

Japanese Culture
Notes
Chapter 3: History
Part 3



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3.4 Centralized Feudalism

Keywords: Portuguese, St. Francis Xavier, Oda Nobunaga, Akechi Mitsuhide, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tensho Boy Mission, Tokugawa Ieyasu, EDO Period, Fudai, Shimpan, Tozama, Hatamoto, Sankin kootai, Foreign policy, Sakoku, Dutch, Shimabara-no ran, Haiku, Kabuki, Jooruri, Geisha, Ukiyoe, Seppuku, social scale/classes, Burakumin, Commodore Matthew C. Perry

Link to images of Japanese samurai:

http://www.kiku.com/electric_samurai/cobweb_castle/samurai_gallery.html

Castles of Japan: <http://pages.ca.inter.net/~ttoyooka/oshiro/>

<i>Period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Details</i>
AZUCHI-MOMOYAMA PERIOD	1543	Western (Portuguese) commerce arrives at Tanegashima, and left his gun
	1549 - 1557	St. Francis Xavier launches a Jesuit mission (He converted 150 Japanese to Christianity - by 17th c a half million converted)
	1568	Regional Lord Oda Nobunaga first seized Kyoto <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • castles - hirajiro vs. yamashiro • breaks power of Buddhist monk armies & Ashikagas
1568-1600 Age of Unification	1582	Oda was assassinated by Akechi Mitsuhide. Akechi was killed by a farmer. Oda's close follower Toyotomi Hideyoshi keeps the campaign and completes it in 1590. He never took the title of Shogun. He made a clear distinction between samurais and other classes. He monopolized foreign trade, confiscated the arms of the peasantry, drawing a sharp line between them and the samurai.
	1586	<i>Tensho shonen shisetsu</i> (Tensho Boy Missions) went to Europe and came back in 1590.
	1589	Persecution of Christians
	1590	National unification completed by Hideyoshi.
	1592-7	Hideyoshi attempts to invade Korea, as the first step to conquer the world (China), but fails. (diverts samurai energies into Korean campaigns)
	1598	Hideyoshi dies.
	1600	Battle of Sekigahara. Tokugawa Ieyasu takes the torch. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sekigahara -60,000 guns; Japan - 100,000 guns - France - 3,000 guns • Sakai (in Osaka) produced 5,000 guns per year; all Europe - 2,000 per yr
	1603	Tokugawa Shogunate - Edo - government (capital - Kyoto) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nakanakuba koroshite shimaoo hototogisu - Nobunaga (kill) • Nakanakuba nakasete miseyoo hototogisu - Hideyoshi (force) • Nakanakuba nakumade matoos hototogisu - Ieyasu (wait) Establishment of highly centralized Shogunate

<p>EDO PERIOD</p>	<p>Seat of government moved to Edo (modern day Tokyo) Control of feudal lords</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 245 to 295 vassal lords or daimyo (feudal lord) • Fudai (hereditary daimyoo) (loyalists) • Shinpan (Tokugawa collateral branch) • Tozama (outer daimyo) (pledge loyalty) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hatamoto - direct army of shogun <p>Sankin kootai - one yr at home, one yr at Edo with his wife and the first son (hostages)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • financial burdens: two residences, great processions, etc. • later "restructuring": elimination of lords as in story of 47 Masterless Samurai (Chushingura) <p>System of roads, communications and checkpoints</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tokaido road linking Kyoto and Edo ▪ checkpoint near Mt. Fuji (Kanto/Kansai - East & West of the barrier) <p>A fourth of the agricultural land and all the great cities, ports, and mines - Shogun's land (tenryoo)</p> <p>Neo-Confucianism established as official Tokugawa ideology.</p>
<p>EDO PERIOD (continued)</p>	<p>4 classes - samurai (leaders), peasants, artisans, merchants (eta, hinin-> burakumin)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ samurai class (5-6% of population) administers society ▪ makes chu, loyalty to one's lord, most important value (given more emphasis than even ko "filial piety"- devotion to parents and family) ▪ emphasizes subordinate status of women <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Great Learning for Women (Onna Daigaku) - 3 obediences ○ divorce in "3 and 1/2 lines" (Mikudari han) ▪ neighborhood associations as form of collective responsibility <p>Builds monuments to Tokugawa power, e.g., Ieyasu's mausoleum at Nikko</p> <p>Control of life-style, leisure, money of all classes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ sumptuary laws controlling luxurious living ▪ establishment of pleasure districts (e.g., the Yoshiwara in the city of Edo) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ courtesans: geisha as professional entertainers
	<p>Unification leads to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ growth of large cities: Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya, Nagasaki, and the new political ▪ government in Edo ▪ growth of castle towns: local economies grown up around

