

## Development and Happiness -Learning the “Spiritual Wealth” from Asia-

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### Introduction

Development, as well as happiness, are concepts related to the development of the modern society in Western Europe.

The word “development” is originally a word borrowed from Hegel’s philosophy meaning that citizens, who were previously confined within the social ranking system of feudal society, could cross over the narrow framework of blood and geographical ties to develop themselves and to grow through the expansion of the market economy.<sup>1</sup> It also relates to the progress of the development of capitalism on the basis of market economics. In this respect, the word “development” (in German, “die Entwicklung”) has a two-way implication. In one way, it is used as an intransitive verb meaning self-development, and in the other way, it is used as a transitive verb meaning the state’s power to open up new fields of the nation’s activities. In Japanese, the translation of development in the former case is “Hatten” and in the latter case “Kaihatsu” and these words convey different concepts. Here, we will use development in the sense of how the accumulation of capital can bring change in various areas of society and influence the whole social system together with the shaping of the modern capitalist system.

In ancient Oriental thought, happiness refers to the satisfactory state of human beings. This idea conveys somewhat the same meaning as the French word ‘bonheur’ (a joyful period of time). In English, the word ‘happiness’ was derived from the Anglo-Saxon word ‘hap’ (fortune, chance). It was originally used to refer to people who obtained some unexpected fortune or attained some preferred status in the framework of the medieval feudal system (according to the law of nature). Indeed, on many occasions, it referred to preferred status in terms of business profit or relief from one’s social destiny (such as the liberation from serfdom).<sup>2</sup>

The word happiness has been adopted in the official document of “The United States Declaration of Independence” adopted in 1776 by the 13 states of the East coast, which stated “We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.” Here we find that the right of happiness has been raised to be parallel with the right of life and such basic human rights as liberty. Since this time, philosophers of the civil revolution have accepted

happiness as a part of the natural law and the expression of the right of nature. This thought has been strongly promoted by Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson etc. at the time of America's Independence.

Namely, at the time of the civil revolution, development (the self-development of civil society), the accumulation of capital, freedom, and happiness were interrelated and were therefore difficult to separate one from another.

However, during the nineteenth century when capitalism prevailed in society, the pre-established harmonic relationship of development, the accumulation of capital, freedom and happiness gradually began to collapse.

In the 1930's, philosopher Bertrand Russell wrote "The Conquest of Happiness" after seeing many people embrace a feeling of unhappiness even though no outward misfortune actually existed. In this book, he stated "what is the use of making everybody rich if the rich themselves are miserable?"<sup>3</sup>, and pointed out the phenomenon of the dissociation of material abundance and happiness. He thus denied the pre-established harmonic relationship between the two elements. According to Russell, the more civilized the society became the more limited individual freedom became, and this created the feeling of misfortune.<sup>4</sup> This statement could be taken as a criticism of modern utilitarianism and rationalism stemming from the idea that the pursuit of individual utility would maximize the individual and social benefit.

In this chapter, we will discuss the reason why human happiness did not necessarily increase in spite of the fact that capitalist as well as socialist systems aimed to realize human happiness through the accumulation of capital in the modern world. In fact, in a broad sense, the former has brought with it the phenomenon of the so-called alienation that distracts human beings from their original goal. Moreover, it has also produced a great amount of "absolute poverty" in society causing even a shortfall in food, clothing, and housing etc. On the other hand, the latter – the socialist system - has brought with it the suppression of human rights and relative poverty due to the deprivation of rights for the majority of the population. The revolt of the people against the oppressive status has caused the collapse of the system.

Both these social systems advanced, through their development process and accumulation of capital and material productivity in the 19<sup>th</sup> - 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, the problem remains of why human happiness did not necessarily increase despite the progress of development.

In order to answer this question, we will firstly take a closer inspection at the meaning and interrelationship of development and happiness. We will examine how happiness has been subjectively and objectively interpreted as material wealth in the modern world. Yet, how on the other hand, the increase of material wealth caused an

effect contrary to our expectations the increase in human poverty (absolute poverty and relative poverty based on the deprivation of human rights – both of which create spiritual poverty), and how more and more people do not equate happiness with the increment of material wealth. After clarifying this point, we will discuss what the real prerequisite for happiness is. The human sense of happiness which does not necessarily relate to material affluence can be connected to the mezzo-level conditions which link the individual to surrounding social factors such as, peace of mind, participation in the socio-economic process, respect and the co-existence of a variety of cultures, multi-sided human voluntary determination which will not be limited by profit-making, i.e. community businesses, preservation of the environment, etc. In this chapter, we will look at the example of the grass-root level movement of the endogenous development in Asia and Japan. We will look at several concrete examples and see how they rejected “happiness” being forced upon them from above and how they rather realized “happiness” in terms of wealth in spirit and in mind.

The result of this examination will provide a clue as to the way out for Japan which confronted the limit of development that she pursued in this half a century that emerged in the long-term recession in the 1990s. It will also show that beneath this situation there lies a historic opportunity in a way that will lead to a new realm of endogenous development and human happiness for Japan.

## **1 Development — happiness nexus**

Since the very beginning of the modern world, development has had a twofold meaning. One is the creation of wealth. In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the philosophy of enlightenment (*philosophie des lumières*) developed in Scotland and then in France on the European continent. This can be seen as the first self-acknowledgement of civil society. As the name enlightenment suggests, it is an attempt to bring light (*lumière*) to the darkness of the middle ages and the feudal society. Based on this philosophy, the word ‘progress’ (*progrès*) began to appear frequently.

The idea of ‘progress’ represents one of the main driving forces of the period from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Such progress included market expansion, the formation of wealth (accumulation of capital), the rise of the civilized society symbolized by the right to freedom, the right to property, the rule of law, the elimination of despotism and theocracy, democracy, etc., which constituted the objectives of the civil revolution. This progression resulted in a series of inter-related social systems, and was termed capitalistic civilization. When these new civilizations and elements of

social progress came into being, what was considered important economically was the establishment of the right to property, the principles of liberalism with the removal of government interference, the social concertation (market-oriented behavior) through the division of labor, and individualism based on self-interest, etc. On the basis of these points, Adam Smith - the father of modern liberalistic economics - explained the principle of how “the difference in the nations’ wealth was born” by looking at how smoothly these changes had taken place in different countries. The word development (*kaihatsu, hatten*) came about from the idea of progress. Therefore the first meaning of development (*kaihatsu*) was the mechanism of capital accumulation that consistently referred to the creation of the increment of wealth.

The English journalist Daniel Defoe, who wrote his best seller *Robinson Crusoe* in the early eighteenth century (1719) gave an excellent description of the first meaning of development. From his experience as a sailor, Defoe, in his first novel, described how the hero Crusoe was born in a poor family and drifted ashore onto an isolated island in the Caribbean. Crusoe began his adventure on the island by making a calendar and marking off the dates. Thus he led a well-disciplined life. Defoe described how he then planted seeds and started to cultivate the field and made an enclosure in which to raise sheep. Defoe vividly sketched how Crusoe set up his independent life. In not too long, Crusoe caught a black slave whom he called Friday because he caught him on a Friday. He made the slave submit to him and call him Master. Through this he realized a life where he had time on his hands. Crusoe was stranded on an uninhabited island, so we see nothing of the market economy. However it describes well the premise of the spirit of venture which stands firmly on the strong ideal of protestant individualism.

