

# Contents

<i>List of Figures, Tables, Boxes and Maps</i>	viii
<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	x
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xi
<i>Map of Japan</i>	xii
<b>1 Introduction: Themes and Debates</b>	<b>1</b>
The mainstream perspective	1
The revisionist approach	3
The culturalist perspective	5
The country and its people	7
Conclusion	14
<b>2 Historical Background</b>	<b>15</b>
The Tokugawa period (1603–1868)	15
The Meiji period (1868–1912)	17
Taisho democracy	22
Imperialism, militarism and war	23
The American Occupation	28
<b>3 The Changing Political Economy</b>	<b>34</b>
The Occupation and after	35
Consolidating growth	38
Savings	43
The developmental state?	44
The structure of Japanese business	47
Busts and booms	58
Accounting for the end of the 'miracle'	64
Conclusion	66

<b>4</b>	<b>Social Structure and Social Policy</b>	<b>70</b>
	Cultural characteristics	70
	Family structure	73
	The urban–rural divide	75
	Women	79
	Minorities	82
	Immigration	84
	Religions	85
	Health and demography	87
	Welfare	88
	Class and inequality	90
	Conclusion	90
<b>5</b>	<b>Governing Structures</b>	<b>92</b>
	Electoral system	92
	The prime minister	94
	The cabinet and the ministries	96
	Local government	100
	The judiciary	103
	Bureaucracy and the bureaucratic-dominance debate	103
	The policy process	108
	Conclusion	112
<b>6</b>	<b>Political Society: Parties and Opposition</b>	<b>113</b>
	The nature of the LDP	114
	Accounting for LDP dominance	118
	The high cost of electoral politics	120
	The politics of construction	126
	Reforming party funding	127
	Opposition parties: fragmentation and the quest for credibility	128
	Other opposition parties	132
	The labour movement	134
	The end of LDP rule in 1993	135
	Why did the LDP lose power?	138
	Changes in domestic politics and political economy	140
	Japanese politics after 1993: the second party system	142
	An emerging two-party system?	145
	Conclusion	149



<b>7</b>	<b>Socialization and Civil Society</b>	<b>151</b>
	Sources of socialization and social control	151
	Policing and the criminal justice system	159
	Forms of social organization and participation	166
	Contrasting perspectives on Japanese civil society	178
<b>8</b>	<b>Japan's External Relations</b>	<b>180</b>
	Japan's self-defence forces and the US–Japan alliance	181
	Japan and Asia	189
	Japan and China	194
	Japan and North Korea	197
	Aid policy	198
	Trade and investment	201
	Internationalization	204
	Other key relationships	205
	Japan and the war on terrorism	205
	Conclusion	207
<b>9</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>209</b>
	Interpreting Japan	215
	Conclusion	217
	<i>Recommended Reading</i>	219
	<i>Japan on the Internet</i>	222
	<i>Bibliography</i>	223
	<i>Index</i>	234



# List of Figures, Tables, Boxes and Maps

## Figures

1.1	Population density (2000)	9
3.1	Employed persons by industry (2002)	41
3.2	Annual working hours (manufacturing industry, 1999)	55
3.3	Days lost through industrial action in major countries	57
3.4	Japan's real economic growth rate (1983–2002)	60
3.5	GDP per capita (based on purchasing power parities, 2001)	61
5.1	Japanese government organization	98
6.1	House of Representatives election results for the LDP and SDP, 1958–2000	129
8.1	Japan's principal exports and imports by country	202

## Tables

3.1	Japan's top 10 commodities of exports and imports (1991 and 2001)	42
3.2	Net household saving as a percentage of disposable household income	43
4.1	Share of people aged 65 and over in total population	88
4.2	Standardized unemployment rates	89
6.1	Strength of political groups in the House of Representatives, 2000–3	146
7.1	Circulation of Japan's major national newspapers (1996)	167
8.1	Defence expenditure and military power	187
8.2	Geographical distribution of Japan's bilateral overseas development aid	199
9.1	Net profits for the current period in major industries	212
9.2	Suspension of business transactions with banks and bankruptcies	212

## Boxes

1.1	Key facts about Japan	8
2.1	Key dates in modern Japanese history	18
2.2	Hirohito (1901–89): the controversial Emperor	26
2.3	General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964)	29
3.1	Shigeru Yoshida (1878–1967)	38
4.1	Key social facts about Japan	76
5.1	Japanese prime ministers in the postwar period	95
6.1	Kakuei Tanaka (1918–93)	123
6.2	Takako Doi (born 1928)	131
6.3	Ichiro Ozawa (born 1942)	136

## Maps

Map of Japan	xii
8.1 Japan in Pacific Asia	181



# Index

- abductions, North Korean 197
- abortion 79, 80, 111
- administrative guidance 44, 104, 110
- Administrative Service I 103
- administrative structure, national 21
- administrative system, reform 117
- Afghanistan, American assault on 205
- Africa 198
- ageing society 43, 59, 88, 91
- agricultural output 37
- 'aid-doubling' plans 198
- aid policy 198
- Ainu 82, 83
- air traffic controllers 103
- airspace, Japanese 185
- 'alien registration' 83
- alienation 212
- Al-Qaeda 205
- 'alternate residence' 16
- amakudari* (descent from heaven) 106, 145
- American bases, public support for reduction 188
- American bombing 35, 209
- American security umbrella 193
- Americans, arrival in Japan 17
- Anpo 176, 210
- Anglo-American model, economic 49, 63, 65
- Anglo-American model, education system 158
- Anglo-American style two-party system 114, 116
- anti-LDP 102, 114, 128, 131, 143, 148, 213, 214
- anti-terrorism legislation (2001) 206
- art galleries 101
- artworks 12
- Asahi media group 49, 166, 168
- ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) 191
  - cooperation with Japan in intelligence gathering 193
  - countries 192
  - Japanese aid to 191
  - Japanese share of foreign investment in 192
  - plus China 200
- Asia 9, 13, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 180, 181, 184, 189–94
- Asia–Europe Summit Meeting (ASEM) 205
- 'Asian capitalism' 46
- 'Asian' crisis fund 194
- Asian currency crisis 208
- Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 203, 204
- Asia-Pacific region 181, 184, 193
- Asia-Pacific region, Japan economic dominance 209
- atom bomb 24, 27
- Aum Shinrikyo gas attacks 212
- Aum Shinrikyo terrorist group 87
- Australia 28, 203
- Australian aborigines 83
- authoritarianism, friendly 91
- automotive engineering 36
- autonomy
  - local 100
  - managerial 47
  - prefectural 78, 92
- bail 163
- balance of power 108
  - among LDP factions 117, 137
- 'bamboo-shoot' lifestyle 28
- Bangkok 13, 192, 205
- Bangladesh, illegal immigrants from 84
- Bank of Japan 48, 61, 64, 100, banking crisis 60, 68, 211
- banking structure 36
- banking system 62, 97
- banking, American-style 20
- bankruptcies 211
- banks, cost of recapitalizing 211
- bargaining 109, 200, 205
- bargaining position of works 37
- baseball 154
- beauty spots 10
- Benedict, Ruth 5
- 'Big Bang' 63
- bilateral defence planning, USA and Japan 188
- birth control 79
- birthrate, falling 43, 88, 212
- 'black ships' 16, 68
- Blueprint for a New Japan 139
- bombing, American 35, 209
- bombing, nuclear 27
- bonus system, impact on savings of 43
- bonuses 43, 54
- bosozoku* (reckless driving tribes) 165
- bosozoku* and *yakuza* similarities 165
- Brazilians, Japanese 84, 85
- bubble era 58, 62, 66, 211
- Buddhism 85, 195
- Buddhist images 12
- Buddhist temples 86
- budget bill, annual 97, 100
- budget system, national government 100
- bullet train *see shinkansen*
- bullying, schools and 155
- Buraku Liberation League 82
- burakumin*, menial occupations of 82
- burakumin*, outcast status of 82–83
- bureaucracies 101
- bureaucracy 21, 22, 31, 96, 97, 101, 107, 208
  - and industrial sector 111
  - Edo 17
  - elite 44, 107
  - as 'economic general staff' 44
  - Meiji period 20
  - restructured in 2001 94, 95, 96, 98–9
  - vis-à-vis* the executive 94
- 'bureaucratic dominance' 103, 107, 108, 109, 117, 124, 137
- bureaucrats and education reform 156
- bureaucrats and power 213
- bureaucrats as 'servants of the people' 97, 100, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 124, 144, 156
- elite 106
- ex- 30, 106
- fast-stream 104
- in late-nineteenth-century 32