	<p>daimyo castles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ relative peace and prosperity for 250+ years ▪ rise of middle-man class: the chonin, townsmen or merchant class <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ although at the bottom of the social hierarchy, this class amasses wealth possession of wealth - without political power - leads to contradictory moral goals ▪ thrift, frugality and investment as the first step to amassing capital ▪ the culture of merchant class focuses on conspicuous consumption <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ redefinition (re-evaluation) of the term ukiyo as a "vale of tears" ○ to the meaning of ukiyo as "the floating world" ▪ emphasis on feeling (ninjo) rather than duty (giri) ▪ emphasis on romantic love - the primacy of feelings, romantic choice ▪ posture of anti-establishment opposition to the samurai class ▪ wet/heterodox merchant tradition vs. dry/orthodox samurai tradition
<p>EDO PERIOD (continued)</p>	<p>Haiku, Kabuki, Jooruri, Ukiyoe, etc. Principal cultural artists and artifacts of the merchant tradition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basho (1644-94) and the writing of haiku (5-7-5) poetry: a life of travel and the open road in pursuit of the poetic moment • Sikaku (1641-93) and the kana-novel. • rise in literacy: literature and art made available to the average person through the "mass" publication of novels and prints (e.g., ukiyoe "picture of the floating world") - wood block prints of courtesans, actors and landscapes) • makes Heian classics available to mass audience: neo-classicism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ creates a series of romantic or erotic novels in which the central characters devote themselves to the way of love or sexual pursuit (shikido, the way of eroticism) e.g., The Man Who Lived For Love (1683), The Woman Who Lived For Love, Five Woman Who Lived For Love • novels as an important source of information about fashions in dress, food, theater, sumo, etc. • importance of tone in these writings: ironic, parodic, satirical • Chikamatsu (1653-1724) and the Puppet and Kabuki theater <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ giri vs. ninjo (duty vs. feeling) or romantic vs. arranged marriage ○ the drama and tragedy of the double suicide (shinju) ○ duty wins but lovers as "failed heroes" live in death

Bunraku



- Kabuki theater: starts with comic and erotic performances by Okuni, an actress, and her troupe on the dry riverbed of the Kamo River in Kyoto
 - later women were outlawed as performers; roles were taken by men
 - perfection of female impersonation

Kabuki



Kumadori

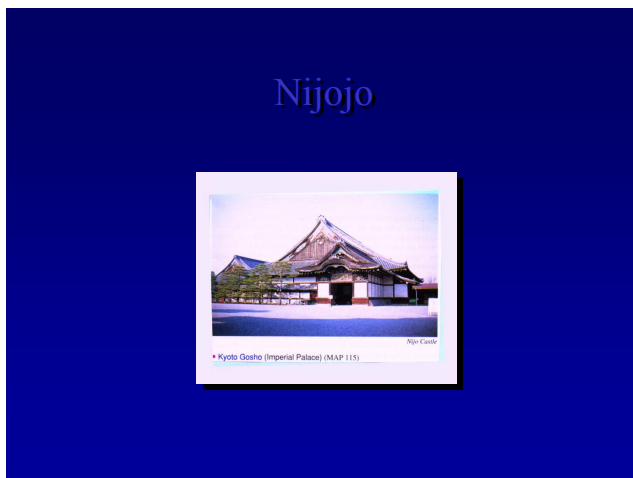
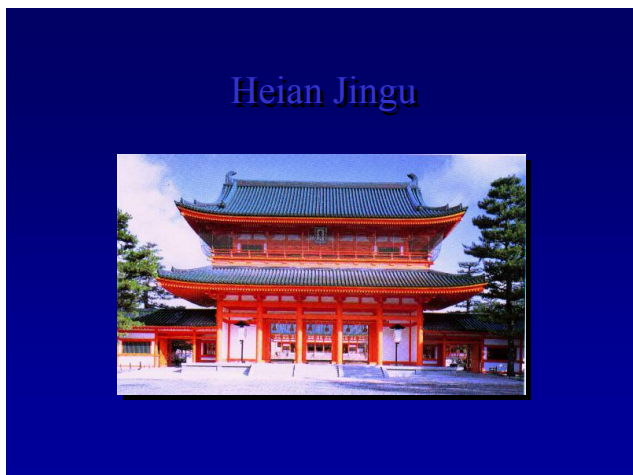