If we look at this from a different angle, one may well say that this is a Genesis myth of the English capitalism. English capitalism was built upon the foundation of the large pool of labor, created after making large-scale enclosures for cultivation to raise the level of productivity, which drove farmers off their land, as well as being built upon the special relationship with her overseas colonies.

As previously stated, the second meaning of development (*kaihatsu*) is the unfolding of civil society. A century after the Glorious Revolution of England in 1688-89, there was the Declaration of Independence by the United States and the French Civil Revolution, as well as the wave of liberalism and national revolutions that spread firstly across Europe, and then across Ibero-America throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was precisely the self-development of civil society which aimed at crossing the narrow feudal borders, the framework of royal prerogatives, and colonial territories to meet the demand of building up an integrated unified market. A further good reason is

the fact that citizens saw their social system as “enlightened” in contrasted to the “darkness” of the previous system of the medieval world.<sup>5</sup>

The Scottish philosopher of Enlightenment David Hume<sup>6</sup> explained successfully how this demand for market expansion by civil society was related to the acceleration of the development of labor division and business expansion pressure from city to rural area and furthermore, overseas markets. However, on the other hand, the greatest summarizer of the Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, Adam Smith, related the above analysis to individual happiness.

In his lecture of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* at the University of Glasgow, Adam Smith constructed a new principle of Ethics based on the notion of expediency to accommodate the modern capitalistic society. He based the foundation of this expediency on “the various self-seeking emotions”. That is, it lies in the key notion of self-interest. A baker bakes bread to make a profit rather than for a social purpose. A shoe maker makes shoes and sells them for profit. All these pursuits of private profit will produce optimum conditions by an invisible hand, i.e., pre-established social harmony. This idea leads to the conclusion that human beings are homo economicus and that their behavior is essentially based on the pursuit of self-interest. As a result, the principle of laissez-faire appeared to be a supreme ideology that needs to be emphasized.

On the other hand, Adam Smith did not fail to point out that the pursuit of self-profit itself would not necessarily result in social integration and, in order to realize the pre-established harmony, the role of “sympathy” which all human beings have, must also be esteemed. That is to say, the pursuit of self-interest may bring up some undesirable social behaviors such as speculation, iniquity and deceit, etc. In this case the “happiness” of people can in no way be guaranteed. When it comes to the question of what happiness is, he explains happiness in the following way: “He is happiest who advances more gradually to greatness, whom the public destines to every step of his preferment long before he arrives at it, in whom, upon that account, when it comes, it can excite no extravagant joy, and with regard to whom it cannot reasonably create either any jealousy in those he overtakes, or any envy in those he leaves behind.”<sup>7</sup>

In other words, even if a competitive society based on self-interest does result in the efficient allocation of resources and high productivity, the happiness of human beings cannot be guaranteed by mere competition. Rather, the gradual change in society should be corroborated with people’s compassion and mutual respect, and in harmony with their public benefit. Envy or jealousy, the winners of competition accompanied by the enlargement of economic disparity, etc., the mere victory of homo economicus will by no means be considered a desirable situation. That is, self-interest

can only be regarded as the condition of happiness when it is fulfilled in combination with public agreement and compassion.

This moral philosophy, being monopolized by Theology in the past, was taught to be “useful for the happiness of the world to come”. Nevertheless, Adam Smith was confident to point out that moral philosophy has appeared as a science to account for the generation of “the happiness of this world”. The foundation of this happiness can be said to be “wealth”, or value, or purchasing power. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Ch.5 it is stated as such: “Every man is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessaries, conveniences, and amusements of human life.”<sup>8</sup>

Adam Smith’s social science can be seen as a peculiar knowledge of modern society in two senses.

Firstly, he pointed out that the self-expansion (progress or development) of the capital accumulation system is connected to the creation of “wealth” and this affluence forms the basis of human freedom and happiness. It should be noted that individual happiness here is synonymous with social happiness.

Secondly, in his theory he analyzed that a society that has the generational system of wealth can be called a “civilized society” created by citizens.<sup>9</sup> Whereas it is under the condition that private profit and vitality based on labor division be freely executed together with the compassion of citizens and the social rules which respect it. The establishment of publicity which will not lead to social disparity or split, and the public governance participated by citizens which guarantees it.

Here we see the establishment of a particularly optimistic world view which implies that people – the entire human race – walk on the pathway to civilization or progress supported by “wealth” or affluence and reach their goal of happiness.

This kind of world perception which accepts material affluence as the foundation of human happiness has deeply influenced the whole body of economics since the Utilitarianism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In Utilitarianism, people always act to maximize their own utility. The Smith Theory that claims that the pursuit of private profit will eventually lead to an increase in public benefit is now even subjectively justified. Every individual’s action to maximize his own utility will automatically lead to the maximum happiness of society. The basic recognition of Utilitarianism – the greatest happiness of the greater number of people – soon becomes a directive principle to justify the representative democratic system, and thus, turns out to be an orthodox idea in political science as well.

However, we have to accept that the accumulation of wealth in Capitalism has been generating enormous unhappiness as well. It has produced situations far removed from happiness, such as poverty, the deterioration of the environment, the instability of

one's social position, etc. Outwardly we see colonialism and inwardly we see all kinds of social problems such as unemployment, bankruptcy, etc.

Development, i.e. capitalistic development has been seen to generate three kinds of misfortune or disparities.

1. Disparity between the rich and the poor – such as the Marxists and early Socialists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century widely pointed out. Marx used the notion of human alienation to explain how capital accumulation not only caused the increase of the absolute want of the proletariat, but also gave birth to people's spiritual insufficiency with its progress. The capitalists and also the rich were caught up in the constant pursuit of material wealth. In this sense people fall into another kind of poverty because they are pulled away from where they originally should be as free human beings. This may be called "deprivation" - a situation where one is not oneself.

2. Disparity of gender. An English writer Mary Wollstonecraft, who once joined the France Revolution, then social philosophers William Thompson and Anna Willer in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and also J. S. Mill, etc. pointed out that the notion of human rights itself which was established by the French Revolution, described human rights as "the Rights of Man". What was meant by that was that human rights were for men and not for women. The concept of the disparity of gender has brought about the exclusion of women in public life. They therefore emphasized the importance of women's participation in politics, the improvement of women's economic situation, and the revision of gender culture in society. These ideas have been adopted and developed by the Feminist Movement since the 1970's.

3. Disparity of race. This problem has been evident in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when Western powers advanced into non-western regions. At that time, Rosa Luxemburg who was raised in the semi-colony Poland which was at that time split between the two major powers of Germany and Russia, pointed out that the development of the industrialized central area was supported by the drain of manpower from the peripheral rural areas and the capitalistic development that made the gap between the city and rural areas become inevitable and even enlarged. This idea has been inherited and developed by the philosophers such as Raul Prebisch in the Southern world since the 1930's.<sup>10</sup> Recently, Immanuel Wallerstein discussed the enlargement of racial disparity which is accompanied by capital accumulation in his World System Theory.

According to the above point of view, we understand that a social system which takes the increase of productivity (=the formation of wealth) as its main objective may on the one hand create affluence (=happiness) within the system, but also on the other hand, produce various types of poverty (=misfortunes) for many people (such as the proletariat, women, rural people and the southern world, etc. These are people who

are excluded from the commandment of the system while being included in the system).