- bureaucrats as 'servants of the people' – *continued*  
 'iron triangle', relations  
   between bureaucrats,  
   politician and business  
     ✓ 130, 145, 214  
 Ministry of Construction  
   126  
 retired 145  
 senior 55, 97, 105, 106, 107  
 top 97  
 Tokyo 100  
*vis-à-vis* politicians 44, 137,  
 140, 144
- Cabinet 22, 25, 30, 92, 96, 97,  
 98, 182  
   meetings 96, 97, 105  
   Secretariat 94  
 campaign funding 122  
 Canada 75, 203  
 Canon 48  
 canvassing, door-to-door 94  
 capital goods industries 39  
 capital punishment 161  
 capitalist state, Japan 26  
 car industry, Japanese  
   dominance in Asia 193  
 car manufacturing 201  
 cardiovascular disease 87  
 career choices for women 170  
 'catch-all' party 143, 147, 149  
 'catch up' 20, 35, 67, 116  
   during Meiji period 20  
 'catching up' 24, 151, 210  
 catchment area, schools 158  
 censorship, textbooks and 153  
 centralism, tendency towards  
   216  
 centralization 78, 79  
   ideological 102  
 centralized, education system as  
   152  
 characters, ideogrammatic  
   194  
 checks and balances 151  
 chemicals 47, 48  
 chemical products 36  
 cherry blossoms *see sakura*  
 Chief Secretary of the Cabinet  
   96  
 child rearing 88  
 childcare support 80  
 China 23, 25, 26, 36, 75, 180,  
 181, 189, 194, 196, 208  
   'China boom' 195  
   human rights record of 196  
   illegal immigrants from 84  
   Japan's cultural debt to 194  
   resurgence of 68, 196, 208  
 'Chinatown' areas, Kobe and  
   Yokohama 84  
 Chinese culture 194, 195  
 Chinese in Japan 84  
 Chinese Revolution 195  
 Chisso Corporation 171  
 Chongryun (pro-Pyongyang  
   organization) 197  
 chopsticks 194  
 Chubu 40
- chuzai*sho (residential police  
 boxes) 161  
 cigarette smoking by young  
   women 87  
 'circles of compensation' 111  
 circumvention of party funding  
   rules 127  
 cities 9, 10, 26, 75, 76, 84,  
 130, 147, 179  
 citizens' movements (CMs)  
   101, 170, 172–5  
   and radical protests 170–7  
 civil and social rights 92  
 civil liberties 21, 177  
 civil servants 83, 97, 103,  
   105–7  
 'civil service' *see*  
   Administrative Service  
 civil society 151, 170, 178,  
   214  
 clientelism 46, 140, 213, 214  
 client-oriented politics 72, 110,  
   111  
 club activities 154  
 coalition 173, 178, 183, 213  
 coalition, seven-party 1993–4  
   113, 114, 213  
 Cold War 30, 34, 37, 138, 139,  
   155, 181, 210  
 collectivism 71  
 colleges 153, 157  
 collusion 50, 61, 213  
   between press and politicians  
     167, 168, 169  
 commercial banks 40  
 commercial links between  
   newspapers and TV  
     166–7  
 communists 30, 144, 173  
 communitarian, Japanese society  
   as 162  
 community bloc voting 120,  
   170  
 community groups 101, 170,  
   179  
 community structures 179  
 company unions *see* enterprise  
   unions  
 compliance 151  
 'comprehensive security' policy  
   185  
 'computerized bulldozer',  
   Tanaka nickname 123  
 computer-related technology  
   202  
 computers, hardware and  
   software 156  
 confessions 162  
 conformity 4, 75, 156, 159,  
   165, 179, 214  
   outward 151  
   production education and  
     156  
 Confucian ideas of obligation  
   116  
 Confucianism 195  
 conscription 21, 32, 182  
   prohibition of 182  
 consensus 49, 71, 91, 150,  
   164, 176, 188
- 'consensus articulation' 94  
   obstacle to economic success  
     217  
 conservatism, climate of 1980s  
   130  
 conservative parties 38, 106,  
   130, 136, 165  
 conservative politicians 138  
   *yakuza* and 164, 207  
 conservatives 90, 106, 144  
 consolidating growth 38–43  
 Constantino, Renato 193  
 constituencies 92, 93, 201  
 constituency activism 133  
 'constituency service networks'  
   117  
 Constitution 79, 206, 207  
   of 1889 21, 22, 27, 31  
   of 1947 152, 167, 180, 181,  
     182  
   clause 9 of 156, 186, 206,  
     215  
 constitutions, continuity from  
   1889 to 1947 31–3  
 construction, ideological 80  
 construction, the politics of  
   126–7  
 construction industry 78, 188  
 Construction Ministry 78  
 'construction state' 77, 126,  
   140  
 'construction tribalists' 127  
 consumer demand 37, 39, 42,  
   59  
 consumer electronics 40  
 consumer organizations 111  
 consumerism 77, 179, 212  
 consumption 16, 59  
 contraceptive pill 80, 111  
 contraceptive practice 79  
 'control state', Japan as 165  
 convergence 34, 66, 70, 216  
 cooperation 106  
 core production, shift of 50  
 cormorant fishing, social control  
   analogy with 159  
 corporate governance 64, 65  
 corporate leaders 213  
 corporal punishment, illegal use  
   of, in Japanese education  
     155  
 corruption 2, 4, 78, 122, 214  
 counterbalance, occupation force  
   to militarism 56  
 countryside *see inaka*  
 Court, Supreme 103  
 cram schools *see* juku  
 cramming, importance of 157  
 crime 3, 164, 209  
   juvenile 162  
   organized 84, 164  
   prevention 161, 179, 216;  
     associations,  
     neighbourhood 161  
     rates, low 159, 161, 162,  
     165  
     statistics 160  
 criminal activities of foreign  
   residents 84  
 criminal cases 103, 161, 162



- criminal justice system 162, 179  
 crisis of capitalism 64  
 critical thinking, in education 153, 155  
 Cronin, Richard 192  
 cronyism 213  
 cross shareholding 48, 50  
 cultural aspects of Japanese business 66  
 cultural characteristics 70–73  
 cultural debt to China, Japanese 194  
 cultural interpretations 210  
 cultural norms, economic performance and 34  
 cultural norms and traditions 151  
 culturalist approach 6, 112, 151, 215  
 culturalist view of savings 43  
 culturalists 34, 53  
 currency crisis, Asia 208  
 currency values, Japan 210  
 curriculum, control of school 152  
 customs and shipping duties 100  
 cynicism 124, 177  
  
