

AIU GLOBAL REVIEW

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PREFACE

Akita International University (AIU) was established in the spring of 2004 and will celebrate its fifth year anniversary in April 2009. To commemorate this event, we are pleased to publish the first issue of its academic journal the *AIU Global Review*.

AIU has designed and established as the first “public university corporation” of higher education in Japan. Its curriculum and management is unique compared to other Japanese universities. These features include: all classes are conducted in English, all freshmen live in dormitories in campus, all students have to study abroad for one year at one of more than ninety partner universities outside Japan, and our library is open 24 hours a day all year round. No other Japanese university shares this combination of features.

AIU aspires to be competitive with the world’s top ranking universities. Our goal is to provide students a rich liberal arts education. We aim to develop students who combine fluency in English and other languages with a strong knowledge of global issues so that they will be able to contribute concretely to the advancement of international society and the local community. AIU recently initiated the second phase of its development by establishing a graduate school that offers Masters Degrees in selected professional fields.

After just five years AIU has earned the reputation as being among Japan’s best universities. This has been possible because of our highly motivated faculty and staff and the admission of excellent students from most of Japan’s prefectures as well as numerous foreign nations. Encouraged by AIU’s exceptionally high competition rate—about ten applicants per each admission—for admission to our undergraduate program, we have expanded annual enrollment from the initial 100 to 150 per year beginning in 2008.

AIU is proud of its faculty which was recruited internationally for their superior academic accomplishment and competence as educators, researchers and active contributors to the local community and Japan. Before AIU enrolled its first students recruitment of faculty attracted 600 applications for about 30 faculty positions. Almost half of our fulltime faculty are non-Japanese, another unique feature compared to other Japanese universities. AIU’s faculty now consists of 58 fulltime faculty, 8 select professors, 22 visiting professors and many adjunct lecturers. The size of our faculty is unusually large for about 600 Japanese students and 140 international students.

AIU faculty and staff receive a three year renewable contract based upon performance. This too is unique in Japanese higher education since faculty and staff usually enjoy life time employment. Most of AIU’s faculty have published academic books, research papers, magazine articles and presentations at academic conferences and presented public lectures.

Our hope is that the *AIU Global Review* will become widely read in the academic community, both in and outside of Japan so those beyond AIU can witness the quality and international competitiveness of AIU’s faculty. We look optimistically to AIU’s continuing success and the development of the *AIU Global Review* as a respected academic journal.

March 2009

Mineo Nakajima, Ph.D.
President
Akita International University

EDITOR'S NOTE

It is our great pleasure to offer the inaugural issue of the *AIU Global Review*. All the articles in this first issue were contributed by AIU faculty and administrators. Their wide variety is testament to the diversity of this liberal arts university's academic interests and flexibility. Each article was anonymously peer reviewed. In total, some thirty academics out of about fifty full-time faculty members at AIU invested their time in writing and reviewing the articles contained herein.

The editorial board wishes to express its deep appreciation to all who contributed to the establishment of the *AIU Global Review* and its first issue.

AIU's Japanese name, *Kokusai kyoyo daigaku*, differs from its name in English, *Akita International University (AIU)*. President Nakajima, who founded the university, did this to indicate our institution's strong commitment to international liberal arts education. AIU encourages its students to acquire a broad and deep understanding of world issues. This, combined with superior communication skills, is vital for professional success in an increasingly *globalized* world.

This Review is quite unique for a Japanese university's publication as it is originally offered in English, no translated works from Japanese version. It aims primarily to reach non-Japanese readers in a global community to invite responses and criticism for building constructive dialogues in the near future.

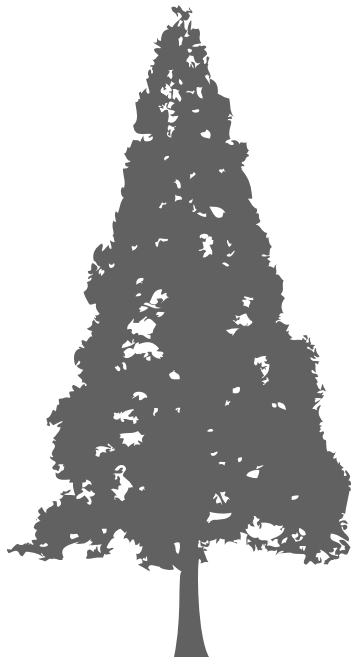
This first issue pays strong attention to "international liberal arts education." Of particular interest is the article by Dean of Academic Affairs Marcin Schroeder, followed by many case studies and research reports on Northeast Asia (by Takashi Yamamoto), Japan's security issues (by Tetsuya Toyoda), Japan-Taiwan relations (by Yeh Tsung-Ming), American political thought (by Yukie Suehiro) and Japanese traditional art (by Darren Ashmore). Language education is vitally important for international liberal arts, and we have such articles on English by Kola Olagboyega and Takanori Ueda, and on Japanese by Takako Ayusawa and Akiko Sugiyama. Based on Japanese language education practices to international students, Yuko Abe introduces their rich community contribution activities. Hiroshi Sugawara reports teachers training system in Japan, which may be interesting to readers outside Japan.

AIU is a young institution with a brief, five year history. But we look to the future with confidence. Our faculty, although academically and culturally diverse, is working together to ensure that AIU's "international liberal arts" program becomes a model for other institutions of higher learning in Japan to emulate. The *AIU Global Review* similarly aspires to promote and to demonstrate the academic benefits of "international liberal arts."