In other words, the increase of wealth does not necessarily relate to the increase of happiness such as Adam Smith or the Utilitarians proclaimed. Bertrand Russell's paradoxical affirmation made the following point clear: "the pursuit of happiness may not necessarily bring happiness to the majority of the pursuers".

Taking into account the previous analysis, we will look at what has been thought as being the necessary conditions to realize happiness such as peace, community participation, culture, association / a non-profit economy, environment protection, etc. through some examples in Asia and Japan. We will also discuss how these elements could be fulfilled through mezzo-level agencies such as culture or the local community, which will combine and mediate the role of micro-level, i.e., individual and macro-level, i.e. the nation or world system.

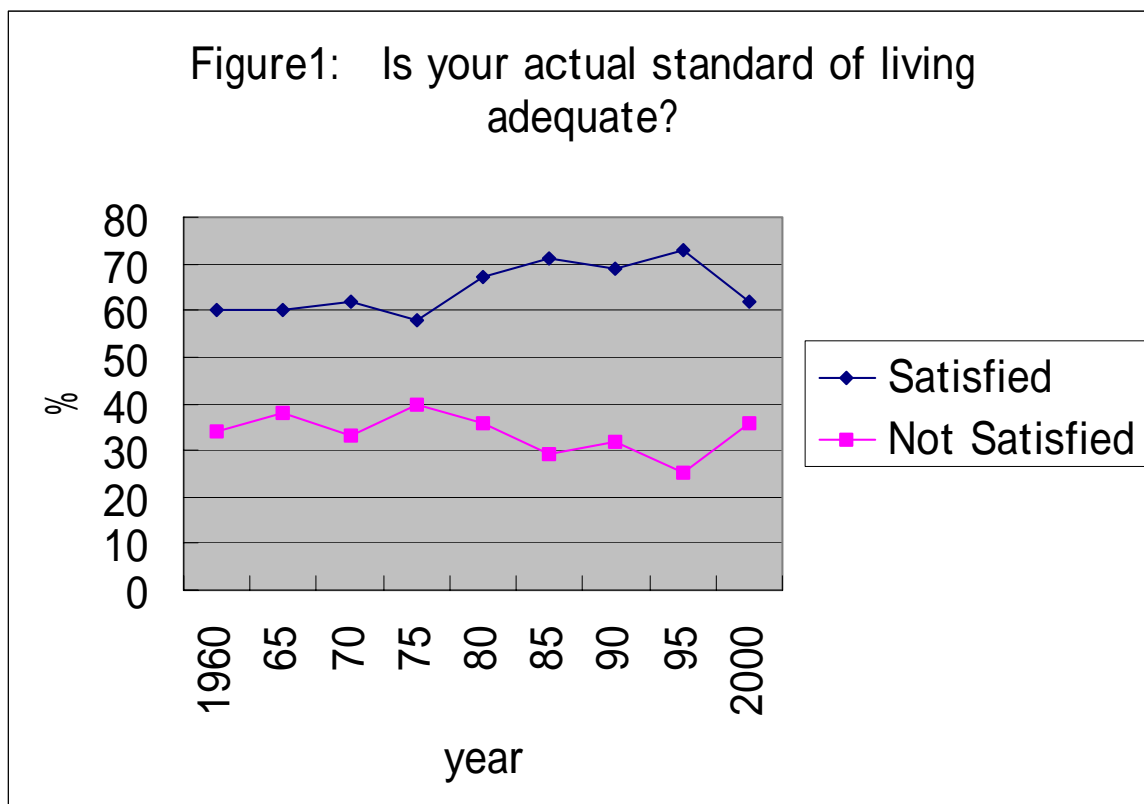
## **2 The Conditions of Happiness**

In the beginning, we reviewed the history of the emergence of the word 'happiness'. Here we may give the definition of happiness generally as a person who is in a state of satisfaction or has a pleasant feeling.

Also in the first section, we discussed how economics related happiness to wealth at macro level and to individual utility at micro level: the increment of wealth = the increment of aggregate utility. However, after many social problems occurred, this equality relation, or the equation that wealth = happiness has become questionable as has been previously pointed out.

If we look at the public opinion survey undertaken by the Cabinet Office (formerly the Prime Minister's Office), it becomes clear that the Japanese did not relate material wealth necessarily to happiness. From figure 1, we can see that the Japanese economy experienced growth by seven times from 1958 to 2000 whereas their level of satisfaction about life hardly changed. The graph indicates that, except for the sharp and momentous drop at the time of the oil shocks from 1958 to 1984, 62-64 percentage of the 3000 people interviewed answered "very satisfied" or "almost satisfied" when they were asked about their view of their present living conditions. Another more interesting result showed an unprecedented high ratio – 68-70% of people expressed their satisfaction with their lives, in despite of the recession period which took place from 1992-1996 due to the collapse of the bubble economy in Japan. What this figure makes us realize is that there must be another reason that led to the high level of satisfaction other than the growth of GNP per capita. However, the increase in income level is surely a basis for material happiness, because income determines the range of a





(Source) Based on data collected by the Cabinet Office, "Monthly Opinion Survey"

person's disposable purchasing power. This point will be discussed more later. Judging from the above, it is possible to conclude that when people receive an income lower than the standard level needed to guarantee their basic needs, they certainly feel unhappy. Yet the above phenomenon shows that it is possible to ascertain that there is a higher degree of satisfaction about life in Japan from the 1980's to 1990's combined with domestic peace and other related factors.

Secondly, let us consider what the necessary conditions for happiness are. Happiness can be measured on a material (objective) level and on a spiritual (subjective) level.

The material level refers to the basic human needs which are the fundamental for supporting basic human social activities such as having enough clothes, food, habitat, education, health care and employment, etc. as previously indicated. The standard of living may differ from one country to another according to the degree of social development. However when people's lives do not meet this standard, they are in a situation of absolute poverty and the conditions for happiness are not guaranteed. In this situation, each country may set up a different standard of income that is below the BHN level and call this standard the 'poverty line'. The government can implement

certain welfare policies to offer support to those whose income is below this line. In the case that income level does not meet the BHN standard, it may be called 'income poverty'.

Happiness, on a spiritual level, means the well-being of human beings. That is, it refers to self-reliance and a self-fulfilling of life. In this respect, it may have a close connection with the social relationship and the degree of human-rights being strengthened in society. Even if it is a fact that the income level may exert a strong impact on the measure of happiness, it is by no means the sole factor.

The reasons that there was a higher degree of happiness in Japan after World War II might be perceived in this way: Firstly, there was radical democratization conducted under the rule of the Allied armies. The democratization was achieved through redistribution of wealth and income which replaced the Zaibatsu (huge business conglomerates) and big landlords, as well as the guarantee of labor rights. The redistribution of wealth has a particularly strong connection with the sense of sufficiency. Secondly, on the basis of the enlarged domestic market where there is no distinct discrepancy between urban and rural life, the mass production and mass consumption life style prevailed: every household has a color TV, refrigerator, automobile, etc. that is why it is said that "90% of Japanese would consider themselves middle class". Thus, the gap between different social classes was not so deep and almost everybody realized the same level of income, the same level of education and the same standard of life. These are considered to be the basic reasons for the sense of happiness on a spiritual level. It is possible to say that the above reasons enhanced the high level of satisfaction of Japanese both on a material and on a spiritual level.