EDO PERIOD (continued)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pleasure districts: Yoshiwara in Edo, rise of professional entertainers (geisha) • Sumo wrestling • Public bathhouses, nudity, tattooing
	1615	Osaka Castle destroyed; final defeat of Hideyoshi's heirs.
	1616	Ieyasu dies.
	1617	Renewed persecution of Christians (fumie- walk on crucifix-test).
	1624	Spanish expelled.
	1638	Shimabara-no ran (Riot at Shimabara) 40,000 Christians and farmers stayed in the island and fought against 100,000 of the government soldiers about 4 months. Protestants (Dutch) helped the government from the sea to seize the riot.
	1639	<p>Japanese are forbidden to leave the country. Missionaries are expelled. Only Chinese and Dutch traders were allowed to contact the Japanese at Dejima (man-made island) in Nagasaki. (national isolation policy - Sakoku)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • technically behind, but stable society - strong sense of national identity • occasional riots by the oppressed peasants • regional specialization in production • monetized economy • 25 or 30 million people - above mere subsistence level, only one heir - more of a liability than asset - practiced infanticide • importation, manufacture of guns prohibited: "return to the sword"
	ca. 1700	The Genroku flowering of narratives, theatrical, and arts; novels by Ihara Saikaku, plays by Chikamatsu Monzaemon, and haiku by Basho.
	1703	the 47 ronin masterless samurai
	late 18th c	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salaried samurai - working for wages • Confucian doctrines - nationwide intellectual cross-fertilization- Chinese was to rule by men of superior education and morality, but Tokugawa was by birth
	18th c	Kokugaku or National learning and Rangoku or Dutch learning
	1770-1790	The Tamuma Period of political corruption.
	1792	Russians came to Matsumae in Hokkaido requesting trade with Japan
	1804	Americans came to Nagasaki requesting trade with Japan; Russians came again to request trade with Japan.
	1808	The British government requests trade with Japan
	1840-1	Tempo Reforms.
1844	The Dutch government requests trade with Japan	
1846	French. US warships under Biddle at Uraga request trade with	

EDO PERIOD (continued)		Japan
	1853	Commodore Matthew C. Perry appeared in the Edo Bay (Uruga), requesting American trading rights
	1854	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perry returns and negotiates Treaty of Kanagawa. Internal Japanese opposition to the development results in a period of political chaos, contributing to the fall of the rule of the Tokugawa Bakufu. • The Harris Treaty expands the US trade concession; France; Great Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands followed.
	1863-8	The domains of Satsuma, Choshuu, and Tosa agitate to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate. They are victorious in 868 when Keiki, the last Tokugawa Shogun, resigns.
	1867	Tokugawa Shogunate ends. End of the Edo Period, end of feudalism.

Sonezaki shinju

<http://www.jinjapan.org/access/bunraku/sonezaki.html>



3.5. Meiji and Taisho

Keywords: Townsend Harris, Sonno Joi, compulsory education, samurai revolt, Itagaki Taisuke, Jiyuu Minken Undo, Seiyuukai, Okuma Shigenobu, Ito Hirobumi, invited foreigners, the Imperial Constitution, Diet system, Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, TAISHO Period, Taisho democracy, WW I, Versailles Peace Conference, Washington Conference, voting rights

<i>Period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Details</i>
1868-1912 MEIJI PERIOD		China - semicolonial system of unequal treaties Russians - all of Siberia
	1854	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harris Treaty (Townsend Harris) - full trade treaty in 1858 (commercial treaty - asked Emperor's approval) • strong demand of Japanese silk • <i>Sonno Joi</i> "honor the emperor and expel the barbarians" • (US Civil War 1861-5)
	1/3/1868	Direct Imperial rule; Meiji Restoration - the reinstatement of the supremacy of the Emperor in political and ideological life. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rapid modernization; abolish the samurai class; Edo -> Tokyo • <i>Fukoku Kyohei</i> (rich country, strong military) • return the land registers to the emperor, receive appointments as governors
	1869	15 yr old emperor moved to Tokyo. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rickshaw invented in Japan.
	1871	Education Ministry was founded.
	1872	Compulsory education. Tokyo-Yokohama railroad opened.
	1873	Universal military conscription; fixed monetary taxes. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Meiroku-sha, an influential group of intellectuals, urges the "civilization and enlightenment" (Bunmeikaika) of Japanese society based on largely Western models. Members include Fukuzawa Yukichi, a founder of Keio Univ. in Tokyo. A conservative reaction arises against the "mindless and chaotic" importation of foreign ideas and technologies.
	1876	The samurai were prohibited from wearing their swords
	1877	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The last and the greatest samurai revolt • Clear awareness of the possibility of learning from abroad
	1877	Tokyo University - graduates- high civil service jobs.
	1879	New Testament translated.
	1881	In response to the People's Rights movement, the government promises a constitution and parliament. Constitution promulgated 1889, and Diet opens in 1890.
	1881-98	6177 British, 2764 Americans, 913 Germans, 619 French, and 45 Italians were invited (French-law, German-medicine, steel, American-agriculture, British - railroad)

