianism and its contemporary influence in Asia. To think that my home state of Hawai'i is in the middle of the awaited "Pacific Century" is exciting and stirring as Asian nations like Japan bulldoze to control promising markets and emerging industrial economies as China and Mexico. What will prove steady is not the growing economies, but the systems which control the markets. I am not certain that Confucianism will lead the way to the twenty first century. Yet, I am also unsure of democracy and capitalism's exploitive powers. I do believe, however, that as Asia grows, America cannot afford to break down relations with such a massive and fast growing region. Although, the US is firmly grounded militarily in Asia, one cannot overlook the economic power corporate giants like Sony, Toyota, Honda, and Panasonic have not only in America, but the rest of the world.

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Since grammar school, I have experienced some of the most challenging and intriguing educators alive. Some were extremely demanding and over-bearing; others were redundant and boring; still others were fascinating, original and pushed one to achieve only the very best. I have taken three classes from Professor Bohr, and if I had to describe his teaching method and worth, it would be this. He is a teacher who not only knows his material by heart, but inscribes this vast knowledge in the minds and hearts of his pupils. He doesn’t just lecture, Professor Bohr incorporates and intrigues, utilizing some of the very best teaching techniques I have ever encountered. In a typical class period, a student may engage in small and large group discussion, a short lecture with slides and video clips, and still have time to cover material for next class, all in a seventy minute period.

Quite frankly, Professor Bohr can teach some of his academic colleagues a thing or two about teaching and, more importantly, reaching students. He doesn’t just teach; he accesses new outlets from his student’s minds where they can only strive to offer their very best work, not by force

but by choice. In short, Professor Bohr is challenging and comprehensive; accepting and open; dynamic and educationally complete. Professor Bohr is one of the finest Saint John's and Saint Ben's has to offer students not only studying Asian history, but management and business as well. He is an integral component to the communities of these liberal arts institutions who offers fresh teaching techniques, original and creative work, and energetic and industrious lessons for the upcoming "Pacific Century."

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occasions, arrangements to organize tutors and family hosts. Needless to say that all of this hard work are pure acts of care and selflessness Professor Bohr seems to epitomize.

Professor Bohr is an example of a good leader, excellent teacher and one-of-a-kind personality and character. He is a God-send that cares for his family which is extended to those he meets and teaches. He is educationally proficient and scholastically complete. His unrelentless drive to help others is unique in the college scene, especially when contrasted with professors who could care less about their students and more about tenure and better pay. Losing him would be a great loss for these institutions and the educational development and progress of students in Asian studies and business. He is an exceptional man destined only to accomplish many more great endeavors which will complement these institutions in the process. He serves the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University with the utmost pride and excellence these institutions pledge. In sum, Professor Bohr's genuine and compassionate character combined with his educational expertise only signifies his great achievements as scholar, educator, businessman, and father.

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