 Daiichi Kangyo 47  
*daimyo*, land-owning aristocrats 16  
*de facto* political parties, LDP factions as 115  
 de Gaulle, General 38  
 deal-making *see* bargaining  
 decentralization of campaign funding 122  
 decentralization, wholesale 78  
 decision-making processes 55, 109  
 defence 117, 130  
 Defence Agency 96, 185  
 defence capability 182, 183  
 defence, Japan's unique position in 181  
 defence policy 4, 183  
 defence spending 184  
 deference 204  
 demand, consumer 37, 39, 43  
 democracy 'derailed' by radical process 177  
 Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) 143, 144, 145  
 Democratic Party (DP) 127, 134, 144–9  
 'democratic self-government' 29  
 Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) 128, 130, 133, 134, 144  
 democratization 30, 31, 152, 200  
 dependency relationship with USA, redefinition 187  
 depopulation, rural 77  
 deportations 85  
 Depression, the Great 32  
 deregulation, economic 49, 52, 53, 65  
 development, industrial 44, 66, 173  
 'developmental state', Japan as 34, 44–7, 178, 210  
 deviance, political 163  
 diet, Japanese 5, 87  
 Diet (parliament) 30, 55, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 109, 112, 213  
 diplomatic relations, China and Japan 195  
 disciplined, education system as 155, 158, 159, 179  
 discrimination 82, 83, 84, 212  
   against Koreans 83  
   against women 79, 91  
 dissent, neutralization of 110, 158, 179  
 dissident interest 112  
 dissidents, political 160  
 diversification 50, 152  
 divorce 75, 80  
   low rates of 75, 90, 211  
 Dodge, Joseph 31, 36  
 'Dodge Line' 36  
 downsizing 59  
 'dragons' of Southeast Asia 190  
 drugs and prostitution, *yakuza* and 164  
 drugs, industry 48  
 dual candidacies (for Diet) 93  
 dual-income couples 81  
 'dual structure' 50, 52  
 Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) 25  
 'Dutch studies' 16  
 Dutch trading community, Nagasaki 15  
 dynamism, economic 211  
 dynamism of Japanese politics 115  
  
 earthquakes 10  
 East Asian Economic Caucus (EAEC) 203  
 economic and industrial policy, influences on 44, 46, 66  
 'economic animals', Japanese as 38  
 economic development 66, 170, 173  
 economic downturn 89, 111, 214  
 'economic general staff' 44  
 economic giant, Japan as 209  
 economic growth 3, 33, 38, 39, 45, 52, 65, 66, 211  
 economic 'miracle' 34, 36, 44, 64, 66, 156  
   in the 1970s 100  
 economic stimulation 26  
 economic structure, two-tier 36  
 economic superpower 38, 186, 210  
 economic theory, American 45  
 'economism' 38  
  
 economists 51, 61, 134  
 economists, absence of in government 61  
 economy, Japan's 34–69  
 Edo bureaucracy 17  
 education 101, 127, 151–9  
   and culture 101  
   and politics 157–9  
   the dark side of 155  
   Fundamental Law on (1947) 152  
   Imperial rescript on 152  
   level, role in hiring process 53  
   reform of 156  
   role of parents in 153, 156  
   secondary 53, 54, 154  
   stress on egalitarianism and democratization 152  
   system of, Japan 2, 151–7, 178, 179, 214  
 Education, Ministry of 20, 152, 153, 156  
 'education mothers' *see kyoika mama*  
 egalitarianism, post-war education stress on 152  
 elections, mayoral and gubernatorial 102  
 electoral boundaries, rural bias in 119  
 electoral campaigning 94  
 electoral cooperation, formal and informal 128  
 electoral reform 93, 118, 138, 213  
 electrical machinery 48  
 electronics 40, 44, 48, 201  
 elementary schools 153, 157, 158  
 elite 104, 213, 214  
   elite-accommodation politics 110  
   elite ambition 139–40  
   'elite aspirants' 105  
   'elite at large' 105  
   domination of political order 125  
   governance 112, 213  
   level coordination 210, 213  
   mismanagement 214  
   education and 157, 158  
   'elusive state' 104  
 Embree, John 5  
 Emperor 16, 17, 28, 92  
   loyalty to 21, 152  
   Second World War and 27  
   Shinto and 86  
   visit to China (1992) 196  
 employed persons by industry (2002) 41  
 employment and labour 52–6  
 'empty choice' 141  
*endaka* (rise in value of yen) 192  
 engineers 20, 40  
 enlightenment, Japanese 19  
 enterprise unions 56, 57, 58, 134, 135



- entrance exams, school 153, 155–6, 157  
 Environment Agency 103, 173  
 Environment Agency, establishment of 173  
 environmental issues 174, 176, 201, 210  
 environmental policy 102, 174  
 environmental protection 101  
 protest groups 174  
 equality before the law 163  
 'established order' 164, 165  
 Europe 9, 13, 54, 113, 156, 192, 201, 205, 210  
 European Union (EU) 205  
 'excess competition' 49  
 executive power 92, 94, 101  
 export boom, decline in 1990s 59  
 exports 40, 41, 43, 59, 201, 210  
 exports, culture 13  
 extremism, SDPJ and 130  
  
 'facade democracy' 112  
 faction bosses *see* faction leaders  
 faction leaders, LDP 105, 114, 115, 116, 118, 121, 140  
 factional system 115, 122, 130  
 factionalism 122, 140, 149, 213  
 factions *see* *habatsu*  
 falconry, social control analogy with 159  
 Fallows, James 4  
 family registration *see* *koseki*  
 family structure 73–5  
 farmers 77, 111, 119  
 Narita airport and 176, 177  
 farming lobby 119  
 fascism, Germany and Italy 24  
 'fast stream' bureaucrats 104  
 'feeder' high schools to prestigious universities 106, 158  
 female employees, discrimination against 79, 170  
 Fifteen-Year War 23, 24, 36  
 filial piety, emphasis on 21, 152  
 Finance Ministry  
 importance of 45, 100  
 questionable competence of 61, 216  
 financial disclosure of campaign contributions 94  
 financial deregulation 63  
 institutions 63  
 markets 60  
 patronage 114  
 regulators 211  
 sector 60  
 services 62  
 system 63  
*Financial Times* 167  
 fingerprinting of Japanese-born Koreans 83  
 fishing 11  
  
 'flock of geese' metaphor 200  
 foreign advisers, Meiji period 20  
 Foreign Affairs Ministry 96  
 foreign investment, direct 59  
 foreign policy, Japanese 23, 64, 138, 184, 185, 215  
 foreign policy, omnidirectional 139, 192, 193  
 foreign pressure on Japan 35, 201  
 foreign residents 82  
 criminal activities and 84  
 foreign technology, use of 40  
 Forestry and Fisheries Ministry 96  
 Formosa (Taiwan), ceding by China 23  
 fragmentation 118, 128, 144, 149  
 of opposition to LDP 176  
 France 20, 23, 24, 57, 105, 180  
 free press 167  
 'free ride' in defence, Japanese 185  
 freedom of speech and assembly 92  
 freedom, personal 159  
 French education system, inspiration to Japan 152  
 Fuji, bank 35  
 Fuji, company 47  
 Fuji, Mount 7, 10  
 Fuji TV 167  
 Fukuda Doctrine 191, 192  
 Fukuda Doctrine as 'trader's diplomacy' 191–2  
 Fukuda, visit to Southeast Asia, 1977 191  
 Fukuoka 11  
 Fukuzawa, Yukichi 189  
 Fundamental Law on Education (1947) 152  
 funding, campaign 122  
 funding, government 120, 127  
 funerals 121  
*furusato* ('old home towns') 77  
  
*gaiatsu* (foreign pressure) 201  
 GDP growth 58, 60  
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 41  
 general strike 134  
 generalists, academic 152  
 generalists, dominance of post-war governments by 61–2  
 geographical distribution of Japan's bilateral ODA 199  
 George, Aurelia 187  
 German education system, inspiration to Japan 152  
 German-style army 20  
 Germany 20, 23, 24, 190  
 contrasted with Japan 28, 190  
 'giant aircraft carrier', Japan as 185  
 global assertiveness, new 215  
  