MEIJI PERIOD (continued)	1885	Prime Minister and the cabinet were appointed.
	1887	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Masquerade ball in Western dress given for the political elite and foreigners at Rokumeikan provokes a nationalistic reaction. • Tokutomi Soho founds the nationalistic newspaper Kokumin Shinbun.
	1889	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promulgation of <u>the Imperial Constitution</u> - based on the German (Weimar) constitution - and the Imperial Household Code • Emperor - merely validate the decision, not to rule
	1890	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First National Diet- House of Peers (15 yen Tax - not much more than 1% of the population) and House of Representatives - first successful parliamentary experiment outside the West • First national election
	1892	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second national election
	1894-95	Sino-Japanese War - victory (control of Korea)
	1894	British - agreed to relinquish their extraterritorial privileges by 1899
	1900	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At about the turn of the century, Japan's publishing industry undergoes a boom that is probably unprecedented in the history of the world up until that time. • Itagaki Taisuke - Jiyu Minken Undo "freedom and people's rights -> "movement" - political party - (later) Seiyukai held power in 1900-12, • Okuma Shigenobu - implement British parliamentary system; cabinet 1914-16 • Ito Hirobumi - German system - constitution - assassinated by a Korean in 1909
	1901	A massive wave of translation of European literature begins and continues for about a decade. Of particular importance are the works of Zora and Nietzsche, though at first their ideas are translated into bad melodrama.
	1901-13	Saionji Kinmochi and General Katsura Taro alternated prime minister position
	1902	First true equal alliance between a Western nation (Britain) and a non-western nation (Japan) (- against Russia). Oriental Palace Hotel in Yokohama installs electric lights and fans.
	1903	First permanent movie house, the Electric Theater, built in Akasaka entertainment district , Tokyo.
	1904-5	Russia-Japanese War - victory (control of Korea). The peace treaty (broken by Teddy Roosevelt) strikes many as unfair, and riots break out.
1905	Natsume Soseki, professor of English at Tokyo Imperial University, publishes his <i>I Am a Cat</i> , and the work proves to be	

MEIJI PERIOD (continued)		wildly popular. Natsume Soseki's image today graces Japan's most widely circulating denomination of paper currency, the 1,000 yen note.
	1906-10	Perhaps Japan's most important national literacy movement, Japanese Naturalism, erupts.
	1907	Universal education for 6 yrs became a reality.
	1908	Conservatives object to Naturalism. Boshin Shosho is promulgated to improve the morals of the nation.
	1910.6 - 1911.1	The High Treason Incident. Severity of censorship increases. Left-wing thinkers are suppressed. The "Winter Years of Socialism" continue until the end of WWI.
	1910	Occupy (colonize) Korea. The first flight of an airplane in Japan.
	1911	Revision of Anglo-Japanese Alliance; US-Japan, Anglo-Japanese, German-Japanese Treaties of Amity, Trade, and Navigation
	1912	Emperor Meiji dies. End of Meiji period. General Nogi commits suicide to serve his Emperor in death.
1912-1926 TAISHO PERIOD	1912	TAISHO Period (1912-26), Emperor Taisho
	1913-32	Taisho democracy
	1913	Political parties win power from other elites. The Women's Movement.
	1914-8	Entry of Japan into WW I. Japan aligns itself with allies against Germany. Suffers only 1,210 casualties and prospers greatly from increased European demand for its industrial products. The transition from an agricultural society to an industrial one is facilitated.
	1915 - 21	Demands forced on China - a new concession from China
	1918	Siberian Expedition against Russian Revolution in concert with US and Great Britain. Rice riots, strikes, and open defiance of the National Family ideology.
	1919	Versailles Peace Conference - first non-Western nation to have made it into the club of the Western great powers - German holdings in Shantung Provinces in China and German islands of the North Pacific became Japanese
	1920	May First Day. Leftist intellectual trends alarm the authorities.
	1921	Hara Takashi, popular Party Prime Minister, is assassinated.
	1921-2	Washington Conference - limit the ratio of the capital ships to between 3 and 5 with the US and Great Britain, not build bases beyond Hawaii and Singapore.
	1922	Japan Communist Party founded.
	1923	Great Kanto Earthquake
	TAISHO	1925

PERIOD (continued)		system or abolition of private property (lacked emotional and intellectual support for the democracy). Scandals erode faith in party politics and government.
	1926	Taisho Emperor dies. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asian markets became open because the Western nations left Pacific. • Influence from Russian Revolution • Labor movement • JPN's foreign policy moved from the military orientation to policies more in line with business interests

3.6. Showa and Heisei

Keywords: SHOWA Period, the London Naval Treaty, the League of Nations, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, WWII, Indonesia, Manchuria, China, Russia, General Tojo Hideki, Atomic bombs, Potsdam Proclamation, constitution, women, Emperor, demilitarization, Land Reform Policy, San Francisco Peace Treaty, the US-Japan Security Pact, Self Defense Force, LDP, the United Nations, Income-doubling Plan, Tokyo Olympic Games, Okinawa, Sapporo Winter Olympic Games, "Nixon Shock", Oil crisis, Tokyo Summit, HEISEI Period, coalition government, Nagano Winter Olympic Games

<i>Period</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Details</i>
1926-1989 SHOWA PERIOD		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diet control over the prime ministership and cabinet was by no means part of the established constitutional system but merely political convenience • Army and Navy ministers remained military men and outside party discipline • Economy - bad - peasants forced to sell their daughters
	1926	SHOWA Period, Emperor Showa (Hirohito)
	1927	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • General Tanaka Giichi - president of Seiyuukai - became prime minister - army - actual operations are free of civilian control. • Writer Akutagawa Ryuunosuke commits suicide, leaving behind prophetic statement that Japanese society was falling into a dark valley. • Economy collapsing. Many farmers forced to sell daughters into prostitution. Democracy appears to fail and political parties are blamed. Young military patriots seek spiritual solution.
	1928	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Army's assassination of the Chinese warlord in Manchuria
	1929	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American stock market crash • Self sufficiency - population problem
	1930	The cabinet forced the navy to accept the London Naval treaty -

