



# JAPANESE CIVILIZATION INSTITUTE

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## Prospectus of Japanese Civilization Institute



Japan has come to form a civilization of its own kind, in the realm of history, religion and culture.

In his book “*The Clash of Civilizations*,” professor Samuel Huntington places Japanese civilization in a new position, apart from Chinese civilization.

Our foundation aims to research the following five mutually related categories that are not recognized by the Japanese people to be their identity and personality. Our goal is to study Japanese civilization and pass it down to people in and outside Japan, by actively communicating what we have learnt.

<The field of Ideology, Philosophy and Ethics> Japanese ideology, “*yamato-gokoro* (spirit of early Japan)” and spirit of “*wa* (harmony)”

<The field of Economy and Management> “*shinise* (long-established organizations)”

<The field of Industrial Art, and Technology> Art, handicrafts, fashion, pop culture, architecture and technology

<The field of Medicine> Chinese medicine, Japanese food, and healthy food that prevents sickness

<Overall> Politics and Religion

Our goal is to contribute to peace and continuous development of Japan and the outside world, through deep research and activities for creating awareness.

**Kimiko Tsuzuki**

Chairperson,

Chancellor of Tsuzuki Educational Institution Group

## Message from Director



Looking at world history, it is said that Europe is the only one that was able to create a model of modernization.

However, apart from Europe, Japan is the only country that went through the process of creating a modernization of its own kind—that rivals well with that of Europe—and became an advanced country.

Japan has been regarded as islands of disaster, suffering from numerous floods, eruptions, earthquakes and tsunami. But blessed with pure water not to mention the glorious four seasons, and peoples' nature being moderate, imaginative, original and hardworking, Japan has come to develop a civilization of its own kind.

Amid the globalization of the economy and communication amongst people, Japan and its people today need to think deeply as to what they believe in. A tolerant mind to accept other civilizations only begins by understanding their own.

The role of Japan in international society is bound to become increasingly important. Japanese Civilization Institute is founded here as a place for capable people working together to tackle these kinds of issues.

**Naoki Inose**

Director

## Acknowledgements from Overseas Commemorate the Founding of Japanese Civilization Institute

“On the occasion of the establishment of Japanese Civilization Institute and its inaugural symposium, the Master and Fellows of Fitzwilliam College Cambridge send warmest congratulations. We have high expectations that with world-class scholars this center can become a world leader in the unique and innovative field of research into Japanese identity.

As your friend of many years, we look forward to this being an opportunity to further scholarly ties between our two institutions.”

**—Nicola Padfield, Master, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge University**

“On behalf of St. Anne's College Oxford I would like to extend our sincere congratulations on the establishment of Japanese Civilization Institute and its inaugural symposium. This center will without doubt provide knowledge and inspiration to scholars of Japan around the world and contribute not just to international understanding but also to giving the people of Japan a renewed pride and love for their own society and culture. We hope that this research center will be a success for the scholars who work in it, and contribute to the further development of the Tsuzuki Gakuen Group.”

**—Tim Gardam, Principal, St. Anne's College, Oxford University**

### About the group

Japanese Civilization Institute  
Established in August 2015

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# The Characteristics of Japanese Civilization after 70 years from WWII

Soichiro Tahara vs. Naoki Inose vs. Toshio Goto

On 28th August, 2015, a symposium commemorating the establishment of Japanese Civilization Institute was held at Japan University of Economics in Shibuya, Tokyo. Panelists attending the symposium—journalist Soichiro Tahara, writer and director of the Institute Naoki Inose and professor at Japan University of Economics Toshio Goto—discussed their views under the theme.

The following is the content of their discussion (The three-way conversation is a reprint of “Shukan Dokushojin”←published on 25th September, 2015→)

**MC:** Thank you for making the time to attend this symposium commemorating the founding of Japanese Civilization Institute. I’m Kayoko Ikushima, and I will serve as MC for this event. Today, we have three panelists discussing various issues. Before we begin, we would like to have a few words from chairperson of Japanese Civilization Institute and also Chancellor of Tsuzuki Educational Institution Group, Ms. Kimiko Tsuzuki.