March 2009

Michio Katsumata
Managing Editor

BASIC EDUCATION



Antinomies of Education and Their Resolution in Liberal Arts

Marcin J. Schroeder

No comprehensive educational system can escape problems arising from contradictory objectives. Even the two most fundamental goals of education, preparation for the future life in the society and transmission of the cultural tradition, are torn between the opposite perspectives, the former with emphasis on the future and the latter on the past. Radicals favoring ultra conservative or ultra revolutionary solutions neglect either one of the goals, but majority of educators seek more balanced solutions.

Of course, the issue is not simply how much history or how much modern technology or scientific novelties should be included in the curriculum. Much more important is the balance between cultural values and norms, or at more basic level opinions and views, which students are expected to adopt in the process of learning and those which are left to their own choice, present or future. And, if they are given the choice, the question is how they should form their own judgment. It is not a trivial question today, especially that we are aware of the dangers of mystification even in the invocations to the authority of objective facts, scientific laws, and empirical tests. Continuing popularity, even in highly industrialized regions of the world, of various forms of religious fundamentalism and the number of pseudo-religious sects with bizarre programs and world-views give clear evidence that even in technologically advanced countries the educational systems have been very weak in developing the skills of making judgments.

In higher education, the optimal resolution of the contradiction between the transmission of traditional culture and the development of a creative, innovative approach to solving problems which we have to face in our life is being sought in involving in the pedagogical process those who are working in the frontiers of modern science, social studies, humanities and arts. The reasoning behind this solution seems convincing. Those whose creative research or artistic activity is expanding our own horizons are best to prepare our children for living in the world of the future. Their success in professional life must have been based on the good foundations in the traditional culture, to which they have added talent in overcoming the limitations of the present time. Who can be a better teacher?

Convincing as it is, the approach has some weak points. The most obvious is an objection based on the historical record. The most famous scientist of all times, Isaac Newton was at the same time equally famous as a terrible lecturer. No students wanted to listen to his incomprehensible lectures in Cambridge, according to the report of his cousin Humphrey Newton who has served for five years as his amanuensis. This low popularity as a teacher made Newton quite happy, as after fifteen minutes of lecturing to the empty auditorium, he could conclude his pedagogical responsibilities and return to his study.

The lists of terrible teachers who were famous researchers, in the memoirs of their frequently equally famous students, show that the qualification as a research genius is not necessarily a good reason for the qualification as a good teacher. Of course, there were instances of excellent talents both in research and in education, with probably best known example of Richard Feynman, laureate of 1965 Nobel Prize in physics whose enthusiastically received lectures for undergraduate students in Caltech have been transformed with the help of Robert

Leighton and Matthew Sands into the most popular textbook series in the history of science education.

Even more obvious is the simple truth that the bad research record is by no means an indicator of the higher probability of pedagogical talent. Thus, although not mutually exclusive, talents in teaching and research are independent, and considering the conflict between these two activities in allocation of time, there is no universal prescription for balancing these two types of responsibilities. Looking at the examples of great researchers who at the same time were excellent teachers of the format of Einstein or Feynman, we can only observe that they had inclination to reflection on their own work and the work of others. Also, they had very broad range of interests and their work was not limited to a narrow field of expertise.

Thus, we can see that the attempt to overcome the antinomy of tradition and innovation leads us into another antinomy, this time in pedagogical qualifications and academic responsibilities.

There are many other internal contradictions in education resulting from time limitations. Institutional education is a process which has definite temporal limits. Although the modern practice makes these limits increasingly flexible, every educational system must be based on a selection of goals with an allocation of realistic amount of time on their achievement. In this case, it is a matter of the competition for students' time.

The question "What to teach?" is as old as education itself. The concept of Liberal Arts education is based on an answer to this question given several centuries before this Latin term has been introduced in the writings of Roman educators of the second century B.C. In Mediterranean Antiquity, both Greeks and Romans were fully aware of the need for a careful selection of what is taught to prepare young men for "free citizenship" not only to prevent their corruption by occupations not worthy this social status, but to secure enough time for the development of necessary skills of the highest priority. Even as early as in the sixth century B.C. we can find the warning of Heraclitus of Ephesus (as reported by Diogenes Laertius) "Much learning does not teach thought"¹ addressing one of the fundamental characteristics of Liberal Arts education as a system promoting rational attitude of students. In his words (reported by Clement) "Philosophical men must be versed in very many things"² we can find anticipation of another principle guiding Liberal Arts educators through millennia.

We cannot be sure about the authenticity of the anecdotes reported by later writers such as Plutarch's story about Alexander the Great being scorned by his father for playing music too well.³ However, it is clear that the contempt for specialization limiting the versatility and the breadth of horizons of the learner has been already deeply rooted before the ideal of education for free citizens has been articulated by Aristotle in the form adopted later into the tradition of Liberal Arts, as a development of intellectual tools for independent inquiry and judgment by free men. This view was not as obvious as may seem now, as they were in direct opposition to the views of his teacher Plato expressed in the *Republic* and *Laws*. This of course does not negate Plato's influence on the selection of the Seven Liberal Arts by Martianus Capella almost a thousand years later, and ultimately on the university curricula, in which the *quadrivium* consisted of the four tools of inquiry derived from mathematical disciplines, not so much by his views on education, but through his enthusiasm for mathematics inherited by the Neo-Platonists.⁴

Through the centuries, Liberal Arts curricula went through many transformations, but the central principle remained the same. Liberal Arts education had as its main objective not simply the transmission of knowledge, facts, data, but development of the ability to think, to reason, to judge. The learning process was not ending at school, as shown by the traditional form, common

even today, of addressing every person devoting time to academic inquiry as a scholar, i.e. student.