 'global information society' 67  
 globalization 46  
 government 60, 61, 77, 93  
 agencies 46, 78, 94, 96  
 debt 59  
 funding 120, 127  
 offices 102  
 organization 98–9  
 governor, prefectural 78, 135  
 grassroots initiative, education and 158  
 'Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Zone' 24  
 'green democracy' 175  
 group harmony *see* *wa*  
 'group model' 5, 81, 160, 164  
 group solidarity 72  
 group-based explanation of Japanese society 71, 176  
 'groupism' 6, 211, 217  
 guest workers in Japan 190  
 'Guidelines for US–Japan Security Defense Cooperation' 188  
 Gulf War 205, 208  
 gun control 160  
  
*habatsu* (factions) 114, 116, 121  
*haiku* poetry 12  
 hardware  
 computer 156  
 military 196  
 harmony 71, 72, 91, 159, 179  
 Hashimoto, Ryutaro 114, 132  
 Hata, Tsutomu 126, 136, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145  
 Hata/Ozawa breakaway 139, 141  
 Hatoyama, Yukio 145, 146  
 health and demography 87–8  
 and nutrition 216  
 and welfare 101, 216  
 Health, Labour and Social Welfare Ministry 96  
 health insurance 87, 90  
 healthcare system 87  
 hegemony, Japanese challenge to western 3, 35, 194, 217  
 LDP 207  
 role in social control of 164, 170  
 US in Pacific 208  
 hierarchy 39, 56, 71, 80, 91, 165  
 education system and 157  
 obstacle to economic success 217  
 high-technology industry 46, 48  
 Hiroshima, atom bomb 24, 27  
 Hirohito, Emperor 25, 26, 28  
 Hitachi 37  
 HIV-contaminated blood, the use of 144  
 HIV-infected blood, scandals 104  
 Hokkaido 11, 83, 101, 205  
 'holy grail', the creation of a two-party system as 137



- Home Affairs Ministry 96, 101  
home ownership 90  
'home-room teacher', role in  
pupil welfare of 154  
'home-rooms' in school 154  
homogeneity, illusion of 62  
homogeneity, social 78  
homogeneous, image of Japan as  
5, 82, 109  
homosexuality 74  
Honda 48, 52  
Hong Kong 9, 13, 62, 191  
*honne* (true feelings) 72, 165,  
166  
Honshu island, central area 9,  
75  
horizontal keiretsu 47  
horse-trading 114  
Hosokawa, Morihiro 78, 135,  
137, 141, 143, 188, 213  
Hosokawa Government 93  
hospitals 101  
House of Councillors (Upper  
House) 21, 92, 93, 97, 182  
elections for 123, 131  
House of Peers 22  
House of Representatives  
(Lower House) 92, 93, 97,  
125, 133  
House of Representatives,  
elections 118, 131, 125,  
134, 136, 145, 147  
household saving 39, 43, 54  
housing market 74  
human rights 30, 200  
human rights and ODA 200  
human rights record, Chinese  
195, 196  
humiliation of Occupation  
209  
'*ichi-ichi*' alliance 143  
ideological centralization 78  
ideological conflict 49  
ideological issues, SDPJ 113  
ideology 6, 17, 133, 159, 211  
absence of in citizens'  
movements 173  
*ikebana*, Japanese flower  
arranging 12  
Ikeda, Hayato 39, 110, 190,  
210  
illegal immigrants 84  
'illogical' criteria, selection of  
politicians 114  
imbalance between rural and  
urban areas 91  
immigrant labour 84  
Imperial Household Ministry  
22  
Imperial Rescript on Education  
(1890) 152  
imperialism, Japanese 15, 23,  
116, 190  
imperialist aggression, Japanese  
195  
imports 37, 43, 50, 111, 119,  
201  
imprisonment, substitute 163  
*inaka* (the countryside) 77  
incentives for factional  
affiliation in LDP 117  
'income doubling plan' 110  
income inequality 90  
'incomplete superpower', Japan  
as 180, 214  
'independents' joining LDP  
125, 128  
India 7, 25  
individual rights, education and  
158  
individualism 177  
Indonesia 25, 62, 190, 191,  
192, 198  
industrial capacity 35  
development 44, 66, 172  
disputes 39, 57  
efficiency 210  
policy 20, 44, 46, 67  
pollution 172  
relations 53, 56, 66  
sector 26, 62, 111, 175  
industrialization 10, 15, 20, 24,  
45, 56, 152  
postwar 34, 82  
inflationary cycles 203  
'information cartels', the press  
clubs function as 167  
information economy 156, 211  
information revolution 67  
information technology era  
216  
infrastructure 26, 35, 37, 39,  
96, 101, 200  
in-house training 211  
in-laws, living with 79, 80  
'initial post-surrender policy'  
29  
Inoguchi, Takashi 3, 187, 188  
institutional prerequisites 213  
integrated-circuit technology  
40  
intelligence information, sharing  
between USA and Japan  
188  
interfactional negotiation skills,  
importance of 94  
'internal periphery' 77  
international capitalism 217  
'centres' 204  
community, Japan's role in  
138, 180, 206, 207  
finance 201  
order, importance to Japan of  
180  
trade 16, 34, 59, 171  
internationalists, pacifists  
204  
International Monetary Fund  
(IMF) 41, 194  
'internationalization' 85, 91,  
155, 204  
'internationalizers', nationalist  
204  
Inukai, Tyuyoshi 25  
investment in China, Japanese  
195  
'invisible tariff barriers' 201  
Iran, illegal immigrants from  
84  
Iranian Revolution 1979 185  
Iraq, US-led attack and invasion  
149, 205  
Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, 1990  
59, 138, 209  
'iron triangle' 108, 110, 111,  
130  
Ishihara, Shintaro 207  
Israel 105  
Italy 105  
Jakarta 192  
Japan and China 194-6  
and EU 205  
and North Korea 197  
'Japan-bashing' 196, 200  
interests in Southeast Asia  
192  
Japan Communist Party (JCP)  
114, 128, 132, 166  
Japan Development Bank 45  
Japan Exchange and Teaching  
programme (JET) 204  
Japan Foundation 204  
Japan Liberal Party (JLP) 143  
Japan Medical Association 111  
Japan National Railways 134,  
135  
Japan New Party (JNP) 135,  
143  
Japan Renewal Party (JRP)  
135, 136, 137  
Japan Teachers' Union  
(Nikkyoso) 135, 152,  
155  
Japan, GDP composition by  
sector 8, 37  
labour force 8, 39, 51  
land area 8, 9  
land use 8  
major cities 8  
natural resources 8  
population 8, 70, 75, 76  
population density 9  
population growth rate 8, 40  
urban population as a  
percentage of total  
population 8  
Japanese Alps 10  
Japanese companies, board  
members of 49  
'Japanese enlightenment' 19  
Japanese people, origins,  
Chinese or Korean 7  
Japanese racial identity,  
culturally and socially  
homogeneous 5  
Japanese, different from other  
peoples 5  
Japan's wartime role in China  
28, 195  
Japan's wartime action in China,  
Emperor's apology (1992)  
196  
job mobility, limited 53  
Johnson, Chalmers 3, 4, 34,  
44, 64, 66, 107, 123, 203  
Johnson, Stephen 141  
judicial system, French-style  
20