**Tsuzuki:** Good evening, everyone. We’re slowly feeling a little bit of autumn amid the late summer heat. I sincerely appreciate the many people who turned up today to experience this symposium commemorating the founding of Japanese Civilization Institute.

Japanese Civilization Institute was established with Mr. Naoki Inose as director and professor Toshio Goto of our university as executive director. Today we welcome Mr. Soichiro Tahara as our guest for this event, held to commemorate its establishment.

During the 70 years after WWII, there were times when countries abroad saw “Japan as No.1,” resulting in Japan to experiencing various forms of “Japan bashing.” However, after the bubble burst, Japan has been referred to in various ways like “Japan passing” or even “Japan noth-

ing,” from countries outside Japan.

But now, having overcome the Tohoku Earthquake and Tsunami of 2011, once again we hear voices praising Japan. Tsuzuki Educational Institution Group spread across the country, takes in the highest number of foreign students. These students are studying hard, eager to learn and know more about Japan.

In recent years, our group has had the opportunity to communicate with renowned universities of the world including Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard, during which we have received various questions and opinions about Japan. Having seen our miraculous effort to reconstruct after the earthquake, it is quite often that we receive the question, “What kind of education do Japanese people receive?” But we have come to realize that there were so many things that we had yet to acknowledge to answer this question, that we weren’t able to give a prompt reply. I thoroughly believe that the key to answering this kind of question lies in understanding the tradition and history of Japan. Borrowing words from American political scientist and professor Samuel Huntington, Japan was never the extension of Chinese civilization, but rather created a civilization of its own. In that sense, I find it important that we reveal the true picture of Japanese civilization through this Institution,



Kimiko Tsuzuki

and transmit what potential this country holds in contributing to the world as a whole, not only to Japan but also to the global society outside Japan and toward the future. Today marks the very beginning of our research. I am proud to announce the start of a new program with everyone here today. Please stay with us until the very end.

**MC:** Thank you very much. Next, we would like to have a speech from one of our visitors. Mr. Masashi Takai, president of Kinokuniya Book Stores.

**Takai:** Hello, I’m Takai of Kinokuniya Book Stores. I’m expected to give a congratulatory speech, but I also serve as one of the board members for Japanese Civilization Institute, so I have the responsibility to make this Institute a reliable one. Kinokuniya



Masashi Takai, Kinokuniya Books Stores

Book Stores has had a long business relationship with Tsuzuki Educational Institution Group, which I really appreciate. Chancellor Tsuzuki has supported us over the years and I personally admire her passion, management power, and leadership toward education from the bottom of my heart. I’ve been hearing about the idea of this Institute for some time now, but having this kind of grand ceremonial event in such a short amount of time, with attendants like Mr. Tahara, Mr. Inose and Mr. Goto, can only be possible with Ms. Tsuzuki’s leadership.

I myself also serve as a board member for Yokohama University of Pharmacy belonging to the Tsuzuki Educational Institution Group. This year, the university had the highest number of students taking the entrance exams. The number of students has risen to 178% compared to the previous year, making it no doubt one of the most popular schools in Japan. A growth of 120-130% followed in second place, but other schools didn’t even reach 100%. This is all due to the chancellor’s ability as a leader. Moreover, while Mr. Reona Esaki serves as president of Yokohama University of Pharmacy, I hear that Mr. Naoki Inose is to take on the role of director on this occasion, which encourages me to commit myself too.

Kinokuniya Book Stores has 66 large scale bookstores, and 27 branch

stores overseas including New York, Singapore, Bangkok, Malaysia, Sydney, and Dubai. I hope I can assist the chancellor’s proposal to pass on more about Japan to the outside world and thereby spread Japanese civilization to the world. Thank you so much for having me here today.