On the other hand, the sense of poverty that has its root in the socio-economical disparity, or a domination-dependency situation from power relation in the social structure, can be called 'relative poverty' or 'deprivation'. On many occasions, it is related to the spiritual sense of poverty. This type of poverty can be called 'human deprivation' as opposed to income poverty. The previously mentioned social participation and respect of human rights are important approaches in realizing spiritual happiness and overcoming human deprivation. Yet, these approaches to domestic peace including democratization, social participation, human rights, equal distribution of wealth, etc. should by no means be solely measured by income level. Instead, various social indices should be designed and applied to measure spiritual sufficiency.

A further clarification is that unchangeable and changeable levels of happiness occur according to the different stages of human and social development.

For example, BHN is a primary factor in guaranteeing happiness based on the

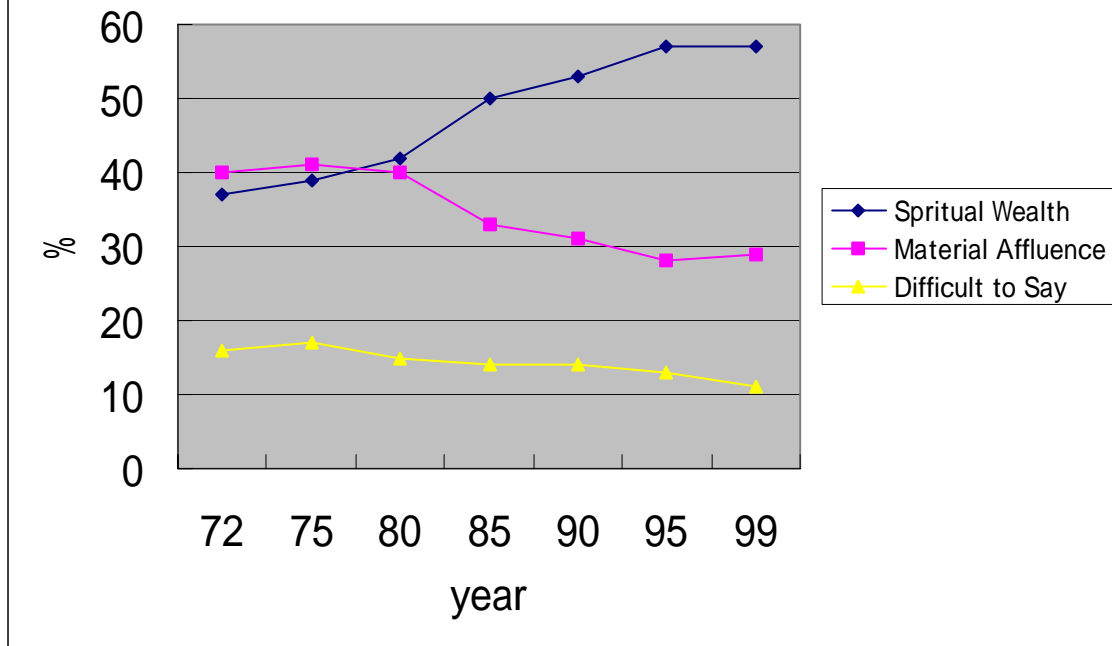
conditions of human subsistence. The standard may change from one socio-economic development level to another, yet well-being, and the premises for realizing happiness and overcoming relative poverty, may vary over time.

Like Figure 1, Figure 2 is also a public opinion survey taken of Japanese citizens from 1972-1999 i.e. over a period of 27 years showing the evolution of answers to the question: “On which of the following would you place the more weight? Spiritual wealth or material affluence?”

In the 1970’s an opinion poll conducted by the Prime Minister’s Office showed that over 40% of the people “put more weight on material affluence”. Each time there were more people who considered “spiritual abundance” to be more important. However, from 1977 to 1978 a reverse trend appeared for the first time. From this time on more people responded that they put more weight on “spiritual wealth”. Further, in the year 1999, almost 6 out of 10 people i.e. 57% of those answering the survey responded that they valued “the spiritual wealth” more. Only 29% – less than 30% of people kept with the answer “material affluence”. Even the percentage of people who were undecided and answered “difficult to say” decreased from 20% to 10% during that period. The result shows that Japan has shifted into a new era that places greater value on “spiritual wealth” in that two out of three Japanese responded in this way.

The result also reflected that the top-down pull of GNP growth development guided by the Japanese leadership composed of the government and the business world, had come to an end. There is a desire from the Japanese people for a society which places greater value on quality development through the pursuit of “spiritual wealth”. In other words, it means that a new era has begun in Japan which places its development foundation on “the quality of life”, i.e. it is an era which takes into account people’s well-being rather than the pursuit of GNP (material growth), reactivating democracy and decentralization, redistribution of social opportunities, participation from all sectors of society including women and others, and the symbiotic relationship with the environment.

Figure2: On which of the following would you place more weight? Spiritual wealth or material affluence?



(Source) Same as Figure 1

In the 1990's, with the advance of the globalization of the world economy, the disparity between the rich and the poor, genders, and ethnicities has increased and both absolute poverty and human deprivation is on the constant increase. In a world like this, even the so-called rich countries are not in a situation to be able to say that they are 'happy' because of the constantly growing threat of terrorism and uncertainty. Out of insecurity they expand their armament, and their choices seem to be increasingly narrow due to their emphasis on conserving the status-quo. Under the circumstances of the stifling world system, many areas in Asia and Japan, are trying to look for some outlet. One attempt is their search for new regional order, including the constitution of the "East Asia Economic Zone." Another is related to democratization and decentralization that they have been pursuing since the 1990s. The latter move is related to people's desire to satisfy their spiritual welfare based on the pursuit of happiness through the approaches of endogenous development which are formulated by the dynamism from within. In the last part of this article, we will deal with how this endogenous development took steps to introduce several ways of bringing into reality happiness by the pursuit of spiritual wealth.

### 3 The Way to Create Inner-Happiness

We will analyze, according to Asian experience, the above-mentioned movement to create spiritual wealth and inner-happiness through the following five items: (1) creating peace, (2) promoting democracy and people's participation, (3) respecting different and diverse cultures, (4) forming a cooperative solidarity society, and (5) promoting co-existence with the environment.

#### (1) Creating peace

In the Occident, people have understood peace as "the absence of war," as was indicated in the saying of the "Pax Romana." However, in Asia, external peace has always been interpreted as being associated with inner peace.

The Dalai Lama expressed this fact in his preaching as follows: "Peace starts from within our mind".<sup>11</sup> The relationship between peace and spiritual wealth in Buddhism was explained by Maha Gosananda of Cambodia in his "Prayers of Smile" (1997).<sup>12</sup>

The essence of Buddhism which indicated the way in which people can be liberated from unhappiness and trouble was clearly and concisely explained by Maha Gosananda as follows: Why is a human-being unhappy (poor)? This is because he/she is captured by greed. We have to be awakened to the law of truth (dharma) revealed by Buddha: we have to have wisdom to understand this law and to live in compassion and kindness (metta) which is common to all living creatures as well as to make a firm decision to live liberated from all inner sufferings and troubles. The way is to liberate oneself from insistence and to live in freedom and peace.

Maha Gosananda and his disciples organized a march for the law of truth (dhammayātra) in war-stricken Cambodia where people were divided by hate and oppression, through which they promoted a movement of mutual comprehension and reconciliation in order to construct a lasting peace in this country.