SHOWA PERIOD (continued)		heavy cruisers - 3-5 ratio of US and Britain - insubordination by the navy
	1931	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depression, Occupying Manchuria (staged incident, railroad) • Military leaders assassinated the Prime Minister who forced the London Treaty • Right wing terrorism becomes a primary force in governing Japanese foreign policy. Talking pictures introduced into Japan, throwing those who formerly explicated silent pictures in Japanese out of work. These people organize a union and urge the boycott of talking pictures.
	1932	Founding of Japanese puppet state Manchuko in Manchuria.
	1933	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Withdrawal from the League of Nations • Mass arrests of leftists. The writer Kobayashi Takiji tortured and murdered by the police.
	1936	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minseito - "Will it be parliamentary government or fascism?" - gained some seats, but outpowered by nationalists • The 2.26 (Feb 26th). Incident - young army officers killed a number of government leaders and seized part of downtown Tokyo - another decline of the Diet.
	1937	Army general prime minister eliminated all party participation in the cabinet
	1937	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War against China, Control over Inner Mongolia and North China, unplanned fight between JPN and China - Chiang Kai-shek's government demanded an overall settlement of JPN's creeping aggression (but never colonized China) • Mass media in Japan ordered to avoid anything anti-war, anti-military, anti-Japan. In December, the Japanese military in China goes berserk. There is the Rape of Nanking.
	1940	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government banned all parties - Imperial Rule Assistance Association - no dictator and the system was not the product of a well-defined popular movement, but a change of mood, a shift in the balance of power • Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
	9/1940	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere - pacts with Germany and Italy • Seized North Vietnam
	4/1941	Pact with Russia
	1941	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WWII, Dec. 7 (Dec 8 in JPN time) attack on Pearl Harbor under government of Tojo Hideki. • 3 choices: - backing down in China; waging a war to seize the oil of Indonesia; negotiating a compromise settlement with the US • General Tojo Hideki became prime minister
	1942	Performances of American and British music are banned.

SHOWA PERIOD (continued)	1944	Steel guitars, ukuleles, and banjos outlawed.
	1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atomic bombs: 8/6 - Hiroshima; 8/9 - Nagasaki • 8/8 Russians joined the War against Japan • 8/14 (Aug 15 in J time) unconditional surrender - Potsdam Proclamation • 668,000 civilians were killed in aerial bombardments • Agricultural production - 1/3
	1945-52	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allied Occupation of Japan. Occupation troops include British, Australian, and other allied forces, but the Soviets are excluded and it is generally an American show. Ultimate power within Japan resides with the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, S.C.A.P., or General Douglas MacArthur. However, different from the Allied Occupation of Germany, in Japan, many administrative functions and powers are left in the hands of Japanese citizens, who are expected to carry out S.C.A.P.'s directives. • Demilitarization - the Switzerland of Asia; and democratization • More than 6.5 million in Asia were dumped back to Japan • 7 men including General Tojo - executed • Ultra nationalistic groups were banned, communists were released
	1946	<p><u>New constitution</u> - effective from 3/3/47</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>women gained legal equality and the vote (universal suffrage)</u> • Emperor - symbol of state and the unity of the people • Article 9 - Disarmament • Prime Minister - elected by the lower House • judicial system - independent of executive interference • Zaibatsu - dissolved - attempts to revive industry - took 10 yrs to become mid 30's standard per capita • Land Reform policy began - tenancy was reduced to only about 10 % of the land • union organization • religious freedom • compulsory education - 6 -> 9 yrs • Liberal Democratic Party, Communist Party, Socialist Party, Democratic Socialist Party, Komeito (Clean Government Party - Soka Gakkai) • Japan is an utter mess.
	1946-7	1st Yoshida Government
	1947-8	Katayama Government. The only interlude of non-conservative, socialist government in postwar Japan.
	1948-9	2nd Yoshida Government.