**MC:** Thank you very much Mr. Takai. Next, we would like to have a speech from Mr. Takatoshi Shimizu, president of PHP Institute. Mr. Shimizu, please step forward. Thank you.



Takatoshi Shimizu, PHP institute

**Shimizu:** I’m Shimizu of PHP Institute. I got a phone call yesterday, inviting me to come here today, so I did. But now they want me to give you a speech, but I didn’t have a clue as to what to say. So I’ve written something down, which I would like to read today.

First of all, I’m sure many of you are wondering why the president of PHP Institute is present today. I was invited here because I heard that over the years, that there has been a strong relationship between our founder Konosuke Matsushita and Tsuzuki Educational Institution Group. The bond between us is what brings me here today.

If I may, I would like to talk a little bit about Konosuke Matsushita. It was in 1947—approximately 70 years from now—that Matsushita founded PHP Institute. By the way, “PHP” stands for “Peace and Happiness through Prosperity.” Just after WWII, Matsushita thought he had to do something to change the country. He founded the Institute gathering intellectual people as much as he could, with the aim of reconstructing a better society. I think Matsushita’s intentions are more or less the same as what Ms. Tsuzuki just mentioned about Japanese Civilization Institute and where it is heading. Reading the prospectus of establishing this Institute I really think so.

Given such an opportunity, I won-

dered yesterday what Matsushita would have said if he were alive today. There’s a book he wrote called “*Michi-wo-hiraku* (Opening the Way)” in which he wrote a section entitled “*Nihon Yoi Kuni* (Japan, Fine Country).” I would like to read this and make it my speech.

“*Nihon Yoi Kuni* (Japan, Fine Country)”  
Konosuke Matsushita

“*Flowers are scattering, young leaves are growing. Vivid green hills and strikingly blue sky spreads across miles.*

*Dressed in light clothes, a balmy breeze comfortably blows by. Happy voices of sweet children and flapping of swimming carp streamers (put up to celebrate Children’s Day) can be heard.*

*It’s May, early summer. Once more the season brings Japan’s vigorous nature to its full.*

*There’s spring, then there’s summer. There’s autumn and there’s winter. Japan is a fine country. Not just the nature. Not just the natural features. There are numerous spiritual legacies cultivated during its long history. Moreover, there’s the gifted superb nature of the Japanese people, who are hard working and sincere.*

*Japan is a fine country. Such a fine country is rarely to be found in the world. Therefore, we should make this country even better, and live friendly together with fulfilling bodies and minds.*

*Even if there’s good, if people do not*



notice it, it's close to not having it at all.

*We should take another look at the good side of this country. And mutually take pride again in being Japanese. Let's reconsider."*

Matsushita left such kinds of words. With Ms. Tsuzuki as chairperson and Mr. Inose as director, I hope the two can gather intellectuals and highly educated people to guide Japanese Civilization Institute toward a bright future.

**MC:** Thank you very much Mr. Shimizu. Now, we would like to begin the highlight of today; a panel discussion amongst our panelists. Let me introduce you to our three panelists; journalist and critic Mr. Soichiro Tahara, writer and former Tokyo governor, Mr. Naoki Inose, and professor at Japan University of Economics and executive director of the Institute, Mr. Toshio Goto. Please begin.

## What is Japanese Civilization?

**Inose:** What is civilization? In his book *"The Clash of Civilizations,"* international political scientist and professor Samuel Huntington—whose name is included in the Institute's prospectus—writes that civilization today can be divided into eight categories. One is Western European civilization that founded modern society. Contrasting that is Eastern European civilization relating to the Russian Orthodox Church. Then there's Islamic civilization, Hindu civilization centering around India, African civilization and Latin American civilization. In Asia, there's Chinese civilization. Korea is included in Chinese civilization. The eighth category is Japanese civilization. Japanese civilization is thought of differently from

Chinese civilization. Then what exactly is Japanese civilization?