The Dalai Lama and other Buddhists indicated that the way of spiritual happiness is in the freedom of the mind. The same principle was suggested by Mahatma Gandhi who had Hindu tradition as one of his intellectual roots. Gandhi is one of the first social philosophers who pointed out that peace is rooted in spiritual independence, i.e. swalaji. Those who wish to enter into the ashram that Gandhi founded for the realization of "satyagrahā" (grasp the truth; live in non-violence) swear the following vows: (1) love other people (ahimsā, love, non-violence), (2) do not steal, (3) do not make illicit love, (4) do not insist on material possessions (non-possession), (5) do not hesitate to do physical labor, (6) suppress desire, (7) do not fear other people, (8) respect all kinds of religion, (9) practice swadeshi (self sufficiency), and (10) do not accept caste

discrimination. These principles differ considerably from the human rights notions based on the contractual society of Judeo-Christian tradition. However, they can be said to have indicated the way of the realization the based on traditional Asian wisdom.<sup>13</sup> The Gandhian ashrams and NPOs as well as the movement of environmental conservation such as Chipko have spread all over India today. This is in contrast to the developmental dictatorship which promotes capital accumulation from above and the hindu nationalism of the BJP, which promotes intolerance, nuclear development and Chauvinism.

## **(2) Promoting democracy and people's participation**

In the 1970-80s, Asian (East and Southeast Asian) countries promoted economic growth in order to catch-up with developed countries under the development-oriented dictatorial regime. However, in 1987-88, first in South Korea and then in the Philippines, a large-scale democratization movement based on the people's movement took place. In South Korea, under the Lo Teu regime, the revision of the development-oriented dictatorship was initiated, which paved the way for the civil government through large-scale demonstrations by the people in 1992. In the Philippines, the people's power expelled the Marcos family dictatorship ("EDSA revolution"), which led to the establishment of Mrs. Akino's government. In Thailand, in 1992, the uprising of citizens in Bangkok caused the collapse of the military regime which had vigorously pushed development (pattanā) from above. The newly formed civil government proceeded to establish a New Constitution which was officially instituted in 1997. This Constitution, for the first time in Thai history, was formed with the participation of citizens and which includes innovative clauses such as the direct election of senators, the conservation of natural resources, and the independent Human Rights Commission, etc. The social forces which had promoted this New Constitution included the urban middle class which had increased considerably due to industrialization, as well as grass-root people's organizations such as the Assembly of the Poor which was borne out of the opposition movement against the Pakmun dam construction. These different social forces gathered and constituted the agents for democratization and people's participation in politics.

Furthermore, in Indonesia the developmentalist ("pembangunan") Suharto regime which lasted for 32 years, collapsed in May 1998 and the new government coalition based on Islamic and democratic parties attempted to form a country of democratization and decentralization. In the Philippines also decentralization constitutes one of the pillars of the post-developmental regime.

The revision of the development-oriented regime as well as the people's

participation in politics constitutes also a new trend in localities in Japan where development has been promoted under the auspices of the central government. The new trend is visible, for example, in the revision of dam construction projects in Nagano prefecture, the elimination of obsolete dams in Kumamoto prefecture, the people's veto against the construction project of the proposed nuclear electricity plant in Niigata prefecture, the people's veto against the proposed industrial wastes disposal plant in Gifu prefecture, etc.

### **(3) Respect of different and diverse cultures**

Asia is a region that developed and prospered in the basins of major rivers, long distance trade, civilizations and five major religions. These religions often tried to realize the coexistence of different cultural and ethnic groups, while emphasizing its own identity. The Gandhara civilization in central Asia is well known to have integrated the style of art of ancient Greece and Buddhism; the Decan civilization on the central Indian sub-Continent shows the coexistence of Asians and black Drawida people. However, through long lasting Empire domination (in China and India) and the colonization of Asia by the Occident, the divide and rule policy of dominant people over various ethnic groups, and the tyrannical domination of minorities have become prevalent features in many regions. The national culture itself has strengthened patriarchy under the tyranny and domination of the ruling imperial and colonial powers. Buddhism, Hindu and Islamic religions all have reinforced certain aspects of gender discrimination.

However, in recent years, in the progressing move towards globalization, people's desire for identity has been considerably strengthened and we deserve the revival of traditional culture in various forms.

One aspect of revival can be seen in the rise of fundamentalism as a reaction against modern materialistic civilization. Iman Khomeini said: "Even if they walk on the moon's surface and circulate the milky way, if they cannot resolve the problems of the mind, to what end will these serve?"<sup>14</sup> And we have to admit that no small number of people sympathize with this type of radical thought. However, fundamentalism might easily degenerate into patriarchy or chauvinism as previously discussed and produce another type of domination and / or discrimination of the strong who seeks only his own satisfaction. This situation is far from the happiness of the majority of people.

However, today's revival of tradition is related to a much wider range of things than political fundamentalism. It is related to the revival of language, culture, arts and various traditional jobs. One such aspect concerns the names of places. In India for example, the names given to cities under British rule have recently been suspended

and old names have been revived, such as in the case of Bombay which has reverted to the name Mumbai and Madras to Chiengnai. In Thailand, the tradition of hand-weaving clothes has been revived in villages recently and naturally produced ancient golden silk clothes are being reproduced with the help of Japanese technology. In Cambodia, the traditional palace dance, which was once destroyed under the Pol Pot regime, has been revived at the National Theatre School after the immense effort and cooperation of the people concerned.

In Australia, we can observe the progress of multiculturalism. With the weakening of commonwealth ties, this country has revoked the traditional “White Australianism” and made efforts to receive Asian immigrants, including refugees from Vietnam, and set up public multi-linguistic and multi-cultural education opportunities, broadcast the opening up of civil servants’ jobs to non-native speakers of English, and made efforts to aborigine culture, etc. However, under the actual Howard Liberal Party government, some segments of the population started to publicly show prejudice towards the increase of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. In Japan, the decision to promote Ainu culture was adopted in the Diet in 1998. Japan should proceed to further promote Korean and Chinese ethnic culture since they make up a substantial proportion of the population.

Some parts of Asia have for a long time been divided under the Cold-war regime. In this region, however, with the restoration of confidence in traditional culture, such ideals as national reconciliation that have taken place in the Republic of South Africa and Guatemala, as well as the respect of multiculturalism, need to be further progressed.<sup>15</sup> We have to point out at the same time, that these revived traditional cultures are not only limited to that of “classical” culture, but it is related also to the rise of “hybrid” culture such as Bali culture or Okinawa-island songs sung by mixed blood singers. This hybrid culture has been birthed through the contact with Western peripheral culture. Today’s Asia can be seen as the Genesis period of the creation of original multi-culturalism based on traditional and ethnological culture which is in contact with global culture.

#### **(4) Creating a cooperative society based on the principles of solidarity**

What is important in creating “spiritual wealth” is for a society to diminish conflict or opposition among its composing members. In all the social systems that have been created until to date - be they the capitalist or the centralized socialist system - hate and conflicts of interest could not be avoided. In the capitalist system, there existed basic conflicts of interest between capitalists and landowners on the one hand, and workers who provide the manpower for the capitalists on the other hand. The state



served to attenuate these conflicts of interest to a certain extent by applying social policy. However, in the age of globalization when state power has been weakened, the integration of various national strata is no easy task. In the centralized planning system, there is profound opposition between the political party bureaucrat elites who seize the state power and consequently govern the masses in terms of the distribution of benefits deriving from the centralization of power. This becomes an oppressive regime for the people.