- judiciary 103
  - independent 30, 92, 103
  - institutional role of 103
- juku* (private cram schools) 154, 158
- junior high schools 157, 158
- Justice Ministry 96, 163
- juvenile delinquency 165
- kabuki* drama 12
- Kagoshima 11, 76
- Kamakura 76
- Kan, Naoto 144, 145
- Kansai (Osaka–Kyoto–Kobe) 11, 40, 75, 82, 83, 121
- Kansai International Airport 126
- Kanto (Tokyo–Yokohama–Kawasaki) 10, 11, 40, 75, 158, 212
- karoshi* (death from overwork) 54
- Kawasaki 11, 40, 76
- Kawasaki steel, Philippines and 193
- Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations) 46, 110
- Keio University 109, 157
- keiretsu* (industrial and business networks) 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 63, 67, 105
- kendo* 154
- Kim Il-Sung, death (1994) 197
- Kim Jong-Il, summit talks with Koizumi 197
- kindergartens 153, 158
- kisha* clubs 167, 168, 169
- kisha* and ‘night attacks’ 168
- kisha* (reporters) 167–9
- Kita-Kyushu 76
- ‘knowledge-intensive’ industries 40
- koban* (police boxes) 160, 161, 166
- Kobe 11, 40, 84
  - earthquake 1995 (also known as Great Hanshin earthquake) 10, 169, 178
  - parent groups 161
- koenkai* 121, 136,
- Koizumi, Junichiro 69, 117, 118, 148, 149, 169, 197, 206
- Koizumi, historic visit to North Korea 197
- Komeito (Clean Government Party) 86, 144, 128, 130, 133, 136, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148
- Korea 16, 180, 181, 184
  - annexation by Japan 23, 190
  - Republic of *see* South Korea
- Korean conflict 34
- Korean peninsula 7, 197
  - division reflected in Japanese Koreans 83
- Koreans, Japanese-born 82, 83
- Korean war 37
- koseki* (family registration) 75
- koto* (harp-like instrument) 12
- kuromaku* (black curtain) 124
- Kuwait, Iraqi invasion of (1990) 59, 138, 206
- Kyodatsu 28
- kyoika mama* (education mother) 153, 154
- Kyoto 10, 11, 16, 40, 75, 76, 101
- Kyoto Tower 11
- Kyoto University 104, 106, 109
- Kyubin, Sagawa 122, 125, 126, 139
- Kyushu 11
- labour, employment and 52–6
  - costs 50
  - disputes 134, 172
  - force 39, 51
  - movement 134–5
  - shortages 84
  - unions 58, 104
- Labour Ministry 96
- Laiotung Peninsula, ceding by China 23
- land development 101
  - reform 30, 35, 77
  - speculation 122
- Latin America 198
- LDP *see* Liberal Democratic Party
- LDP–Social Democratic Party coalition 131, 133, 134
- leadership, prime minister’s 94
- leadership role 215
- league tables, international education 153
- ‘learn from Japan’ 3, 6, 209
- least among less-developed countries (LLDCs) 198, 199
- legislation 100
- legislative process 97, 109
- liberal democracy, Japan as 2, 113, 213, 216
- Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) 38, 52, 62, 65, 93–7, 102–5, 109–28, 210, 213
- Liberal Party (LP) 143, 144, 145
- ‘libertarian values’ 177
- libraries 101
- life expectancy 87, 88, 209
- ‘lifelong learning’ 153
- lifetime employment 52, 53, 54, 55, 59
- ‘limited and small-scale’ military aggression 183
- literacy 31, 153, 159, 209
- living standards 38, 198, 212
- lobbies and lobbying 111, 173, 178
- local autonomy 30, 100, 102
- Local Autonomy Act (1947) 100
- local courts and police 101
- local government 78, 82, 100–103
- local school boards 152
- Lockheed scandal 122, 123, 125
- longevity 87, 90
- long hours 54, 55, 154
- Long-Term Care Insurance Plan (2000) 90
- ‘love hotels’ 74
- Lower House 92, 93, 97, 125, 133
  - elections 118, 131, 125, 134, 136, 145, 147
- lowly status in world order, Chinese 195
- loyalty to Emperor, importance of 21, 152
- loyalty to employer 53
- machinery production 36
- magazine 123, 167, 168
- Mahayana priests 86
- mainstream approach 2, 3, 215, 216
- major financial groups 63
- malapportionment 119
- Manchurian puppet administration 87
- mass base, parties’ 116
- McKean, Margaret 173
- McVeigh, B. J. 157, 158
- media 78, 79, 116, 149, 151, 165–9, 183, 213, 214 155, 188
  - as lapdogs of political establishment 166
- meditation 86
- Meiji constitution 22, 29, 31
- Meiji era 32, 204
- Meiji period (1868–1912) 17, 20–2, 32, 35, 77, 84, 151
- countryside 77
- Japanese enlightenment 20
- establishment of new institutions 20
- comparison with post-1945 period 35
- education and 20, 151, 152
- foreign advisers 20
- Meiji, restoration of Emperor 17
- mercury poisoning 171
- merger, between parties 38, 106, 147, 149
- meritocracy, education and 159
- Middle East 58, 180, 185, 198,
- Middle East, 1970s oil crisis and 58, 200
- middle ground 27, 133
- ‘middle kingdom’, China as 194
- Mid-Term Defence Programme Estimate (MTDPE) 186
- Midway, Battle of 25
- migrant workers 82
- militants 176
- militarism, Japan as a victim of 27
  - Japanese 15, 23, 31, 32, 182, 207