Perception of Japanese identity is extremely diverse. Two years ago, when Japan stood as candidate for hosting the Olympic Games, the country tried as best it could to promote its good points. However, ever since it has been chosen, its weak points seemed to have come to the surface. For example, there's the trouble we had with the new National Stadium. The construction cost is now 155 billion yen; however, is removing 100 billion yen from the previous cost of 250 billion yen and trying to sound coherent simply enough? On July 17 Prime Minister Shinzo Abe scrapped the government's original construction plans for the new stadium. But if this issue had continued longer, the new stadium may not have been constructed in time for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics. This kind of indecisive attitude is of nothing new. Looking back at 1945, even when the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima on 6th August and on Nagasaki on 9th August, and even when the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan ignoring the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact, the Imperial Council still couldn't accept the Potsdam Declaration. It was only after debating around in circles, that they were finally able to accept, on the night of the 14th and end the war on the



Naoki Inose

15th. If the war had extended longer, perhaps Japan might have suffered a third atomic bomb and Hokkaido would have become the People's Republic of Hokkaido. Japan today, like back then, still has its faults of not being able to make decisions.

And now, 70 years after that war, we're debating about security bills and collective self-defense without thoroughly reviewing and analyzing what that war meant to Japan. First, we would like to hear from Mr. Tahara about these kinds of issues Japan is facing today.

**Tahara:** I'm currently hosting a TV program called *"Gekiron! Cross Fire (Heated discussion! Cross Fire)"* broadcast every Saturday from 10 a.m. on BS Asahi, and just yesterday we recorded the show that was to broadcast the following morning. From Liberal Democratic Party attended former Self Defense Force officer Masahisa Sato—known as *"hige (Captain beard)"*—, from the Democratic Party attended Tetsuro Fukuyama, and from the Japan Innovation Party attended Jiro Ono. All being members of the House of Councilors, they are also central members to the issue of revising the security bills. I asked the three what they thought about the security bills, but the debate headed nowhere. It's because even with terms like *"security"* and *"deterrent,"* all three of them had completely different understandings.

Japan has not fully contemplated about national security during the 70 years after the war. They thought the state of not thinking about it was peace. Therefore there are no common grounds to discuss about specific circumstances if we were to revise the security bill, or how Japan should respond if a war should happen or what we can do for logistical support and what risk it would bring.

Even when we talk about Japanese



Soichiro Tahara, journalist

civilization today, Japanese people don't have a common understanding. We have to start by thinking about how we're going to deal with the world's recognition of Japan, which has become so scattered and dispersed.

**Inose:** I think postwar Japan is like Disneyland. There is no reality. The Americans are the gatekeepers and Okinawa is the only one outside Disneyland. Having lived peacefully and safely inside Disneyland, we Japanese have stopped thinking about our identity. I think we need to look at ourselves again today.

Next, we would like to hear some good points about Japan from Mr. Goto. His study revolves around *"shinise (long-established organizations)"* and has published the book *"Rules of Companies that Last 100 years, over Three Generations."* Japan seems to be prominent for its long running companies. Perhaps Mr. Goto can tell us why.

**Goto:** In Japan, there are over 25,000 companies that have a history of more than 100 years. In second place is America, which has half. Germany comes in third place, followed by England, Switzerland, Italy, France and Austria. But because the conditions of geography and GDP differ according to the country, it's impossible to judge only by compa-

ny numbers, so we calculated relative values divided by GDP. While America dropped to 17th place, Japan still remained top. Whether its absolute value or relative value, the percentage of long running companies in Japan is extremely high. But why does Japan have so many long running companies? One reason is because modern management has advanced since the Edo Period. Another external reason is due to the market, which developed relatively slowly. Most importantly, Japanese people had a strong will to continue their family business.

Next, I would like to point out three characteristics of Japanese civilization seen from the point of view of long running companies. One is the spirit of *"wa (harmony)."* Next is cultural relativism. This means taking in outside culture, learning it and adopting it to Japan. Underneath this is the ability to respond flexibly to changes, but I think Shinto—a polytheistic religion—has got a lot to do with this. Lastly, we mustn't miss out the mentality and will to improve. Pursuing good quality, while paying attention to details is not only seen in the craftsmanship of people who develop technology, but also in the mentality of people pursuing *"do (way)"* like *Jyu-do* and *Sa-do* (tea ceremony).