The cooperative economy is where free men associate with one another on an equal basis, trying to minimize conflicts of interest and working together for the sake of the common purpose, disregarding small differences. This is the process in which participating members acquire much more freedom. The importance of such an economic system was already shown by Robert Owen, William Thompson and other theorists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And, we have to note that, in recent years, more and more people worldwide have been subscribing to such a cooperative economic system. In Japan, the Seikatsu Club Cooperative movement, which has been developing various types of cooperatives not limited to consumer's cooperation and which develops activities such as recycling goods, caring for aged people in the community, political representation, and international cooperation, etc. and received Right Livelihood Award in 1989, is one of the rising new systems of cooperation.<sup>16</sup> The development of such cooperative movements is also visible in other Asian countries.

The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is an NPO which organizes the lower class women in the informal sector, was set up in 1972 by a Gandhian lawyer Ila Bhat. This organization groups 320,000 members into cooperatives, including vendors, small artisans and traders, domestic and daily waged workers, agricultural workers, etc. be they of Hindu, Islamic or other confessions. Many of its members belong to the lower castes of society, earning petty and instable incomes. This organization provides them with legal advice, consultation regarding occupations and business, microfinance, vocational and technical training, care services, etc. Its training includes overcoming discrimination and prejudice, acquisition of self-esteem, empowerment, health care, etc. It thus helps grass-roots women of vulnerable social position to be self-reliant on the basis of mutual help and encouragement.<sup>17</sup> I myself visited this organization in 1995 and 2003. What I was most impressed with, in assisting in a SEWA training seminar, is that their meeting starts with simple exercises, such as stretching their arms. Women are oppressed in this world system and their mind is shrunk together with their bodies. Therefore, their meeting starts with body stretches. On this basis, their mind can be opened. Then, through group discussion, they discover a wider range of possible choices for their behavior. I found out that this practice aims at realizing spiritual

happiness which does not necessarily depend on material wealth. This realization of spiritual happiness is made through inner ties with her counterparts in community life, enlarging her scope of world views as well as range of her activities.

In Thailand, the so-called development monks work for grass-root village development, criticizing the development policy (Pattana) from above conducted by government's big business and TNCs, which is based on marketization and which promotes emigration from rural areas to Bangkok, bringing materialistic values into the village. They advocate instead development based on enlightenment (pavana), emphasizing spiritual values in development. Their activities extend from conservation of forestry, reforestation, creation of rice and buffalo banks, organic and integrated farming, literacy movement, encouragement of artisanery, to the direct sales of agricultural products to consumers in Bangkok and overseas (Switzerland, the Netherlands and Japan), etc.<sup>18</sup> Based on the temple, the villagers develop their economic and conservation activities jointly. Some villages proceeded even to create local currencies<sup>19</sup>, trying to activate inner transactions.<sup>20</sup>

#### **(5) To conserve nature and to co-exist with it**

In Asian countries, the environment has deteriorated rapidly in these decades of high economic growth. We have observed many aspects of environmental deterioration such as the diminishment of forest area, loss of biodiversity, desertification, abnormal weather, increasing disasters, pollutions, deterioration of the urban environment, and the destruction of the ecological system, etc.<sup>21</sup>

However, in this deteriorating environment, people have developed conservation efforts considerably. As previously mentioned, development monks in Thailand reminded the villagers of the Buddhist wisdom "in diminishing greed, we can know how we could be satisfied with having our basic needs fulfilled." In this country, with the high economic growth, the rural exodus of people has been accompanied by deforestation, desertification and frequent drought. However, these monks have encouraged people to reforest, providing the latter with baby trees, declaring forests sacred by exhibiting their yellow clothes at the forest entrance, and exhorting villagers not to fish excessively in order to protect biodiversity, etc. We can easily identify the villages where they work from a distance, since these villages are mostly covered by green in the midst of the dry and desertificated land of the North and Northeast. At the entrance of the neighborhood forest, we can see yellow monks' habits which are hung on the trees and which indicate that the forest is a sacred place and nobody is allowed to cut down those trees. In the river too, some temples fix the area where

fishing is forbidden in order to avoid the extinction of the fish.

On the Negros island in the Philippines, the workers and small farmers who traditionally worked on the sugar plantations, started to practice organic, composite and recycling farming, combining agriculture and husbandry. They set up a center for compost fertilizers and tried to revive the soil which had become unproductive due to long years of sugarcane mono-cultural farming. Their products have much diversified. They export organic bananas directly to Japan through cooperative channels. In recent years, they started a new work of recycling urban waste, a part of which is used to fertilize their manufacturing and a part of which is recycled in some form or another. Thus their business is reorganizing traditional vertical division between city and countryside, paving the way to form a new regional community where resources are recycled and reused.<sup>22</sup>

In China, with fast modernization and economic growth, we have been observing rapid deterioration of the ecological system: now almost every year, the Yantzi river experiences flooding in the summer, causing huge sacrifices among inhabitants. Also, we know that yellow sand started to drop massively in Japan in March-April. The former is a previously unknown phenomenon which indicates progressive desertification in the Erdos Plateau and Gobi deserts and neighboring areas. However, in some areas inhabitants practice "Ecological Agriculture". That is where agriculture, forestry, husbandry, fishing are combined and with the active participation of inhabitants methane energy production is realized as well as organic farming. In these areas, the ratio of forestry area was restored to 25-35% which substantially surpassed the average ratio of 10-15% in China. These areas come close to the description in ancient poetry of "In every season, the land is covered by green".<sup>23</sup> All these examples indicate that the cooperative efforts of mankind might be able to halt the worsening of the environment and the ecological system and even restore the latter. In recent years, the terminology "environment revival" came into use in Japan in environmental science. This area seems to have constituted a new dimension ready to be further explored.<sup>24</sup>

To this point, we have examined the people's move to pursue spiritual fulfillment (well-being), i.e., the move to pursue happiness which is not necessarily based on material wealth, by analyzing the creation of inner peace, democratization and participation, respect of diverse cultures, non-profit and cooperative social organizations and people's efforts to coexist with the environment which is actually moving toward environment revival. In the high growth period, the Japanese were convinced that the increase of material wealth means wellbeing and pursued that value exclusively. In that period, people believed that they were "advanced" in comparison to

other Asian nations and were in a position of being able to teach their neighbors. However today, people's value system has been greatly modified. We have to recognize that, in the pursuit of spiritual fulfillment, as well as in the pursuit of the reform of the state-centered developmentalist system, which was prevalent in the high growth period, the Asian nations are actually preceding to the Japanese. The new age of qualitative development of society signifies also the age when the Japanese learn from Asian experiences.

## **Conclusion**

In the modern age, the notions of development and happiness emerged as ideas justifying the system of capital accumulation which constituted the very motive of the modern world system. Development was conceived as the policy to realize human happiness by realizing material wealth, where happiness was firstly associated with material wealth.

However, the anticipated harmony between self-interest and sympathy has not necessarily been achieved within the progress of the system. On the contrary, the system has produced various gaps, such as rich - poor, gender, ethnic groups, etc., as one of its main and inseparable characteristics. In today's world, even "rich" nations cannot sleep soundly, fearing terrorism or health risk which are the result of mass-poverty, environmental deterioration, newly transmitted diseases, ethnic conflicts, and the danger of war, etc.