- militarism, Japan as a victim of
  - *continued*
  - role of education system in fostering 152
  - Shinto and 86
  - textbooks and 152, 153
  - and US occupation 56
- militaristic continuation of
  - Occupation, US security alliance as 184
- military 16, 22, 23, 25, 27, 30, 32, 36, 48, 83, 84, 138, 145, 175, 181–7, 191, 193, 195–7, 203 205–7
- assets 186
- Minamata pollution incident 171
  - school textbooks and 175
- minimum necessary defence capability 183
- ministerial authority 213
- ministers of state 21, 92, 94, 96, 97, 100, 107
- ministries, national 96–100
- Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries 99
- Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry 99
- Ministry of Education 20, 152, 153, 156
- Ministry of Environment 99
- Ministry of Finance 45, 62–4, 97
- Ministry of Finance as ‘super ministry’ 97
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs 99
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 99
- Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) 40, 171
- Ministry of Justice 99, 163
- Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport 99
- Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications
- minorities 70, 82, 91, 216
- minority groups 82, 83, 91, 212
  - status of 212
- Mitsubishi 47
- Mitsubishi Bank 35
- Mitsui 47
- Mitsui coal mine, strike (1960) 56
- Mitsui, bank 35
- Miyazawa, Kiichi 115, 135, 137, 194
- ‘modern values’ cf. traditional values 120, 141
- ‘modernization’ of LDP 116
- monarchy 7, 21
- money as lubricant of political machine 120
- money politics 121, 123, 125
- monopolistic practices 45
- multicultural society 82, 85
- multi-member constituencies 92, 115, 117, 119
- multi-party parliamentary system 105
- multiple-choice questions, role of in entrance examinations 153
- municipal budgets 130
- municipalities 83, 100–2
- Murayama, Tomiichi 97, 131, 132, 143, 197
- murder rate, Japan and US compared 160
- Mutual Security Pact with USA 130
- Mutual Security Treaty revision 1960 172
- protests against 176
- mutual understanding 191
  - deficiencies of 204
- Nagasaki 11
  - atom bomb 24, 27
  - Dutch trading community 15
- Nagoya 10, 11, 40, 51, 75, 79, 120
  - University 157
- Nakasone, Yasuhiro 94, 137, 185, 204, 215
  - education reform and 155
  - foreign policy of 185, 186, 187, 215
- Nara 76
- Narita Airport, protests against 166, 176, 177
- National Car Workers’ Union, 56
- National Defence Programme Outline (NDPO) 182
- national health insurance 87
- national isolation, Tokugawa period 15
- National Land Agency 99
- National Police Agency 99
- National Public Safety Commission 99
- nationalist movements 25
- nationalist principles,
  - inculcation of in schools 152
- native Americans 83
- natural resources 10, 24, 180, 192, 209
- navy, British-style 20
- neighbourhood advice centres 133
- neighbourhood associations (chonaikai) 169
- neighbourhoods 77, 82, 161
- Netherlands 105
  - ‘New Asian Industries Development Plan’ 200
- ‘New Deal’ 30
- New Frontier Party 133, 143, 145, 146
- New Harbinger Party 136
- ‘New Miyazawa Initiative’,
  - financial support 194, 198
- ‘new middle mass’ 90
- ‘new religions’ 86
- New Year 85
- newly industrialized countries (NICs) 190
- News Station 168
- newspaper groups 49, 166, 167, 214
- NHK broadcasting agency 166, 167, 168, 196
- ‘night attacks’ on homes by reporters 168
- Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Nikkei) and TV Tokyo 167
- Niigata 123, 171
- Niigata prefecture, mercury poisoning incident 171
- Nissan Motors 62
- Nissan Motors, strike (1953) 56
- ‘Nixon Doctrine’ 184
- no-confidence vote 96
- noh* drama 12
- Nokyo farmers’ organization 111
- non-combative role for SDF 193
- non-nuclear principles 183
- non-profit organizations 178
- ‘normalization’ 206, 215
- North America 73, 77, 201, 203, 208, 209, 210
- North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) 203
- North Korea 83, 188
  - and Japan 197
  - normalization of relations with 197
  - Koizumi’s historic visit to (2002) 197
- ‘northern territories’ 205
- nuclear family 73
- nuclear inspections, North Korea 197
- nuclear weapons 183
- numeracy 153, 159
- nutrition 216
- obedience 6, 56, 214
- objectivity, journalistic 168
- O-bon 86
- Obuchi, Keizo 115, 144, 148, 156
- Occupation by United States 2, 28–33, 35–8, 56, 92, 134, 151, 152, 155, 183, 184, 201, 209
- Occupation, education and 152, 155
- ODA (overseas development aid) 198–201
  - budget 198
  - charter 200
  - humanitarian principles 201
  - ‘people-centred soft’ aid 200
  - ‘two-track’ approach’ 200
- official ordinances 107
- Ohmae, Kenichi 78
- oil consumption, heavy 171
- oil shocks, 1970s 46, 130, 210
- oil, imports from Middle East 58, 180
- Okinawa 16, 102, 175



- Okinawa, US-Japan security relationship and 84, 181, 188
- Okinawans 83
- 'old guard' 196
- old-boy networks 101
- Olympics, Tokyo (1964) 39
- 'omnidirectional foreign policy' 192
- 'one country, two systems', China's policy to Taiwan 195
- one-party dominant political system 128
- opposition from citizen's movements 101, 170, 172-5
- opposition parties 97, 109, 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, 136, 139, 141, 142, 147, 172, 174
- opposition, latent 175
- optical equipment 36
- orderliness, Japanese 162
- 'orientalism' 7
- Osaka 10, 11, 17, 39, 40, 75, 76, 79, 101, 102, 102 University 157
- output
- agricultural 37
- industrial 36, 37
- over-centralization 78
- overseas despatch of self-defence forces 182
- overtime, unpaid 53
- Ozawa, Ichiro 121, 126, 133, 136, 137-40, 143
- pachinko* parlours (Nagoya), aiding North Korean economy 83
- Pacific Asia, defence of 184
- 'Pacific Century' 217
- Pacific coast 11, 40, 75, 77, Pacific War 15, 24, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 182, 184, 190
- Pacific, north-west 184
- pacifism 156, 193
- Pakistan, illegal immigrants from 84
- paperwork, teachers' 155
- 'parasite singles' 74
- parents' role in education 156
- parent-teacher associations (PTA) 154
- parks 101
- parliamentary debates 93
- 'party dominance' 109
- 'party tickets' 122, 127
- paternalistic management 48
- patron-client relationships 72, 116
- 'patterned pluralism' 93, 96
- pay and conditions, teachers' 155
- payoffs to politicians 211
- 'peace coalition' 183
- 'peace constitution', Japanese 37, 203, 207
- peace treaty between China and Japan 1978 195
- peace-keeping operations (PKOs) 188, 206, 207
- Peace-Keeping Operations Bill (June 1992) 206
- Pearl Harbor 23, 36
- peasant protests 17
- pension benefits 89
- 'people-centred soft' aid, ODA approach 200
- People's Liberation Army 196
- Performance tradition 13
- Perry, Commodore Matthew 16
- personal savings 59
- personally obligated votes 120
- Pescadore, ceding by China 23
- petitions 78, 173
- petroleum industry 48
- Philippines 2, 13, 84, 181, 193, 198
- Japanese steelworks in 193
- illegal immigrants from 84
- pill *see* contraceptive pill
- pluralist paradigm 3
- pluralist system 149
- police boxes *see* *koban* and *chuziasho*
- police jail 163
- police officer 160, 163
- police reserve 184
- police support groups 169
- police, French style 20
- police, relations with yakuza 164
- policing 151, 159, 164, 166, 214
- policing and criminal justice system 159-64
- policy-makers, education and 133
- political culture, Japanese 174
- dissidents, monitoring of 160
- economy view 115, 117, 140, 216
- order 2, 32, 35, 68, 100, 106, 112-14, 125, 126, 135-7, 142, 150, 151, 159, 172, 175, 211, 213, 214, 217
- participation 31, 158, 170, 179
- patronage 113
- parties 3, 22, 30, 31, 72, 108, 115, 116, 127, 132, 142, 144, 174, 210
- process 168, 174, 175
- realignment 140
- scientists 3, 116, 119, 149, 213, 216
- stability 33, 106
- stocks 122
- system 3, 4, 14, 22, 28, 31, 33, 44, 102, 115, 123, 124, 128
- transition 140
- politicians 11, 22, 25, 30, 44, 48, 100-13, 138, 164, 170, 179, 182, 185, 188, 196, 203, 206, 207, 211, 214
- and press 167, 168, 169
- politics of complacency 115
- politics and education 157-9
- pollution 102, 103, 170-3, 193
- control laws 171
- hazards 171
- industrial 172
- pollution-prevention contracts 173
- popular representation 113
- popular satisfaction 90, 212
- postal savings accounts 198
- postal savings system, tax-free accounts 44, 45
- postal system, British-style 20
- post-Cold War period, 1989-67, 188
- 'post-industrial' generation 177
- Posts and Telecommunications Ministry 99
- postwar education, stress on egalitarianism and democratization of 152
- postwar history, Japanese 209
- portfolio investment 59
- power-brokers 96, 105
- power-holders 168, 169, 179
- 'pre-capitalist' order 60
- 'predominant party system' 142
- prefectural assemblies 101
- prefectural government 78, 82, 100, 101
- prefectures 11, 78, 93, 100, 101, 102, 130, 171
- press and politicians 167, 168, 169
- press freedom 167
- Prestowitz, Clyde 4, 201, 203
- presumption 162
- pride 12, 162
- primary schools, American-style 20
- prime minister 22, 25, 30, 39, 69, 78, 92, 94-6
- prime ministers in the postwar period 106
- Prime Minister's Office 99
- media and 167
- print media 167
- prison 161, 163
- prison population 161
- prisoners of war 24
- Privy Council 22
- probation officers 169
- problem-solving, Japanese weakness in 211
- production, role of education in conformity of 156
- products, Japanese preeminent in Asia 194
- proportional representation 93, 94
- propriety, control of deviant behaviour 162
- protectionist policies 119, 201