Of course, mediaeval universities, as well as later institutions of higher learning were not limited to Liberal Arts. After completing this stage of education, many went to continue specialized study of the law, medicine or theology. The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century has brought increasing need for specialists, and the number of the fields of specialization has increased. The fast growth of the volume of knowledge in each of the fields caused that the distances between them have become too big to be crossed, and the concerns for the temporal limitations this time tilted the balance towards specialization. In Europe, Liberal Arts education has been typically relegated to the secondary education in order to free university time for more specialized studies. In the United States Liberal Arts education (renamed as “Liberal Education”) has come through several transformations, although it has remained as a central part of the undergraduate curriculum defended by its firm role in the principles of American Democracy which required that those who have political rights must have broad educational background for making right judgments.

The twentieth century style of university education, which was the century of specialization *par excellence* is fading away. The disadvantages of specialization brought back interest in Liberal Arts education. But only naïve would expect that the return of Liberal Arts education means the return to old curricula. Adaptation to new conditions, especially to new information technology itself is a great educational revolution. It is true, this revolution is entirely consistent with the spirit of Liberal Arts, but still the changes which it has brought require major curricular revisions.

The development of new computer technology is not just a change in the medium of communication or instruction. The actual revolution is not so much, or at least not only in the process of learning, but in more general phenomenon of the common access to information networks in our personal and professional lives. In the past, major elements of education have been the skills in accessing information and its retention. Now, more important is evaluation and selection of information and its integration.

Thus, the Liberal Arts education has been born from the need to overcome the antinomy of the level of specialization and the diversity of knowledge necessary for those who have privilege to make decisions (originally free citizens of the Ancient Mediterranean communities). The resolution of this contradiction has been achieved through the selection of seven basic disciplines of study developing the competencies (Arts) which for centuries seemed universal tools of human inquiry.

Broad, but too shallow study would have made education meaningless, too narrow, specialized education deprives the subject the ability to cope with diverse problems of private or public life. Thus, the solution was the balance between the depth and breadth of education. However, the point of balance has been over the centuries a subject of many controversies, well exemplified in the great dispute over American education in the 19th Century in which leading roles have been assumed by Harvard and Yale Universities. This dispute is of special interest for us, as in some sense we are at present facing similar problem.

The culmination of the dispute was brought in 1828 by the famous Yale “Report on a Course of Liberal Education” written by the president of Yale, Jeremiah Day, and Yale professor of classics, James, L. Kingsley, sometimes considered “[p]erhaps the most conservative, if not reactionary, document in the history of American education.”⁵

To be sure, the Yale report was conservative even in that time. Its main purpose was to

prevent introduction of the modern languages and the experimental sciences into university curriculum propagated by the progressive side led by Harvard. In the outcome of the dispute in the second half of the 19th Century, American higher education has been torn into the faithful to the old tradition “Liberal Education” and “the New Education” with innovative curricula. Today, when “New Education” is again considered the legitimate successor of Liberal Arts education and opposition to teaching science is a domain of religious fanatics, not university professors, it is easy to miss the point in that dispute, which happened to some authors of historical studies of American education.

As a piece of evidence for the conservatism of the Yale report the following quotation has been given: “A commanding object, therefore, in a collegiate course, should be to call into daily and vigorous exercise the faculties of the student. Those branches of study should be prescribed, and those modes of instruction adopted, which are best calculated to teach the art of fixing the attention, directing the train of thought, analyzing a subject proposed for investigation; following, with accurate discrimination, the course of argument; balancing nicely the evidence presented to the judgment; awakening, elevating, and controlling the imagination; arranging, with skill, the treasures which memory gathers; rousing and guiding the powers of genius.”⁶

This particular fragment has been selected to provide the evidence of adherence to the old doctrine of John Locke distinguishing several “mental faculties” such as those mentioned in the quotation (attention, thought, discrimination, judgment, imagination, and memory,) which can be exercised and developed independently. The doctrine has been rejected by the father of scientific pedagogy Johann Friedrich Herbart, who based his theory of learning on the concept of apperception, the process by which new experience is assimilated to and transformed by the residuum of past experiences of an individual to form a new whole, and today is of only historical importance.⁷

Let’s first notice the anachronism of the objection that the Yale Report was excessively conservative due to attachment to Lock’s doctrine, as Herbart’s “*Psychologie als Wissenschaft*” has been published only four years before and nobody in America even has heard about it. It is true, modern psychological pedagogy shifted focus from individual faculties to the process of integration, and in this perspective the concept of perfecting separate “mental faculties” of Lock did not make much sense. But, obsolete as it is from the point of view of present psychology, the Report at this point was quite compatible with the modern view of the Liberal Arts in which “mental faculties” have been replaced by “key competencies.”⁸ Of course, in the mean time the choice of actual skills has changed. For instance, at present one of key competencies is the ability to carry out reasoning involved in empirical procedures of science, another, communication includes knowledge of (modern) foreign languages. But in some sense, the Yale Report can be interpreted as a defense of the focus of the system of education on what is most important. What actually makes it conservative, or even reactionary was the fact that its authors did not recognize that “most important” is a normative qualification which changes with time. Even worse, they followed outdated, mediaeval view of the inferiority of empirical matters, which for instance for Aristotle were of central importance, but which have been neglected due to the increasing influence of Plato.

How does the dispute relate to the present situation of Liberal Arts education? As it has been noticed above, there is quite striking similarity of the concept of “mental faculties” and “key competencies.” The latter have been introduced as a means to design and to structure Liberal Arts curricula. The story goes back to the end of the 19th Century when Harvard and several other progressive universities gave students practically unlimited choice of individual study plans. Students had to earn some number of “points” (today we would call them “credits”) in order to

graduate. This led to inevitable specialization of studies due to natural tendency of choosing courses within the narrow domain of individual interests, which in time has been considered natural, if not desirable.