**SHOWA
PERIOD
(continued)**

1948	Reserve course. S.C.A.P. ousts U.S. and Japanese progressives from administration and undertakes policy of deflation.
1949	Hideki Yukawa becomes the unshared Nobel laureate in physics.
1949-52	3rd Yoshida Government
1950	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Korean War • Communist Party driven underground. • Japanese economy takes off.
1951	San Francisco Peace Treaty and the US-Japan Security Pact
1952	April, Occupation ends. Japan regains full independence
1952-3	4th Yoshida Government
1953	Television broadcasting begins.
1953-4	5th Yoshida Government
1954	Self Defense Force
1954-7	Hatoyama Government
1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal Democratic Party (Two traditional conservative enemies, Yoshida and Hatoyama, unite to form the LDP. The LDP has held power till 1993. • Ishihara Shintaro writes <i>Season of Violence</i>. One of the angry young men of postwar Japanese media, Ishihara later becomes a conservative politician, authored <i>The Japan that Can Say No</i> in 1989 (English ver. in 1991), and became the governor of Tokyo in 1999.
Mid 50's	Per capita production levels of pre-war years
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A full peace treaty with the Soviet Union • Japan's participation in the United Nations approved
1957-60	Kishi (formerly convinced of being wartime criminal) Government
1959	Free Trade and exchange policy adopted
1960	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of the Security Treaty • Opposition to the US-Japan Security Treaty brings down Kishi Government.
1960-4	Ikeda Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income-doubling Plan by Prime Minister Ikeda (but actually doubling every seven years) • Ikeda's famous quote, "Japan doesn't need the poor!" MITI helps engineer three decades of unsurpassed economic growth.
1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tokyo Olympic Games - new sense of national pride and purpose • The obligations of Article 8 of the IMF agreement • Membership in OECD • Bullet train (Hikari) service began
1964-72	Sato Government
1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relations with South Korea - normalized with large financial

SHOWA PERIOD (continued)		<p>payments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vietnam War; anti-America • Shin'ichiro Tomonaga becomes the unshared Nobel laureate in physics.
	1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yasunari Kawabata becomes the unshared Nobel laureate in literature.
	1969	<p>Reversion of Okinawa - effective in 1972</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • by late 60's Japan became the 1st or 2nd largest trading partner of almost every country in East and Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific
	1960's	Major role in the Asian Development Bank
	1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Osaka International Exposition • Yukio Mishima commits suicide.
	1971	Nixon Shock - Nixon went to China
	1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sapporo Winter Olympic Games • Return of Okinawa • Yasunari Kawabata commits suicide. • Diplomatic relations between Japan and People's of Republic of China restored
	1972-4	Tanaka Government
	1973	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reona Esaki becomes the Nobel laureate in physics. • Oil crisis (Oil Shock) - Japan's vulnerability (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries - more than 60% import -> two-digit inflation) -this challenge results in even greater export-inspired economic growth. • The 4th Middle East War
	1974	Former Prime Minister Eisaku Sato becomes the Nobel laureate in Peace.
	1974-6	Miki Government
	1976	Lockheed Scandal. Former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka is prosecuted for taking bribes from Lockheed.
	1976-8	Fukuda Government
	1978-80	Ohira Government
	1979	Second increase oil prices by OPEC Tokyo Summit (5th Economic Summit Conference)
	1981	Ken'ichi Fukui becomes the Nobel laureate in Chemistry.
	1982-87	Nakasone Government
	1980's	Highest rates of longevity
	1986	Tokyo Summit (12th Economic Summit Conference)
	1987-89	Takeshita Government
1987	Susumu Tonegawa becomes the Nobel laureate in Physiology/Medicine.	
1989	Emperor Hirohito dies in January.	
SHOWA PERIOD (continued)	1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heisei Period starts, Emperor Heisei (Akihito)

1989 - HEISEI PERIOD		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sosuke Uno Government resigns over sex scandal.
	1989-91	Toshiki Kaifu Government
	1991-3	Miyazawa Government
	1993	Coalition government (non-LDP government) All parties except LDP and Japan Communist Party
	1994 June	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Japan Socialist Party, LDP, Sakigake coalition government (June)• Kenzaburo Oe becomes the unshared Nobel laureate in Literature.
	1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 1/17 Great Hanshin Earthquake• Several Aum incidents• Coalition government (LDP and Shaminto (former Japan Socialist Party) government)
	1998	Nagano Winter Olympic Games
	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Prime Minister Obuchi dies• Prime Minister Mori (LDP, Komei-to and Hoshuto coalition government)• Okinawa Summit• Hideki Shirakawa becomes the Nobel laureate in Chemistry.
	2003	Masayuki Oshiba and Koichi Tanaka become the Nobel laureates in Physics and Chemistry, respectively.

A few History-related links:A-Bomb WWW Museum: <http://www.csi.ad.jp/ABOMB/index.html>

3.7 Comfort Women

George Hicks, The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995. 303 pp. Selected annotated bibliography, index. \$25.00 US (cloth), ISBN 0-393-03807-6.

Reviewed for H-Women@msu.edu (October 1996) by Jeff Roberts, Tennessee Technological University <jjr7904@tntech.edu>

Imperial Japan was not the first nation to procure women to provide sexual services to its soldiers. As George Hicks notes, "More or less institutionalized means have always been found for catering to this primitive sexual need." Hicks, however, convincingly argues that the Japanese case represents a most ghastly instance of abuse, involving "the legalized military rape of subject women on a scale ... previously unknown in history."

Hicks notes several reasons why this long dormant issue surfaced only recently. In Asian societies, wherein chastity is esteemed, the comfort women "had everything to gain by keeping silent and everything to lose by making accusations." With prospects for marriage ruined by speaking out, most preferred to keep their ordeal secret rather than push for compensation and justice.