Toshi Goto

## The concept of "ko (public)" of Omi-shonin (merchants)

**Inose:** The Edo Period developed a market economy. It was a feudal society but it was a time when merchant culture developed. Stores like Echigoya and Matsuzakaya, which have become big companies today, emerged. The population doubled from about 15 million to 30 million during the 100 years since the Edo government began in 1603. It was a period of high economic growth. It's close to when in the Meiji Restoration people were enlightened to build a Modern Nation and headed for *"Saka-no-ue-no-Kumo (Clouds Above the Hill)"* as well as the period post WWII until the bubble burst.

Actually, an ethical style close to Omi-shonin, cultivated itself during the 150 years of zero economic growth that followed the high economic growth.

Mr. Tahara is from Hikone, where Omi-shonin originates. Omi-shonin had the idea of *"Sanpo-yoshi (benefit for all three sides),"* which explains that in business, merchants should take into consideration *"urite-yoshi (the benefits for the vendor),"* *"kaite-yoshi (the benefits for the customer)"* and *"seken yoshi (the benefits for the society)"* at the same time. I think this kind of concept of *"ko (public)"* is something that is also valid in Japanese economy today. Could you tell us a little bit about this concept, Mr. Tahara?

**Tahara:** Ever since I was a kid, I hated Omi-shonin. They were severe, greedy and hungry and it was said that soil after Omi-shonin trod on, became barren land. However, I reconsidered Omi-shonin when I entered my 30s. The order of *"Sanpo-yoshi"* is a little different from what Mr. Inose just described. For a merchant to get by, benefits are needed for the customer at the fore-

front. If they win the trust of the customers, they win the trust of the society. In the end, the benefits are returned back to you.

If you go to Gokasho, the origins of Omi-shonin, there are family crests shaped like “%.” There’s a line in the middle with two circles aside. It’s a sign resembling a “*tenbin-bo* (pole for carrying luggage),” the sun and the moon, meaning “working from dawn to night.” The “*tenbin-bo*” is the hardware, while all the rest relies on the brain and body, thereby the software.

There’s another term describing Omi-shonin, which is “*un-don-kon* (luck, solidity and perseverance).” Without luck, you can’t get by in society. But luck isn’t just good and bad. You have to be “*don* (solid)” and try with “*kon* (perseverance)” and luck will come its way. That’s what my grandmother often told me ever since I was a child.

Konosuke Matsushita said exactly the same thing. One day, I asked Mr. Matsushita “What do you see in the men you choose for executives, and presidents of associated companies?” He replied “Luck.” When I asked him whether he knew if a man had good or bad luck, he said he did. He said luck is the act of not being pessimistic when encountering a difficult task, but rather enjoying it and optimistically work toward it. Then things begin to favor your way. That’s luck, he said. Omi-sho-

nin and Konosuke Matsushita had the same spirit, you see.

**Goto:** The concept of “*Sanpo-yoshi*” is being discussed, but probably Omi-shonin had to be like that in order to survive. In order to trade in a foreign land, you have to work with the local people there and get accepted. Konosuke Matsushita said, “Companies are public institutions of society.” I think the spirit of “*wa*” leads to making the most of public benefits, which is another reason why there are so many long-established companies in Japan.

**Tahara:** Then again, a typical example showing the fault of “*wa*” would be the Toshiba Incident. That was completely window-dressing.

**Goto:** Truly. They probably thought it was best for the organization.

**Inose:** The word “*wa*” is easy to use, but it’s a concept that is difficult to get pinned down. In Japanese society today, under the principle of “*wa*,” bad systems in which risks are dispersed so that individuals don’t have to take responsibility can be seen, like the case of the recent National Stadium as well as the public authorities’ frame of mind. I think it’s necessary to analyze the structure of “*wa*” in order to bring out the good traditional side of Japan like “*omotenashi* (hospitality)” and the

spirit of respecting others.