The shock of the Second World War and growing distance between the Two Cultures (this concept precedes Snow's article and book in the curricular discussions at Harvard at least ten years) influenced the decisions recommended in the famous "Red Book of Harvard"⁹ To avoid the negative results of specialization, all students had to follow Liberal Arts distribution structured by a variety of disciplines belonging to several domains of inquiry such as Humanities, Social Sciences, Natural and Physical Sciences, Mathematics, etc. Following the example of Harvard, majority of American universities established their own Liberal Arts (called frequently in a generic way: general education) distributions.

Finally, the distribution based on disciplines was artificial. It has become clear that students have to be guided by clearly identified fundamental educational goals which have been called "key competencies."

Now, if we believe that perfecting separate "mental faculties" is a pedagogical nonsense, why do we propagate acquiring separate "key competencies"? We are back to the point where once again the crucial point is to discover pedagogical processes which integrate students' educational experience. The resolution of this antinomy between distribution (separation) of competencies and the integrative functions of human intellect is the most important task in building Liberal Arts of the future.

¹ J. Barnes, *Early Greek Philosophy*. Penguin, London, 2001.

² Ibid.

³ Plutarch, *Lives of the Noble Greeks*. A selection edited by Edmund Fuller. A Laurel Classic, Dell, New York, 1959.

⁴ M. J. Schroeder, Liberal Arts Curriculum: Back to the Future in University Education. *Proceedings of the Conference: Building an Innovative University for the Globalized World, Akita 2005*. Akita International University, Akita 2006, pp.43-71.

⁵ W. H. Cowley, Don Williams, *International and Historical Roots of American Higher Education*. Garland Publ., New York, 1991.

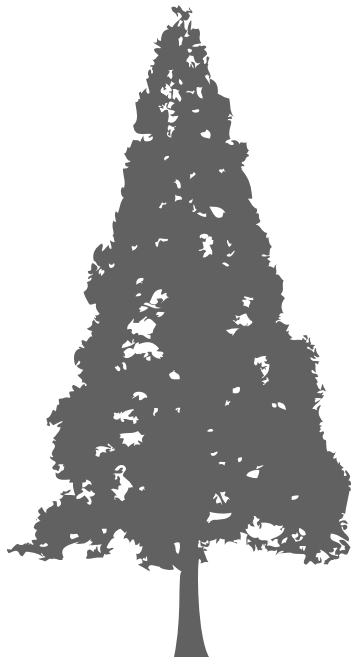
⁶ R. Hofstadter, W. Smith (eds.) *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1961, quoted in W. H. Cowley, Don Williams. *International and Historical Roots*

⁷ D. D. Runes (ed.), *Dictionary of Philosophy*. A Helix Doublebook, Rowman & Allanheld, Totowa, N. J., 1983.

⁸ F. E. Weinert, Concept of Competence: A Conceptual Clarification. In: D. S. Rychen, L. H. Salganik (eds.) *Defining and Selecting Key Competencie*. Hogrefe & Huber, Seattle, 2001, pp. 45-65.

⁹ *Harvard Committee on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1945.

GLOBAL ISSUES



Analyzing a Strategy for Development Finance Cooperation in Northeast Asia:

Takashi Yamamoto

(山本 尚史)

Development finance has been one of the most important elements in promoting sustainable development in Northeast Asian region. Many areas in the region have not experienced rapid and high growth in spite of its growth potential. The diversity of the region would become an engine of economic development once proper institutional arrangement and physical infrastructure is established. Constructing and maintaining new physical infrastructure will require more financial resources, in addition to careful planning and appropriate management. This article discusses possible development finance cooperation in Northeast Asia. A new international financial institution, the Northeast Asia Development Bank (NEADB), was proposed to fill the financial gap between regional capital demand and possible supply of capital from private sector, donors for bilateral assistance, and multilateral financial institutions. This article analyzes the proposed NEADB, various responses to the proposal, and possible measures for the establishment of the NEADB.

Capital Demand in Northeast Asia

Efforts have already been taken to estimate the volume of capital demand in Northeast Asia, while international development finance institutes have not released their estimates.¹ Choo (2004) estimates the amount of capital demand for developing infrastructure in Northeast Asia. His estimate shows that social capital demand for infrastructure development in Northeast Asia will be 1,588.6 billion dollars over the next ten years, with 1,345 billion dollars for PRC, 154.6 billion for South Korea, 15.2 billion for North Korea, and 73.8 billion for Mongolia and Far Eastern part of Russia. He also estimates the size of development financing demand, defined as the required fund for the development projects which are not fully funded by fiscal expenditure and domestic financing. His estimate shows that the development financing demand in Northeast Asia will be approximately 10% of the total capital demand for infrastructure development, because foreign investment and loans from private sectors are available. Still, the size of development financing demand in the region in total reaches 161 billion dollars over the next ten years, with 81 billion for PRC, 27.9 billion for South Korea, 15.2 billion for North Korea, and 36.9 billion for Mongolia and Far Eastern Russia.