Furthermore, "[t]he task of uncovering the history of the comfort women has thus far been delayed by such factors as the destruction of evidence by the Japanese Armed Forces, the Japanese government's insincere attitude toward war responsibility and social prejudice against comfort women." The Japanese were all too happy to avoid the issue. Government officials have attempted to deny or shift responsibility in a number of ways, for example, by claiming that the comfort women were volunteers, working for private operators, over whom the military maintained only limited supervision.

Hicks also notes that, with one exception, the victorious Allies did not press the issue. While other atrocities such as the abuse of prisoners of war and the massacre of civilians were dealt with by the Tokyo war crimes trials, all such trials ceased with the outbreak of the Cold War. Only the Dutch took action, on behalf of Dutch women. This lone exception, oddly and improperly conducted in the midst of Indonesia's war for independence, was routinely dismissed by the Japanese as anomaly, if not injustice.

Perhaps most importantly, South Korea, whose women were the primary victims, was both distracted by war and threats thereof, and ruled by men who did not countenance demonstrations or protests. In addition Korea's leaders remained unwilling to challenge Tokyo, at least in part owing to economic dependence.

Comfort women thus began demanding redress in earnest only in the late 1980s and 1990s. By this time, some individuals no longer had any family upon whom they might "cast shame." Furthermore, by then, Asian attitudes toward women's rights had begun to change. Groups and individuals began to link the issue with the problem of sexual

oppression of women as a whole. "Simultaneously shocking from the standpoints of morality, feminism and patriotism," the issue could be used to arouse feelings against current practices, including the ongoing sex trade in Asia.

Beginning in the late 1980s, advocates for South Korean comfort women have demanded:

- 1. That the Japanese government admit the forced draft of Korean women as comfort women.*
- 2. That a public apology be made for this.*
- 3. That all barbarities be fully disclosed.*
- 4. That a memorial be raised for the victims.*
- 5. That the survivors or their bereaved families be compensated.*
- 6. That these facts be continuously related in historical education so that such misdeeds are not repeated.*

The Japanese government initially replied by claiming that there was no evidence of a forced draft, and hence no need for apologies, memorials, disclosures or compensation.

Anger at that response prompted many women to come forward, and in some cases, to file suit. Comfort women from other nations joined the South Koreans in protest. All the while, scholars gradually uncovered irrefutable evidence that the Japanese military was behind the running of the comfort stations.

Following more Japanese stalling, the South Korean government added its weight to the struggle in 1992. Several other nations followed suit. In August, 1993, the Japanese finally admitted to the use of deception, coercion and official involvement in the recruitment of comfort women. The apology they gave "was along the lines that the government ...offer[s] its deepest apology and sense of self-reproach to all the women for their irreparable mental and physical suffering and injuries, promising that means of compensation would be studied, and the lessons of history squarely faced."

The most powerful sections of the book are the personal accounts of the comfort women. Intermittently throughout the work, women tell of being violently "deflowered" and then forced to service dozens of men per day in a melange of dehumanizing ways.

One is left aghast at the physical pain the women endured. "I was continuously raw" writes one woman. "Sex was excruciating." Many emerged from their service with physical scars, nearly all of which were inflicted by Japanese officers. While a few managed to injure their tormentors in kind, "one forms the impression that many clients may have preferred this kind of sado-masochistic drama to tame submission."

Sadism is a recurring theme of the women's stories, along with the blatant abuse of force, as in the following example:

As I lay there naked on the bed ... he slowly ran the

sword over my body ... He played with me like a cat plays with a helpless mouse ... He threw himself on top of me ... he was too strong ... To me, this brutal and inhuman rape was worse than dying... The night was not over yet, there were more Japanese waiting ... this was only the beginning.

Beyond the damaged hips, the crippled legs, abdominal scars, broken bones, ruptured eardrums and missing teeth, came even more devastating psychological trauma. One woman speaks of her inability to "relinquish her fear of sex and hatred of men, which extends even to ... her grandson." "I just hate all men and I hate sex." Others have a different focus for their rage: "I was to be stripped of every shred of pride and dignity ... how I hate the Japanese!" "Cannot hate them enough" says another comfort woman, who was seized from her family on the very eve of her wedding.

The anguish they have endured has been worsened by the fact that the victims could not find release in an open acknowledgment of the wrong done to them. A former Filipino comfort woman, now a grandmother of twelve, stressed the need for justice as follows: "Our lives were wasted by the Japanese. We were treated like animals. Japan should at least say that it is sorry."

Curiously, many Japanese right-wing organizations have responded to even vague apologies with intense venom. They claim that Japan was not responsible for the war, that their actions were not lawless by the standards of the day, and that human rights were denied to all under wartime conditions. The present stir, many have claimed, is but economically motivated to put pressure on Japan.

Such responses alert one to another reason why this issue must be pursued, beyond the fact that this is a war crime gone unpunished. Japan has too often attempted to cover up, or has failed to inform and educate young Japanese, on the less heroic aspects of the war. Overall there is a pervasive taboo on discussion of the war, giving one an appearance of "national amnesia." The comfort woman issue "raises afresh the question of Japanese reluctance to acknowledge wartime atrocities." What is needed is "not only apology and compensation, but proper understanding of history by all Japanese."