- protectionist regional bloc 203  
 protest against prevailing order  
     174, 179  
 protest movements 151, 170,  
     172, 179, 210, 214  
 public and private universities  
     compared 157  
 public interest 111, 112, 168  
 public law and order 101, 164  
 Public Offices Election Law  
     118  
 public safety committees 169  
 public services 100  
 public works spending 214  
 pyramid, Japanese power  
     structure as 105  
  
 quasi-familial relationships  
     116  
 quasi-legislative powers 107  
 'quasi-parties' 115  
  
 rank-and-file LDP members,  
     input in policy formation  
     116  
 raw materials 10, 24, 41, 58,  
     180, 190, 191, 210  
 raw materials, imports 180  
 Reaganomics 64  
 real estate values 210  
 recession 26, 58, 60, 85, 208,  
     214, 216  
 Recruit-Cosmos scandal 122,  
     125, 126, 133, 168  
 recruiting from within  
     organization 211  
 recycling shops 170  
 Red Army, Japanese 176  
 redistributing income 124  
 reform, education 156  
     administrative 117  
 reformers 137, 144, 156, 213  
 reformist causes 145  
 regional assemblies 111  
 regional security role for Japan  
     185, 193  
 regional trading blocs, limited  
     scope for Japan to influence  
     203  
 Reischauer, Edwin O. 2, 3, 31,  
     32  
 religions 85-7  
 religious revivalism 91  
 reporters, proximity to  
     politicians 167, 168  
 reshuffles, Cabinet 96, 118  
 'residential survey' 160, 161,  
     164  
 'response mode' of Japan  
     internationally 207  
 'restoration' of Emperor Meiji  
     17  
 resurgence, China 68, 196, 208  
 retrenchment, 59  
 'reverse course' 30  
 revisionist approach 3, 5, 27,  
     33, 34, 52, 57, 65, 66, 70,  
     72, 82, 91, 113, 114, 145,  
     149, 151, 162, 166, 215  
 revitalization, rural 78  
  
 Revolution, Chinese 195  
 Revolution, Iranian 185  
 rice farming 11  
 rice production 11, 37  
 rice production subsidies 119  
*ringi-sei* (consultative memos)  
     49  
 riot police 171  
 rival LDP factions 115  
 Rishho Kosei-kai (Buddhist  
     sect) 86  
 roads and transport 10, 101  
 Rockefeller Center, Manhattan  
     58  
 role on international stage,  
     Japan's 180  
 rubber industry 48  
 'ruling triumvirate' 107  
 rural areas 11, 78, 91, 119,  
     120, 147, 148, 161, 212  
     depopulation 78  
     revitalization 78, 91  
 Russia 23, 180, 205  
 Russo-Japanese war 15, 23  
 Ryukyu Islands 16  
  
 sacred cows, 'hidden  
     sanctuaries' 148-9  
 Sagawa Kyubin scandal 122,  
     125  
 Saigon, fall of (1975) 191  
 Sakigake Party 143  
*sakura* (cherry blossoms) 10  
 salaries and allowances 121  
 salarymen 177  
*samurai* 16, 17, 217  
 Sankei Shimbun and Fuji TV  
     167  
 Sanrizuka protest movement  
     176, 177  
 Sanwa 47  
 Sanyo 48  
 Sapporo 76  
 satisfaction, popular 90, 212  
 savings 43-4  
     personal 59  
     rate 43  
 SCAP (Supreme Commander for  
     the Allied Powers) 35, 36  
 Schlesinger, J. M. 121, 123,  
     126, 139, 140  
 school boards, local 152  
 schools 72, 73, 84, 85, 101,  
     106, 153-5, 157, 158, 172  
     bullying and 155  
 science and technology 16, 17  
 Science and Technology Agency  
     96  
 scientific knowledge 153  
 scientific socialism 130  
 sclerosis, political 217  
 SDP(J), extremism and 130  
 sea 10, 11  
 seasons 10  
 Second World War 2, 26, 100,  
     153, 163, 180  
     Emperor and 27  
     Japan as victim of 27  
 secondary education 53, 54,  
     154  
  
 secondary legislation 111  
 secondary reforms 30  
 secrecy legislation 175  
 secret police 25, 30  
 sectoral interests 117  
 securities trading 100  
 Security Council 94, 180, 207,  
     215  
 Security Treaty, demonstrations  
     against 39, 110, 172, 176,  
     184, 186, 188  
 security umbrella, American  
     45, 138, 187, 193  
 'self-defence' 182, 183, 185,  
     187  
 Self-Defence Forces (SDF)  
     181, 182, 186, 193, 206  
 SDF and anti-terrorism 205-7  
 SDF and US-Japan Alliance  
     181-9  
 SDF in PKOs 206, 207  
 'self-disarmament' 180  
 self-employed 70, 141  
 semi-authoritarian order 216  
 semi-conductors 40  
 Sendai 76  
 seniority 52, 53  
 seniority-based pay 59, 211  
 Senkaku islands 195  
 'servants of the people',  
     bureaucrats as 156  
 sexual morality 74  
 share of population aged 65 or  
     over 88  
 share values 210  
 shareholdings 48, 50  
 shares 35, 48, 49, 125, 173  
     held by companies in each  
     other 47, 49  
 Shibusawa, Masahide 190  
 Shikoku 11  
 Shin Rengo (union federation)  
     134  
*shinkansen* ('bullet train') 39,  
     140  
 Shintoism 86  
 shipbuilding industry 35, 36,  
     44, 47, 48  
*shogun* 15, 16, 17  
 Singapore 7, 9, 13, 45, 191,  
     192  
 single-member constituencies  
     93  
 single-share movement 173  
 Sino-Japanese political relations  
     23, 195  
 Sino-Japanese war, 1894-5  
     195  
 'sintering' (steel industry) in  
     Philippines 193  
 sister-city schemes 203  
 sit-ins 173  
 slums and ghettos 161  
 small companies, features of  
     50-2  
 small enterprises 52, 70  
 'small and medium enterprise  
     sector' 51  
 small parties 118  
 small savers 39