## An era of civilization clash

**Goto:** In Samuel Huntington’s book “*The Clash of Civilizations and Japan in the 21 Century*,” which was published after “*The Clash of Civilizations: And the Remaking of World Order*,” there is an interesting quote. It says, it seems like the world is at peace after the end of the cold war, but actually that’s a big mistake. From now on, it’s no longer going to be a conflict between countries but instead a clash between civilizations. But civilizations not only provoke conflict, but they also have the potential to ease conflict. And here enters Japanese civilization. Japanese civilization is truly unique in its character. Out of the eight civilizations, it’s the one of few based on polytheism and therefore might have the potential to save the world.

**Tahara:** The world today, shows exactly Christian civilization and Islamic civilization facing directly against each other. What could Japan do in such a situation?

**Goto:** I would like to ask the same question to you, Mr. Tahara. But first, I think Japan today should begin by clarifying where it stands. During its long history, Japan has been repeating two phases. One is learning from others and the other is building a culture of its own.

Looking back at the past, after times when we sent Japanese envoys to Tang and Sui Dynasty in China to learn about the outside world, we had the Heian Period when we invented Hiragana and Genji-monogatari and developed a civilization of our own. This era is described as “*wa-kon-kan-sai* (Japanese spirit imbued with Chinese learning).”

After that came the Azuchi Mo-

moyama Period when Southeast Asian countries introduced guns and Christianity to Japan, and Oda Nobunaga eagerly adopted outside culture. Then when Japan was sealed off to the outside world in the Edo Period, Japanization occurred making Buddhism and Confucianism a culture of its own. The late Edo Period is said to be a time of “*wa-kon-kan-yo-sai* (Japanese spirit imbued with Chinese and Western learning).” In other words, Japan took in Chinese and Western technology while maintaining a Japanese spirit.

And in the Meiji Era, it became “*wa-kon-yo-sai* (Japanese spirit imbued with Western learning)” where people were eager to absorb Western technology and head for cultural enlightenment. In contrast, in the Taisho and Showa Era, nationalism flared-up and the country plunged itself into WWII. Postwar Japan, which Mr. Inose described as being Disneyland, is a time when we learned economic and scientific technique from the world in order to catch up with America.

But after the end of the cold war, we’ve lost the way to face. Now is the time to think about what Japanese spirit truly is.

**Tahara:** I have interviewed scholars of modern history at Tokyo University, probably alumni of Mr. Goto. I asked then what “*kon* (spirit)” of “*wa-kon-yo-sai*” in the Meiji Era resembled. The professors replied, “nothing like that existed in the first place.” They said it was good that they pretended it was there, even when there was nothing there. Postwar Japan has taken the position of a pacifist. But if I may use Mr. Inose’s words, we’re in Disneyland with no Japanese spirit. We’ve been continuing this state of lacking identity.

**Inose:** In Max Weber’s “*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*,” it is explained that economic



ethics of Puritanism—which takes seeking profit for granted—is what formulated modern capitalism. Its eloquent vision on modern history and Christianity is to the point. But “Japanese spirit” cannot be understood even if you take it to pieces. There’s no word to describe “Japanese spirit.”

Japan fought a war of aggression but I don’t think it was an imperialist state. There were times when the Emperor was considered a pillar for spiritual culture, but Japanese people never forced the countries they invaded to praise the Emperor as an absolute being. In other words, “Japanese spirit” was never a fixed system, but was instead like a software, that naturally built its form in the climate of Japanese culture. And now, like Mr. Tahara says, having gone through WWII, the Japanese have lost their “Japanese spirit.”