Choo (2004) finds that existing international financial institutions could not provide enough funds for the region. In 2003, the World Bank provided 1.15 billion to Northeast Asian countries. ADB provided 5.67 billion to the region in the same year. Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA), most prominent source of bilateral financial assistance, would not be reliable in the near future, because (1) Japan will terminate its ODA programs to PRC in 2008, and (2) financial assistance to Russia and North Korea would not occur until the diplomatic issues, such as territorial dispute with Russia and kidnapping by North Korea, will resolve. He also finds that both the World Bank and ADB allocate their assistance for human resources development, poverty fighting, and preservation of environment. Funding for infrastructure development is not promising from the World Bank and

¹ The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation published a joint research report, *Connecting East Asia: a New Framework for Infrastructure*, in March 2005 and estimated the capital demand for infrastructure development. The study, however, focuses on the developing countries of the East Asia and Pacific region, which are members of both the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank. Therefore, capital demand of DPRK and Far Eastern Russia is not covered by the study.

ADB because it is not on their priority lists.

Proposal for the Northeast Asian Development Bank (NEADB)

The need for development financing mechanism has been recognized among government officials and scholars since late 1980s, responding to a growing need for development projects funding. The establishment of a new regional development bank, Northeast Asian Development Bank (NEADB), was first proposed in 1991 and continuously discussed afterwards. The following table shows the chronology of discussion on the proposed NEADB.

Table 1. Chronology of discussion on the proposed Northeast Asian Development Bank

Year	Place	Event
1989	Beijing	Development finance was on the agenda at the seminar on the economic cooperation in Northeast Asia, co-organized by Asia Pacific Institute in China and the East-West Center (US).
1990	Seoul	Duck Woo Nam (former prime minister of South Korea) raised the necessity of a regional development bank in Northeast Asia at an international seminar on the new order in East Asia, hosted by Dong-a Ilbo.
1991	Tianjin, China	Nam proposed the establishment of the Northeast Asian Development Bank (NEADB) in the lecture on the future of the economic cooperation in Northeast Asia. The lecture was held at the First Northeast Asia Economic Forum.
1992	Honolulu, US	A team was organized at the East-West Center with financial support from Korea Hanhak Foundation for the feasibility study on the establishment of the NEADB. Burnham O. Campbell (former Chief Economist, Asian Development Bank) and Hiroshi Kakazu (Professor, International University of Japan) led the team.
1993	Yongpyong, South Korea	Campbell and Kakazu presented their feasibility study report at the Fourth Northeast Asia Economic Forum. The report contained necessity of the NEADB, estimated capital demand in the region, capital investment from possible member countries, organization and operation of the Bank.
1995	Niigata, Japan	Nam mentioned the necessity of the proposed NEADB in the keynote address “multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia” at the Fifth Northeast Asia Economic Forum.
1997	Ulanbaatar, Mongolia	S. Stanley Katz (former Vice President, Asian Development Bank) presented a paper “Capital demand for infrastructure development in Northeast Asia – Necessity of the NEADB” at the Seventh Northeast Asia Economic Forum. His paper was referred later as the “Katz proposal”.
1998	Yonago, Japan	The proposal of the NEADB was reviewed at the First Panel of Development Finance Experts in March. The review continued at a panel discussion at the Eighth Northeast Asia Economic Forum in July.

1999	Tianjin, China	The NEADB proposal was discussed at the session of development finance in Northeast Asia at the Ninth Northeast Asia Economic Forum. Tianjin City Government proposed that the headquarters of the NEADB be located in Tianjin.
2000	Tianjin, China	Technical details of the proposed NEADB were discussed at the Second Panel of Development Finance Experts. Policy makers and financial experts from Japan, Korea, US, and China participated.
2001	Changchun, China	The NEADB proposal was discussed at the development finance session at the Tenth Northeast Asia Economic Forum in April. The government of Changchun City invited the headquarters of the NEADB to be located in Changchun.
2001	Osaka, Japan	Experts, government officials, and members of the legislature of Korea, US, and Japan participated in the Roundtable Meeting on the Establishment of the NEADB in June. The agenda included the capital demand for infrastructure development and the necessity of the NEADB.
2002	Anchorage, US	Counterarguments for the proposed NEADB were presented at the Eleventh Northeast Asia Economic Forum in March, responding to major criticism to the proposal. The counterarguments included the effectiveness of the Bank in creating the leverage in capital market.
2002	Osaka, Japan	The Tokyo Foundation supported a research for the establishment of the NEADB. The result was reported at the development finance session of the international conference “Toward the Northeast Asian Community” in September. Experts and government officials of China, Korea, Mongolia, Russia, EU, and Japan presented comments.
2003	Brussels	Technical factors of the NEADB were presented at the EU and NEA Parliamentarians Roundtable in December. Financial experts and parliamentarians from Japan, Korea, Russia, US and EU participated.
2004	Niigata, Japan	The joint conference of the Northeast Asia Economic Conference / Northeast Asia Economic Forum was held in February. The proposal of NEADB was discussed in the context of appropriate, feasible options for solving the finance required for translating the grand design into reality for Northeast Asia.
2004	Seoul	Options for mobilizing the necessary capital resources from international financial markets were discussed, and the need for establishing a Northeast Asian Development Bank was reaffirmed at the Thirteenth Northeast Asia Economic Forum in September.
2006	Khabarovsk, Russia	Strategies for cooperation in development finance were discussed at the Fifteenth Northeast Asia Economic Forum in September. It was proposed that an ad hoc committee meeting would be held to discuss progress towards establishing a Northeast Asian Development Bank.