In addition, we might point out that people's value system has changed with the achievement of basic needs such as nutrition, clothes, shelter, education, and basic health etc., which has altered their concern from material wealth to spiritual wealth. This seems to be the trend in today's society. We can see the same phenomenon in Japan. The pursuit of happiness through spiritual wealth cannot necessarily be explained by the traditional occidental type of individualism based on the maximization of individual utility. Thus, we can identify the reasons why, in peripheral areas of the world system, there has arisen concern for creating new society based on the revival of traditional values such as inner peace, democracy and people's participation, respect for various cultures, cooperative and non - profit oriented economy, and coexistence with the environment and the revival of the latter, etc. These traditional values have survived and developed in certain parts of the world where the system's capacity for integration is weak and where people have been looking for basic values to criticize the actual trend of the materialist civilization. At the United Nations forums and in its system of inputs through NGOs and civil society, people's desire and effort based on these new concerns to search for spiritual wealth

have appeared, on a global level, as new motives for forming global governance related to population, natural resources, food, human rights, the environment etc. Further, they have appeared as the main motives to reform the centralized state system, which had constituted the basis of the world system aiming at capital accumulation. At the same time, at local level, they have appeared as the promoters of decentralization for marginalized localities and regions in that system based on the centralized nation state system.

The people's movement in Asia and other parts of the world which emphasizes spiritual wealth is accompanied by a change in their value system as regards the contents of happiness, i.e., from that of the modern value system which desires basic happiness to be the constant and increasing accumulation of material wealth to that of post - modern one which aims to realize inner freedom and people's solidarity as the basis of our happiness. We believe that this will be one of the basic value systems of the twenty - first century.

However, in order that this new value system for achieving happiness may gain support, two conditions need to be met.

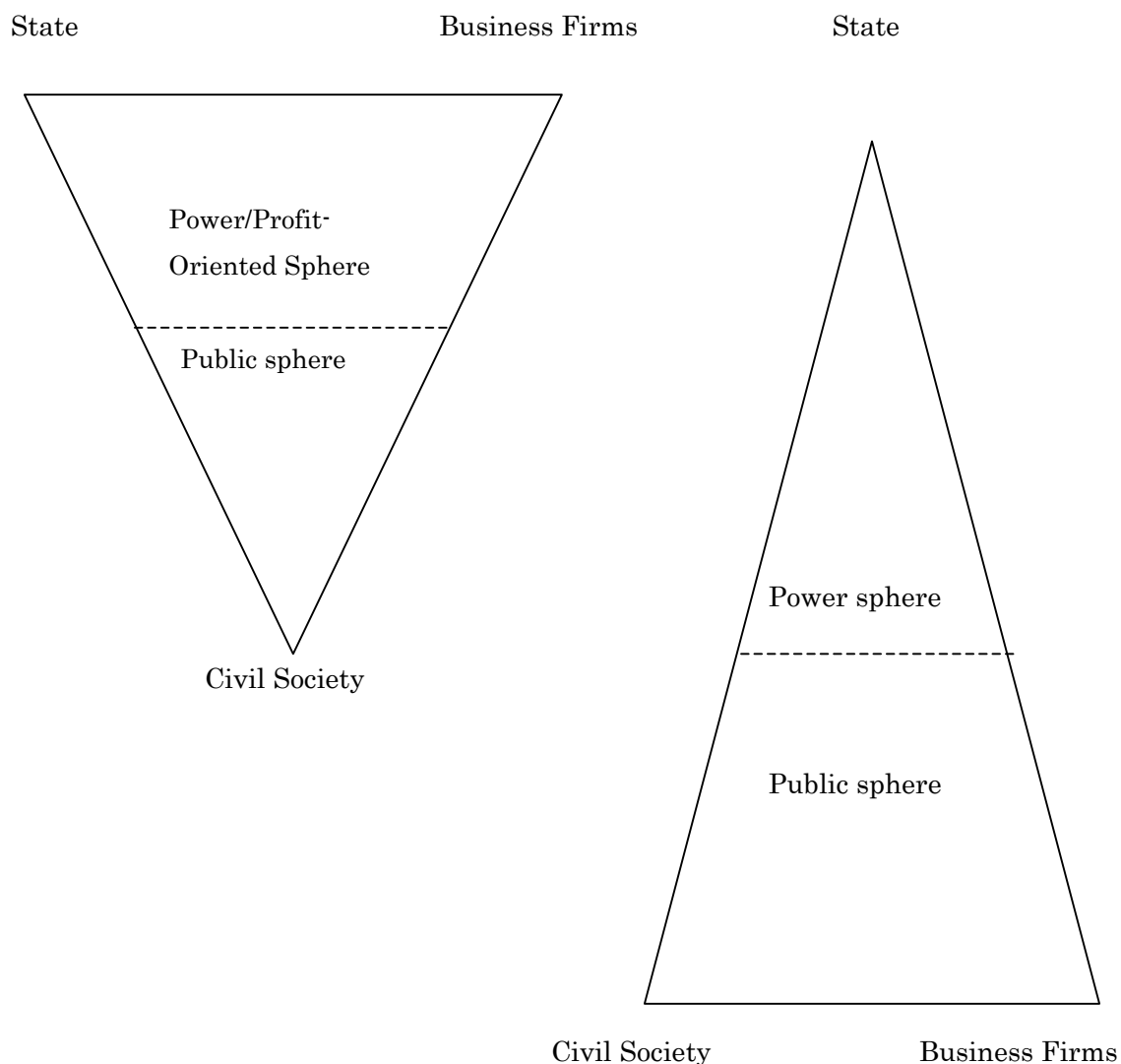
Firstly, in the developmentalist regime that we have had until today, state and business enterprise are the agents of development. These two actors have monopolized the public sphere through power and profit orientation. The civil society originally appeared as the agent of the modern world system. However, it conceded the role of system agent to the state and business enterprise. The civil society rather colluded itself to these agents and lessened its own existence in the process of development. Yet, as we have seen in Asian countries, in the restructuring of the developmentalist regime, civil society has been emerging as its principal agent. The participation of civil society as the agent of social development has enlarged the public sphere. It accelerated at the same rate as social transformation through non - profit activities and volunteership, widening the range of free choices for each citizen. The qualitative development of society based on the participation of citizens in state governance constituted the necessary condition for increasing spiritual wealth. Figure 3 shows the evolution of the development regime. Figure 3A indicates modern system led by the state and business enterprise. The proportion of state and market differs according to the country. For example, in the case of England, the share of market is wider, while Japan and Germany show that the weight of the state is much larger, and the domination of the coalition of politicians, bureaucrats and business world is evident. However, in the capital accumulation process, it is rather normal that the power and profit sphere are strongly connected, which helps to regulate the public sphere. Naturally, the proportion of the public sphere, in which citizens participate as its

indispensable actor, differs widely according to place and time. Figure 3A shows how, in the modern capital accumulation system, the power and profit-oriented sphere has controlled the public sphere. Whereas, Figure 3B indicates the situation in which civil society appeared as the new agent of social development and spiritual wealth, enlarging the public sphere, regulating the power sphere of the state. This is also the situation of endogenous development and democratization under the globalization that we have seen in Asia and other countries.<sup>25</sup> In this situation, the profit - oriented sphere pursued by business enterprise appears as a part of the public sphere promoted by civil society.