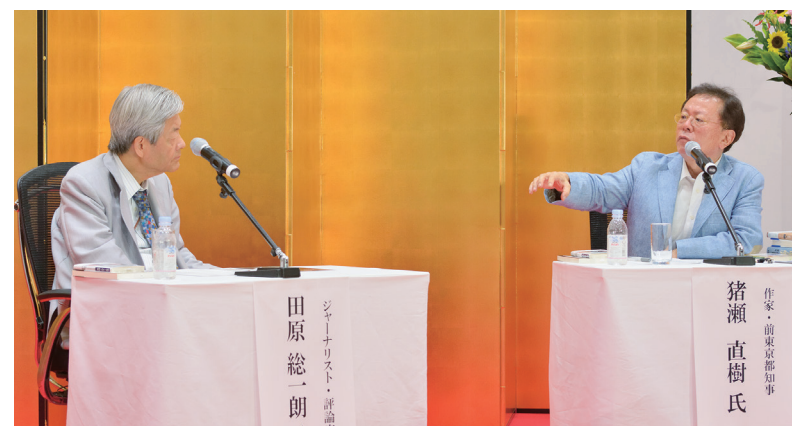
Here we have to think about another thing. Which era do we call “Japan”? Huntington says that Japanese civilization probably formed itself during 100 AD and 400 AD. The era of Himiko, in the Kofun Period. On the other hand for example, “Japan” described by Yukio Mishima is an illusion formed during the Meiji Restoration. About 300 “*or-aga-kuni* (my country)” assembled and became Japan during the Meiji Restoration. In other words, it could be said that Japan as a nation didn’t exist before that.

## Traditions of “wa” with flexible structure vs. logical civilization of the West

**Tahara:** There’s an uncomfortable feeling about Yukio Mishima’s theory on Japan, because Japan’s Meiji Era copied Prussia. Hirobumi Ito and Kowashi Inoue went to Prussia to investigate and they copied Prussia’s national policy to put together a prime minister, the national assembly, rules regarding the Imperial family and the Constitution of the Empire of Japan.

**Inose:** Indeed, Japan after Meiji was founded with the help of the Prussian system. It changed massively as a result. Certain things got passed on but others got lost. But what I want to point out has to do with our consciousness. Before the Meiji Restoration, Japan was the only power that we had in mind. But then the Black Ships came and we learn that there are several countries in the world and we would need International Law to get on in international society. It was the first time Japan showed itself to the world, and I think the 300 lords did something similar close to unfolding themselves across the globe.

Here, I would like to speak in extension of our discussion we had for our recently published book, “*War,*







*Emperor, Nation—Reconsidering the Modernization of 150 years.*” I think now is the time to realize again the greatness of the Western countries. When 28 Class A war criminals were prosecuted at the Tokyo Trials, an American lawyer claims that crimes against peace that were questioned at the Tokyo Trials, was a law constituted after the war.

**Tahara:** Yes, he says it was an ex-post facto law.

**Inose:** He says if it is wrong to convict crimes against peace, this trial itself is wrong. Furthermore, murder in war is not considered guilty. I know that the President of the country that dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, he says. In response to that, the American prosecutor says that this is a battle between civilizations. Another words, he says it's a special trial. These people are dueling with logic. We lost the war, but if we had won, were we capable of holding such a trial? How should we combine Western civilization—that is both systematic and logical—with Japanese traditions of “*wa*”? Even 70 years after the war, I still think that question lies with us.

**Tahara:** Similar to the way Perry arrived in Japan, England entered China and the Opium Wars erupted. Existing under similar circumstances, why do you think Japan escaped becoming a colony like China, but instead went on to build colonies themselves?

**Inose:** I think it has got something to do with Confucianism which is systematic and its solid base worked toward driving Christianity back. Japan's flexible structure allowed different cultures to enter.

**Goto:** That's true. Japan has come to accept one-sided treaties too, while saying “it's out of the question!”

**Inose:** In Korea, Confucianism clashed directly with Christianity. In contrary, I think because of Japan's flexible structure, Japan has very few Christians today.

**Tahara:** Yes there are very few Christians, compared to other countries. In the meantime, there are a lot of Christians in Korea.