In one paragraph which may best sum up the reasons to pursue this issue, the Comfort Women Problem Resolution Council of South Korea concluded: "Even among the war crimes committed by Japan, the comfort women issue involved the most inhuman, atrocious national crimes, unparalleled in the world. We have consistently demanded that the concealed truth of the matter be brought to light and that apology and compensation be made to the victims. This is a move designed to restore the human rights denied the comfort women. It also aims to correct the distortions in the history of Korean and Japanese relations and to sound an alarm bell to the world so that such war crimes are not repeated."

Hicks offers overwhelming evidence to support his criticisms of Japanese policies. He is more ambiguous, however, in discerning this example from other historical cases of military prostitution. Hicks is certainly correct to note that after the war, American soldiers claimed from some comfort women "the same sort of service their Japanese counterparts had." He also justifiably notes a "link between the sexual activities of the Japanese Armed Forces and that of the American Occupation Force as two sides of the same coin -- the exploitation of women."

Hicks might do well, at times, to clearly note the differences as well. Consider the following: Scholars of the Holocaust, by way of comparison, distinguish that event from many other examples of genocide by noting the scope and scale of the deprivations, and the extent of involvement of modern bureaucracies in the business of torture and murder. It would seem that the Japanese case similarly extends well beyond other historical examples of military prostitution, and implicates both the Home Government and the Imperial Armed Forces in a variety of ways. Not only was the scale of deprivations extraordinary, but so too was the suffering.

The Imperial Japanese approached military prostitution with some unusual attitudes. Some felt that sexual deprivation made one accident prone, and that sex before battle provided charms against injury. Some even wore "lucky" amulets made with the pubic hair of comfort women.

The system was worsened far less by superstitions, however, than by an intensely hierarchical military that strayed considerably "beyond the rational requirements of discipline." Within the armed forces recruits endured daily abuse in a dehumanizing process designed to secure complete obedience. The comfort women, supposedly supplied to "relieve tension," endured excessive mistreatment, especially from the officers. They who treated their own men as an inferior species, showed even greater contempt for women whom they often regarded as not only sexually but racially inferior. As one officer put it, "They're less than cattle."

There is also no doubt of extensive bureaucratic involvement. Women were procured in one of three ways. Initially recruiters searched for volunteers, finding some among professional prostitutes. More commonly they deceived young women with promises of cooking, laundry, nursing or waitress jobs. Finally, women were seized in virtual slave raids.

While some (not all) of the "recruiting" was handled by private operators, the Japanese Armed Forces "controlled the comfort stations in such respects as laying down regulations for them and conducting examinations of venereal disease." There were no uniform standards, but posted regulations covered the hours of opening, the length of each visit, bathing procedures, the required use of condoms (which were washed for re-use in shortage-stricken areas), and the fee scale. The military bureaucracy treated the women as they would handle standard supplies. With the exception of a recurrent concern for decorum, (amidst the satisfaction of rather brute "male needs"), they ran the comfort stations in a disturbingly banal, indifferent fashion.

There are minor problems with the work. Given that even educated readers often struggle with Pacific geography, the book could use at least one map. While a bit overgeneral on the background of the war, the last half of the work conversely drags in detail, as Hicks chronicles the increasing attacks of advocates and Japan's gradual admittance of guilt. Finally, on an admittedly trivial note, as a scholar of Afghanistan, I simply must dispute his claim that the Russo-Japanese war was "the first war in which an Asian power successfully took on a Western one."

I also question his rather virulent denunciation of the Allies for their failure to prosecute these war crimes earlier. Not only did the Allies have but limited evidence, but, given prevailing attitudes, one must assume that they likely viewed the comfort women as not altogether unusual for a society known for its bathhouses, geishas, and the like. While the emergence of feminism has made these issues explicit today, one must at least wonder how clearly the Allies of the late 1940's could have seen the dividing line between prevailing cultural patterns and atrocity.

While the ongoing recovery of relevant information precludes anyone from calling Hicks' work definitive, he has provided much of value. He has also done well (the book's title aside) to supply a limited degree of balance amidst a subject that begs perjoratives and sensationalism. Hicks notes cases of Japanese soldiers who empathized with for the comfort women, including one who objected to the whole process as "no different from relieving oneself in the lavatory." A 73 year-old veteran states: "I think it is appropriate that some kind of compensation should be made to the comfort women." One suspects that upon concluding this work, Hicks' readers will readily agree.

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August 31, 1996 – Murayama statement (Official statement expressing remorse for Japan's actions during WWII); Establishing the Asian Women's Fund
See <http://www.awf.or.jp>

The notes include Mineharu Nakayama's, Bill Tyler's, and Richard Torrance's Japanese 231: Elements of Japanese Culture Lecture Notes (Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University).

*Notes: The statistical numbers cited here are from *Japan 2000: An International Comparison* (Tokyo: Keizai Koho Center). These class notes are based on various reference books. They include:

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