Financial mechanism of the NEADB proposed by Stanley Katz is straight-forward.² Its initial capitalization would be decided by its founding members. The Bank’s capital would be evidenced by

² Discussion on the structure of the Northeast Asian Development Bank was taken from Katz (2004).

shares of stock that would be made available for subscription by regional and non-regional shareholders. A specified share of the Bank's capital could be reserved for subscribers from the Asia-Pacific region, with the balance to be made available for subscription by non-regional countries including the US, EU members, Australia, Canada, New Zealand. The next table shows the allocation of shares:

Table 2. Allocation of the Share of Northeast Asian Development Bank³

(Based on 1995 GDP per capita, with adjustments for externalities)

	Shares Subscribed (No. & % of Total)	Capital Amount Subscribed (\$bn)	Amount Payable (\$bn)	Payment per year (5 yrs, \$mn)
Japan	300,000 (16%)	3.0	1.5	300
Russia	140,000 (7%)	1.4	0.7	140
ROK	100,000 (5%)	1.0	0.5	100
PRC	200,000 (10%)	2.0	1.0	200
Mongolia	20,000 (1%)	0.2	0.1	20
DPRK	40,000 (2%)	0.4	0.2	40
Taiwan	**	**	**	**
Other Asian members	**	**	**	**
Sub-total Asian Members	1,200,000 (60%)	12.0	6.0	1,200
U.S.	200,000 (10%)	2.0	1.0	200
E.U. members	**	**	**	**
Australia	**	**	**	**
New Zealand	**	**	**	**
Canada	**	**	**	**
Other non-Asian members	**	**	**	**
Sub-total Non-Asian Members	800,000 (40%)	8.0	4.0	800
Total	2,000,000 (100%)	20.0	10.0	2,000

** Amounts to be determined

³ This table was developed by the author based on *Ibid.*

Assumptions:

1. Capitalization of \$20 billion evidenced by 2 million shares valued @ \$10,000 per share.
2. Sixty percent of shares would be allocated to Asian nations.
3. Japan would subscribe to the same approximate portion of total as in ADB; USA would subscribe to approximately 10% of the NEADB shares, the same proportion it holds in the EBRD.
4. Paid-in portion of shares of 50%; payment of paid-in portion over five years.

Similar to the existing developing banks, only a fraction of the cost of each subscriber's shares would be paid for in hard currency: the "paid-in" portion. The unpaid balance of the cost of the subscribed shares would be carried on the books of the Bank as a contingent asset and would be reported as a contingent liability by the subscriber: the "callable" portion. The paid-in portion is typically paid over to the Bank over a period four or five years. The callable portion would be used instead as collateral for the Bank's bonds that are sold from time to time in overseas capital markets. The proceeds of these Bank borrowings would then be used to fund loans for infrastructure projects in the region.

The borrowing-financing arrangement of the NEADB has already been employed by the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the other regional development Banks for the past several decades. By using callable capital as collateral, this funding arrangement yields a large multiplier in terms of the amount of cash paid by shareholders to the Bank compared with the volume of capital the Bank can borrow in the world's capital markets and transfer to the region. Moreover, because of the high quality of the collateral (the credit-standing of the subscribing countries), the NEADB would be able to secure capital abroad with lower interest rates and longer maturities than would otherwise be available for infrastructure projects in the region. It is projected that once it became fully operational, the NEADB would be able to bring \$1 - 2 billion each year of additional financing to the region for infrastructure projects.

One crucial question about the NEADB is the initial membership. The membership in the proposal includes the "regional" members, Asian non-regional members, and other non-regional members, but it does not clearly state whether the NEADB should be founded at first by regional members or the all the members should jointly establish the Bank. Some support a gradual approach that the regional members, namely China, Japan, and Korea, establish the NEADB at first and other members could join later. This approach would simplify negotiation process and save time for the establishment. However, it would provide an impression that the establishment of the NEADB is not supported globally, more precisely, by the US and the EU members. The NEADB expect to raise funds from international capital markets in Tokyo, New York, and London. Therefore, its success would not be guaranteed if Japan, the US, and the UK were not included in initial subscribers.

Responses to the Proposal

The proposal of establishing a Northeast Asian Development Bank obtained various responses, including criticism. Babson (2004) finds that there are political, financial and administrative reasons to be skeptical about whether and how quickly an effective institution could be established. Possible major donors, such as Japan and the US, have not shown strong interest in the NEADB. On the contrary to the donors' reluctance, potential beneficiaries shows positive attitude toward the proposed NEADB. Twu (2003) finds that governments in PRC, South Korea, Far Eastern Russia, Mongolia, and Taiwan presented favorable responses for the establishment of the NEADB. Responses from the major actors in the region are analyzed in this section.

Japan is not enthusiastic about the proposed Northeast Asian Development Bank. Japan's reluctance reflects financial, political, and administrative reasons. Financially, it would be difficult to obtain

investment from the Japanese government, who runs on a budget deficit. Reduction of administrative costs has been the one of the public promises of recent administrations. Politically, a supporting ballot for the proposal can be interpreted as a forward step toward China-led, not US-led, regional integration of Northeast Asia. National Intelligence Council (2004) explains "Japan will be challenged to evaluate its regional status and role. Tokyo may have to choose between 'balancing' against or 'bandwagoning' with China." Administratively, Japanese officials seemed to prefer a "Northeast Asian Development Fund" at the World Bank.⁴ They have at least three reasons for not preferring the NEADB. First, the Japanese government finds it necessary to diversify risks in providing international investment and loans. It would not be appropriate to establish a development bank that would solely focus on specific countries and areas. It will be more acceptable for Japan to let the assistance go through multilateral organizations. Second, among the proposed members of the NEADB, Japan seems to be the country that would make a substantial financial contribution. A unilateral large financial burden would not be acceptable for the Japanese government, considering the domestic economic situation. Finally, since Northeast Asia is a delicate region in terms of political and security issues, diplomatic and security issues, in addition to the economic rationale, need to be considered in providing economic assistance, especially for North Korea and Far Eastern Russia. Currently, Japan does not have formal diplomatic relations with North Korea, who has been claiming war reparations. Kidnapping, missile launches, and nuclear development by North Korea are other unsolved security and diplomatic issues. Territorial claims over the Kurile Islands remain unsolved and on the negotiation agenda between Russia and Japan.