**Inose:** To start with, Japan is all

mixed-up. In a sense it lacks system. There is also “*wa*” and that is the reason why Japan has retained its identity.

**Tahara:** Japan has a flexible approach. It can understand America but it can also understand why the Islamic State is angry. I think if there was to be a country that could talk to the Islamic State, it would be Japan. But, leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party say that it would be a betrayal toward Western countries. Then what should we do?

**Inose:** I agree. China's military budget was a trillion yen 20 years ago, 5 trillion yen 10 years ago and now 15 trillion yen. Meanwhile America's military budget was 30 trillion yen in the 90s, 60 trillion yen after 911 in 2001, and now showing a small decline. It's just a comparison of military budget, but amid such power struggle, Japan is required to consider how it should stand to survive this international situation. It is said that it will cost 20 trillion yen, if Japan was to cover an over all defense budget on its own. For the time being, Japan must consider how it must cultivate its partnership

with America. I'm sure there was a lot of demand from America behind Prime Minister Abe's proposal for the right for collective defense. But still, wasn't there more that Japan could have demanded specifically toward America? For example, it could have emphasized the returning of Tokyo's Air Rights. The skies of Tokyo are 100 percent owned by America. That's why passenger planes have to take off at an acute angle, which results in using up extra fuel. The aviation sovereignty of the Japanese Island is not owned by us, so can we call ourselves a sovereign state? A relationship where we can both demand and give support. Of course, it's still not an equal relationship.

**Tahara:** I also mentioned in my

TV program that the reason behind exercising the right for collective defense was to support America, so I said why doesn't Japan propose a revision of the US-Japan Status of Forces Agreement. Shigeru Ishiba thinks this way. Both Ishiba and Prime Minister Abe claim the right for collective defense, but they believe in completely different things. That's why he didn't accept to becoming the Minister of Defense.

**Goto:** 70 years have passed since the war, and I hear there are young people who don't even know we fought against America. The core for Japanese civilization's mission is not only about researching the Japanese spirit, modern culture, “*shinise* (long-established stores)” and traditional craft. I think just as important

from now on, is how we're going to transmit such content to people in and outside Japan. In order to send it abroad, we need to recognize Japanese history while remaining Japanese but be logical at the same time.

**Inose:** I think it's frightening if we imagine the spirit of “*wa*” and “*ishin-denshin* (non-verbal communication)” to be an apriority. If we're not aware of it, it then doesn't mean that we have it. Amidst such circumstances, what kind of information is Japanese Civilization Institute going to transmit? Today is the beginning of our trial and error. In order to break “*wa*,” “Japan” and “tradition” apart, and specifically recognize its form, we need to awaken and acknowledge. Hopefully, we can tackle these issues, one by one.

## The panelists

### Soichiro Tahara

Journalist. Creates new horizons in TV journalism in TV Asahi's programs, “*Asa-made Nama TV* (Live TV until morning)” and “*Sunday Project*.” Specially appointed professor at Waseda University and head of Okuma School Leadership Challenge. Appearing in numerous TV and radio shows including TV Asahi's “*Asa-made Nama TV*! (Live TV until morning)” and BS Asahi's “*Gekiron! Cross Fire* (Heated discussion! Cross Fire).” Also, an author of many books. Born 1934.

### Naoki Inose

Author. Director of Japanese Civilization Institute. In 1986, he received Souichi Ooya Nonfiction Award for his book “*Mikado-no Shozo* (Portrait of an Emperor).” He resigned his position as Tokyo governor in December, 2013. His books include “*Naoki Inose Collection Modern Japan—12 volumes*.” Born 1946.

### Toshio Goto

Executive director of Japanese Civilization Institute. Dean of Business Administrations Faculty, and Professor of Postgraduate School at Japan University of Economics. After acquiring an MBA, starts working at NEC. Managing director of National Economic Research Association, head of Business Environment Research Center and Professor of International Information Faculty at Shizuoka Sangyo University. Writer of numerous books. Born 1942.

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