Secondly, together with the shift of the notion of wealth and happiness from material value to spiritual value, we have to ask ourselves, what will be the new objective of life. In the modern capitalist system, the objective was the accumulation of capital and constant strengthening of material productivity. However, today, the sustainability of this system has been questioned by mass poverty and environmental deterioration produced by the system, and it is time to ask where we have to set our new objective of life. In this connection, it is interesting to see the ideal of life that the People's Republic of China has set: "small happiness" ("shao-kang"). This notion is based on the ideal of peaceful life in ancient China as indicated by Confucius in "On the Conducts of Ideal Man" compiled by his disciples.<sup>26</sup> According to this book, in the age of Da-tong (all gather together), when peace reigns, the world belongs to everyone (the world) and where there are neither idle resources nor monopolies. Aged people finish their life in tranquility. Active people work sufficiently, and children grow without hindrance. Orphans and disabled people live without hardship. People do not cheat other people for their own desire and profit. They neither steal nor use violence. Therefore, no-one fears anyone. That is why, no family needs to lock their house doors. If politics are conducted well, we will see the world of small happiness realized, if not that of da-tong. The Chinese government set the state of small happiness as the objective of modernization: according to this ideal, everyone and every family should realize the minimum conditions of cultural life, where people's security and safety of property are guaranteed.<sup>27</sup> This notion corresponds to the Buddhist notion of the "middle way", where people neither do not profiteer, nor suffer from starvation. Everyone's basic human needs are satisfied and lives in the condition of mutual harmony.<sup>28</sup> If one does not profiteer, it is not necessary to dominate over other people. Therefore, no-one need fear anyone. If we look at today's United States the wealthiest and strongest nation in the world, we can see people's fear of others, which results in many people possessing arms, and the government's rush in the armament race has led this country into the multiplication of crimes in the society as well as to the global destruction of the

**A State/Market - Centered Modern System** (Development is conducted from above by politicians-bureaucrats-business world)

**B Endogenous Development Social System**



**Figure 3 The evolution of development system**

environment. In the U.S., the huge material wealth and impressive military strength led neither to spiritual tranquility nor to national security. If we take into account this example of counter teaching, we believe that it is worth assimilating the Asian wisdom that we have examined.

China revived the notion of “small happiness” in the contemporary period. In fact, if the more than five billion people in the developing countries, not to mention the case

of China, each pursued the standard of living of today's developed countries, what will happen to the resources, food and environmental problems in the world? If we consider this crucial question, we can understand the importance of the notion of "small happiness" in our efforts towards creating a peaceful world order. Of course, this remark does not pretend that we, in the developed North, should maintain our extravagant life style. On the contrary, we should revise our own life style, which supports the mass-production and mass-consumption systems, taking into account the basic needs of the majority of people in the world.

This idea of "small happiness" can also be called a "BHN principle". We have to associate this principle of life with the enlargement of the public sphere, as we previously examined. This entails the enlargement of each individual's free choices based on the participation of the civil society in the development process. This new principle of human behavior will undoubtedly constitute the motive for the new non-material wealth in coming decades. We have to note that we have a lot to learn from Asian wisdom in our pursuit of new wealth and happiness.

#### (ENDNOTES)

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<sup>1</sup> Nishikawa (2000) : chapt.2 (see Bibliography)

<sup>2</sup> Barnhart (1988): "Happiness"

<sup>3</sup> Russell (1930): p.13

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.166

<sup>5</sup> On the gold coin first issued in Geneva city after the Reformation, the script : "post tenebras lux" (After darkness, the light arrived) was engraved. (The coin is conserved at the Historical Museum of Geneva City). The citizens who took over power believed that they were celebrated by light and that the preceding age (the other) was covered by darkness. This particular world view, which was translated in the philosophy of enlightenment, will see Africa as the "dark continent" in the nineteenth century.

<sup>6</sup> David Hume, "Of Commerce", and other essays, in Hume (1777)

<sup>7</sup> Smith (1759): p.41.

<sup>8</sup> Smith (1776): Book , chap. V, p.26

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Introduction and Plan of the Work, p.2, "Among civilized and thriving nations, on the contrary, though a great number of people do not labour at all, many of whom consume the produce of ten times, frequently of a hundred times more labour than the greater part of those who work;"

<sup>10</sup> Nishikawa, Jun (1978), *Keizai Hatten no Riron* (Theories of Economic Development),



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Nihon Hyoron-sha, chap. 11 and 12.

- 11 When asked why Tibetan refugees seem to be happy in the situation of hardship, Dalai Lama pointed out the following: “This is because of the spiritual progress that they have experienced and not because of the material conditions. The main reason why is that they don’t recognize as important the material wealth and comfortable goods that other people are glad to have. We Tibetans, we Buddhists, nurture another sort of sufficiency, that is spiritual sufficiency” (Rinser 1995.)
- 12 Ghosananda (1992). Quoted from the Japanese translation: *Hohoemi no Inori* (The Prayers of Smile), translated by Magome Kumiko and Noda Masato, Shunju-sha, 1997.
- 13 Nishikawa (2001), See its Keywords in the Annex: Mahatma Gandhi.
- 14 Khomeini (1980).
- 15 Mine and Hatanaka (2001).
- 16 Satou Yoshisachi, *NPO to Shimin Shakai*, (NPO and Civil Society), Yuhikaku, 2002.
- 17 Kaita Machiko, “SEWA in North West India”, in Nishikawa (2001): chap.6.
- 18 Nishikawa Jun and Noda Masato (ed.), *Bukkyo, Kaihatsu, NGO* (Buddhism, Development and NGOs), Shinhyoron, 2000.
- 19 Concerning LETs in Japan, refer to Yukari Shigeto, “Local Currencies in Japan”, in *Bulletin of the Societe Franco-Japonaise Economiques, No.24, 2004*.
- 20 Nozu Takashi, “Thai Tohoku no Chiiki Tsuka ( The local currency in the Northeastern Part of Thailand ) ,   
<http://www.geocities.co.jp/CollegeLife-Labo/4932/business.htm>.
- 21 Nihon Kankyo Kaigi (Japanese Forum on Environment), *Azia Kankyo Hakusho* (White Paper on Asian Environment) 2000/01 and 2003, Toyokeizai Shinposha
- 22 Nihon Negros Campaign Iinkai (1998).
- 23 Nishikawa Jun, “Ningen to Kaihatsu” (Human Being and Development), in Yoshida and Miyamoto (2002).
- 24 Nagai Susumu et al. (2002).
- 25 We have an excellent report from China on how women’s NPOs have enlarged the public sphere through their activities, born and developed at the periphery of the power sphere. See Lee Shangan, “The Creation of the Public Sphere”, in Akiyama et al (1999), Chap. 1.
- 26 Confucius, *Reiki* (On Conducts of Ideal Man)(1971): pp.327-329.
- 27 This political objective was originally proposed as one of the national targets of modernization by the late Deng Shao-ping. The P.R. China government has established indices of “small happiness” in the mid-1990s. The indices are divided according to urban and rural areas. For urban areas, some 12 indices are fixed and for rural areas, 16 indices are adopted. According to these indices “small happiness” towns and villages are nominated. In 2002, Jiang, Zhe-ming, General Secretary of

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the CCP at that time, declared constructing “small happiness” society a priority in China until 2020.

<sup>28</sup> It was E.F. Schmacher, who advocated an alternative economy based on the Buddhist thought of the “middle way”. See his *Small is Beautiful* (1973). Intermediate Technology, a British NGO, set up on the basis of his thought, conducts development activities in developing nations.

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