China has been enthusiastic about the NEADB. Response from the national government or its central bank has not been officially announced, but the government of Tianjin City continuously expresses eagerness to host the headquarters of the NEADB since 1999. Wan Shuzu, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee, the People's Congress of Tianjin, proposed that the NEADB headquarters should be located in Tianjin because the city could provide excellent financial infrastructure.⁵ The reasons for their enthusiasm reflect their expectation that Tianjing can be a financial center in Northeast Asia. Ma (2006) proposes to establish a "Northeast Asia Bank", not "Northeast Asian Development Bank", and to locate its headquarters in Binhai New Area of Tianjin.⁶

South Korea has been supportive to the NEADB since 1990s, as observed by the facts that the concept of the NEADB was proposed by former South Korean senior officials, but their favorable attitude is changing recently. Lee (2005) explains that the idea of making South Korea a Northeast Asian business hub was first adopted as a policy of the South Korean government in 2002, and that President Roh Moo-hyun has also chosen a Northeast Asian business hub initiative as one of the priority policies. South Korean government identified four targets for the initiative: a logistics hub, a regional financial hub, national innovation system, and strategic foreign direct investment. They plan to make Seoul as a major financial center by 2020. However, the business hub initiative does not include official supports for the establishment of the NEADB, while South Korea agreed on the Chiang Mai Initiatives and extended financial and monetary cooperation. Recent responses from South Korea can be interpreted that South Koreans would be more interested in filling the financial needs for development projects in North Korea or in unified Korea than in establishing the NEADB.

Mongolia favors the NEADB but they are less vocal than China or Korea. Mongolia would play an

⁴ The EBRD has already established the Mongolia Fund. Establishment of such funds was criticized that financing through such a fund would not provide sufficient financial resources for development projects because it can only be a straight pass-through of funds provided by donors. Moreover, donors would not provide the billions of dollars required annually to fund the region's infrastructure needs.

⁵ Wan Shuzu's comments at the 15th Northeast Asia Economic Forum on September 6, 2006 in Khabarovsk.

⁶ The operation of the Northeast Asia Bank is proposed to include loan, equity finance, investment co-financing, project trust, and information and technical services, and it is wider than the proposed operations of the NEADB.

important role in negotiation for the establishment of the NEADB because they have unique diplomatic relationship with North Korea based on the common diplomatic strategies to keep good distance from Beijing and Moscow.

One of the European study reports on development finance puts favorable remarks on the NEADB proposal. The report states “The NEADB could become a conduct to channel financial and other resources to support the upgrading of the physical infrastructure and the human resources in this region, particularly in North Korea. The NEADB would incorporate countries with substantive interest in the region including South Korea, Japan, the United States and Russia, and could be open to Canada and European countries.”⁷ However, the NEADB proposal has been neither officially supported nor denied from European countries. Glyn Ford, a British member of the European Parliament, inquired in 2002 whether the European Commission could indicate how it ensured that the emphasis on Northeast Asia be actually implemented through the existing International Financial Institutions (IFIs), in the absence of the NEADB. The European Commission’s representative answered that it was impossible for the European Commission to influence the lending policies of the IFIs, while the European Commission and IFIs could develop synergies and coordination between their respective cooperation strategies and activities.⁸ This official response reflects the neutral position of the European Commission on the establishment of the NEADB.

How will an NEADB be established?

The establishment of the NEADB requires multinational negotiation among the concerned countries. The Six-Party Conference would be the most suitable forum to discuss and improve the proposal for the NEADB. In addition, the NEADB proposal would provide a bridge where the function of the Six-Party Conference expands toward non-security issues. Whether the NEADB proposal is handled favorably or not, its appearance on the agenda of multilateral institution such as the Six-Party Conference itself would mark a new step forward. However, the formation of such framework itself is extremely difficult. One of the obstacles for creating new regional framework in Northeast Asia is domestic politics in each country. As Fukuyama (2005) discusses, hardliners in the US and the North Korea itself may object to the idea. Potential rivalry among US, PRC, and Japan will favor hardliners in each government. In spite of the difficulty, a regional framework which includes members from outside the region and which contains regional security arrangements could guarantee the “open regionalism” in Northeast Asia.

A “second best” measure should be considered to respond to the growing capital demand in the region when the establishment of the NEADB is not a realistic choice. Having observed obstacles before the establishment of the NEADB, Jaimin Lee of the Export-Import Bank of Korea proposed to establish the Northeast Asia Cooperation Fund (NEACF). Lee (2006) proposes that regional government banks would invest for a joint-venture company for the operation of the NEACF. He expects that Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Korea Development Bank, Korea EXIM Bank, China Development Bank, China EXIM Bank, and Russian Vneshtorgbank would participate in this arrangement.⁹ The NEACF would provide subsidiary funds (sub-fund) to supply the funds for implementation of development projects with one sub-fund for one project basis. Each sub-fund would establish special purpose company for the operation of the project. The NEACF operates under the concept of project financing. While it does not clearly indicate how the US, European countries, and other non-regional Asian members will participate, Lee’s proposal can be a breakthrough for regional development financing cooperation, and would be more promising vehicle in attracting funds from international capital markets.