- smoke-filled rooms 114
- social capital 169, 170
- social class 6, 17, 90
- social control 151, 159, 164, 165, 211
- Social Democratic Party of Japan (SDPJ) 128–35, 137, 139, 143
- social developments 212
- social homogeneity 91
- social mobility 90, 91, 158, 212
- 'social networks' 119
- social order 85, 91, 158
- social problems 17, 216
- social security deficiencies, impact on savings of 43
- social security system 43, 90
- social services 101
- social structure 70, 91, 120
- socialist rule 1947–8 106
- Socialists 88, 132, 133, 135, 136, 142, 143, 144, 148, 173
- socialization 151
- socializing, work related 55
- society, multicultural 82
- sociocultural divisions in society 119
- socioeconomic change 35, 119
- socioeconomic factors, crime and 161
- 'soft authoritarian state', Japan as 4
- software, computer 156, 210
- Soka Gakkai (Buddhist sect) 86, 133
- sokaiya 164
- solidarity, group 72
- Sony 47, 52, 64
- South Korea 2, 13, 45, 62, 75, 83, 84, 191, 203, 208
- South Korea, illegal immigrants from 84
- Southeast Asia 86, 189–94
- Southeast Asian distrust of Japan 190
- Southeast Asian economics 78,
- Southeast Asian subsidiaries of Japanese companies 78, 84
- sovereignty 30, 92, 104, 182,
- Soviet Union 27, 181, 205
- space programmes 40
- special interests 113, 150
- 'special wards' in Tokyo 101
- 'split votes' 147
- splitting of opposition to LDP *see* fragmentation
- spy ships, North Korea 197
- stagnant, view of Japanese politics as 128
- 'standard defence force' 186
- standardized unemployment rates 89
- standing committees of Diet 92
- state influence on economic and industrial policy 44
- state intervention in the economy 44, 66, 208
- status 12, 24, 38, 71, 74, 81–3, 87, 101, 109, 155, 161, 178, 180, 182, 184, 186, 189, 190, 195, 199, 208–10
- steel industry 193
- stereotypes of Asia, negative in Japan 190
- strategic allies, among parties 134
- 'strategic capitalism' 46
- strategic partner of US, Japan as 184
- strikes 39, 56, 57, 104, 134,
- structural corruption 2, 4, 78, 113, 214
- students 1, 7, 22, 71, 72, 74, 153–8, 173, 176, 177, 218
- 'study groups' (euphemism for LDP factions) 115
- subcontractors 36, 48
- subsidiaries 50, 84
- subsides, agricultural/rural 37, 77, 119
- subsidies for political parties 127, 128
- 'substitute imprisonment' as violation of UN charter 163
- suffrage 21, 22, 30
- universal male 22
- women's 30, 81, 91
- Sugimoto, Yoshio 4, 6, 164, 165, 170
- Sumitomo, bank 35, 47, 63
- Sunday Project 168
- super-party, Ozawa's proposals 145
- superpower, Japan as incomplete 180, 214
- support networks 116
- Supreme Court 103
- Suzuki method 12
- Suzuki, Zenko 88, 118
- 'symbiotic relationship' between parties and bureaucracy 107
- 'symbol of state' 30, 92
- Taisho democracy 22–3
- Taiwan 2, 13, 23, 45, 191, 196 (*see also* Formosa)
- Takeshita, Noboru 78, 122, 125, 126, 137, 139, 146
- Tanaka, Kakuei 94, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 130, 137, 140, 148, 168
- attempt to normalize relations with China, 1972 195
- visit to Southeast Asia, 1974 191
- tatamae* (facade of appearances) 165
- tax system, national 100
- tea ceremony 12, 194
- Teachers' Union, Japan 135, 214
- teachers, paperwork and 155
- teachers, pay and conditions of 155
- telecommunications 96, 117
- 'temporary' employment 54, 57, 73
- territorial waters, Japanese 185
- terrorism, Japan and the war on 205–7
- terrorist attacks in New York and Washington (11 September 2001) 205
- textbooks, censorship of 153
- 'militaristic' 152
- nationalist 30
- school 21, 152
- textiles 20, 44
- Thailand 2, 7, 13, 191, 192, 198, 199
- anti-Japanese protests in 191
- illegal immigrants from 84
- 'third industrial revolution' *see* information revolution
- 'three sacred treasures' (TV, fridge, washing machine) 39
- Tiananmen Square massacre, Japan's 'soft' response to 195
- timber 10
- tobacco 117
- Tojo, Hideki 25
- Tokugawa period (1603–68) 15–17
- Tokyo 10, 11, 13, 15, 40, 60, 75–9, 81, 84
- Tokyo Bay, highway across 126
- Tokyo Olympics, 1964 39
- Tokyo University 61, 104, 106, 109, 157, 158
- Tokyo University Law Faculty 106, 109
- Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal 27
- Tokyo earthquake, 1923 10
- torii* (gateways to Shinto shrines) 86
- Toshiba 37
- town planning 11
- towns 76–8, 101, 119, 171, 179
- Toyota 37, 47, 51, 64, 84, 134
- City 76
- Japanese Brazilian workers and 84
- trade deficits 184
- trade disputes 203
- trade and investment 201
- trade policy 204
- trade policy, 'reactive' 204
- trade, international economic 100
- transfers 50, 53
- transport 10, 51, 96, 101, 117, 200
- 'Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security' *see* Mutual Security Treaty
- triumphalism of Japan in Asian crisis 208



- Truman, President Harry S. 27  
 Tsukuba (science city outside Tokyo) 76  
 TV Asahi 166, 168  
 TV programmes, featuring political issues 168  
 two-party system 116, 137, 144, 145, 149, 214  
 typhoons 10
- ukiyo*e prints (Edo period) 12  
 UN Security Council 156, 180, 189  
 unemployment benefits 89  
 unemployment, low 89, 161  
 union membership 134  
 unions 22, 30, 39, 56–8, 104, 130, 133–5, 210, 214  
 United Financial 63  
 United Kingdom 62  
 universities 6, 104, 106, 109, 152, 153, 157, 158  
 universities, private and public compared 157  
 university lecturers 103  
 university students 157  
 Uno, Sosuke 131  
 Upper House, Meiji period 21  
 Upper House elections 123, 131  
*ura nihon* (hidden Japan) 77  
 'urban informal sector', compared with 'small and medium enterprise sector' 51  
 urbanization 73, 86, 119  
 urban–rural divide 75, 78  
 US dollar 59  
 US hegemony in Pacific 208  
 US military facilities, protest against expansion of 175  
 USA 2, 3, 4, 20, 36, 39, 51, 90, 93, 105, 138, 184, 185, 187, 188, 192, 194, 203, 204, 205  
 USA, Japan subordinate to 208  
 US–Japan alliance 145, 188  
 'US–Japan alliance without bases' 188
- US–Japan security relationship 84, 188  
 US–Japan Security Treaty, 1951 184  
 US–Japan trade relations 201  
 utilities 101
- 'valence' issues 141  
 'value cleavages' 119  
 Van Gogh painting, record-breaking price 58  
 vertical *keiretsu* 47, 48  
 vertical ranking, Japanese institutions and 71  
 vested interests 111, 187  
 victim of militarism, Japan as 27  
 victim of Second World War, Japan as 27  
 video equipment 41  
 Vietnam, invasion of Cambodia 192  
 Vietnam, US withdrawal from 181, 189, 193  
 villages 101, 119, 179  
 vocational schools 153  
 vocational training 53  
 volleyball 154  
 voluntary associations 178  
 voluntary organizations 169  
 volunteer social workers 169  
 volunteer welfare officials, paternalism of 88  
 'volunteer work boom' 151  
 votes 119, 120, 127, 128, 132, 147, 148, 156, 165, 166
- wa* (group harmony) 72  
 War Crimes Tribunal, Tokyo 27  
 war reparations 35  
 'warning vote' 147  
 wartime role in China, Japanese 28, 195  
 Waseda University 109, 157  
 'watch dog', media functions as 166  
 water 10, 178, 185,  
 weddings 121
- welfare 53, 78, 88–90, 96, 101, 102, 111, 139, 146, 154, 216  
 welfare, 'home-room' teacher's role in 154  
 'window guidance' 64  
 women 72–5, 79–81  
   career choices 170  
   employment opportunities increased 81  
   independence of 212  
   role as 'networkers' 170  
 work ethic 55, 56  
 workers' collectives 170  
 workers, role in suggesting improvements 49  
 workforce, education levels of 56  
 World Bank 194
- yakuza* 85, 105, 126, 164, 165, 211  
   conservative politicians and 164  
   front companies 211  
   illegal business and 85, 164  
   membership 164  
   relations with police 164  
 Yamanashi 142  
 Yasukuni shrine 86  
 yen 50, 59, 62, 121, 126–8, 192, 198  
 Yokohama 11, 40, 75, 76, 78, 168,  
   'Chinatown' area 84  
 Yomiuri newspaper 49, 56, 166, 207  
 Yomiuri Shimbun and NTV 166  
 Yoshida, Shigeru 38
- zaibatsu* (conglomerates) 31, 35  
*zaikai* (business groups) 116  
 Zen 86  
*zoku* (policy tribe) 109, 111, 117, 124, 126  
 Zushi 175