⁷ p.129, Sagasti, Bezanson, and Prada. (2005).

⁸ Written Question E-2757/02 by Glyn Ford to the European Commission, *Official Journal* 155 E, 3/7/2003, p. 49. Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:92002E2757:EN:HTML>

⁹ Vneshtorgbank is one of the leading universal banks of Russia: http://www.vtb.ru/eng/web_en.html.

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Japan's Constitutional Pacifism between Collective Security and Collective Self-Defense - How should be the new Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan? -

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1. Introduction

On May 14, 2007, the Diet of Japan adopted the National Referendum Law¹, which provides for the procedure to revise the Constitution. Now sixty years after its entry in force in 1947, the Constitution is at last equipped with detailed provisions on how a draft amendment to it could "be submitted to the people for ratification", as required by its Article 96². Any time from 2010, when the law will enter in force three years after its enactment, revision process may be initiated by the Diet.

While an array of ideas have been put forward³, the crux of controversies remains to be the revision of the Anti-War Clause of Article 9, which reads:

1. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.
2. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

Indeed, since its foundation in 1955, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has been aching for the elimination of Article 9, but always blocked by the Japan Socialist Party who was keen to keep the constitutional pacifism. In 1995 the Socialists suffered a deadly defeat in the general elections and disappeared in the following year. The Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), who came to be the first opposition party, is more favorable to the idea of constitutional revision. In 2000, two houses of the Diet set up Research Commissions on the Constitution, which submitted their final reports in 2005 apparently in favor of revisions⁴. Then comes the enactment of the National Referendum Law in 2007.

Since the elections in July in the same year, the DPJ outnumbers the LDP in the House of Councilors and may come into power after next general elections. But whatever the result of

¹ Officially, "Law concerning the revision procedure of the Constitution of Japan", promulgated on May 18, 2007.

² "Article 96. Amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify."

³ For an extensive list of proposals, see Kunihiko Morohashi, "Omona Nihonkoku-kenpo Kaisei-shian oyobi Teigen (Major Drafts and Proposals for Revision of the Constitution of Japan)"(in Japanese), *National Diet Library Issue Brief*, n. 474 (Mar. 18, 2005) and n. 537 (Apr. 24, 2006), available on the National Diet Library's website (<http://www.ndl.go.jp>). In English, Mayumi Itoh, "Japanese Constitutional Revision: A Neo-Liberal Proposal for Article 9 in Comparative Perspective", *Asian Survey*, vol. 41 (2001), pp. 310-327 gives a good account of three proposals for revisions of Article 9 by Ozawa, Hatoyama and Nakasone.

⁴ The Final Reports of the Research Commissions on the Constitution are available in English at the websites of the two houses (www.sangiin.go.jp and www.shugiin.go.jp).

political strife between the two parties may be, a constitutional revision may be initiated by either of them at any time after 2010, unless some anti-revisionist party scores unexpected victory in future elections.

And also the public opinion seems to be less reluctant than ever to a revision of Article 9. According to the NHK polls, 62 % of the Japanese people are favorable to a revision of the Constitution in general (31% in 1974 and 35% in 1992)⁵. While the public opinion remains more resistant to revision of Article 9, recent polls may suggest that the people are now feeling less uncomfortable than before with such an idea ("No" to revision of Article 9 was 52% in 2002, 44% in 2003 and 39% in 2005)⁶.

In this paper, we will consider, not whether there should be a new Article 9, but how it should be, in order to make it compatible with the wish of the people. While the former question remains to be a theoretically important one, we should recognize that the latter question has become an urgent topic for discussions in the current political situations. This paper aims to contribute to such debates by presenting the issue as a policy choice between the collective security and the collective self-defense, in the light of relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations⁷.

Such a consideration is important because the Japanese people care about it. In the 2005 NHK poll mentioned above, to the question "What is the best way to defend the country?", 55.7% of respondents chose to "develop an international security system with the United Nations", rather than "continue to cooperate with the US"(20.5%), "defend ourselves without international cooperation"(7.2%) or "take a neutrality policy without having any military capacity"(8.5%). While many citizens continue to support the constitutional pacifism, embodied in Article 9⁸, in the same time, many of them think it desirable to contribute to UN activities for international peace and security. But how is it possible to maintain the long-cherished pacifism while legitimizing, by a revised article 9, contribution to UN military operations?

The question is a complex one because of ambivalent provisions of the UN Charter for international peace and security. After clarifying the inherent contradiction within the UN Charter, we will see that how Article 9 should be revised is a matter of an important policy choice between the UN collective security and collective self-defense with the US.

2. Conflicts between Articles 2.4 and 51 of the UN Charter

The UN Charter was adopted in June 1945, only a year before the enactment of the Constitution of Japan. When the Constitution was in preparation, neither the Cold War nor the systemic

⁵ NHK *Hoso-kenkyu to Chosa*, March 2005, p. 53. We should be aware that poll results are very much dependent on how and in what terms people are asked questions and different polls often show quite different results reflecting political preferences of those who organize the polls. That is particularly the case for polls on constitutional questions.

⁶ NHK Hoso-Bunka-Kenkyusho (Japan Broadcasting Association(NHK) Broadcasting Culture Research Institute), *NHK Hoso-kenkyu to Chosa(NHK Broadcasting Research and Survey)*, March 2005, p. 56.

⁷ If there is anything new in this article, other than the updating of debates under the current political situations, it must be the clear recognition of the internal contradiction of the UN Charter, which compels the Japanese government to choose between two versions of collective security policy *lato sensu*, one is the policy of collective self-defense with the US and the other is the policy of collective security *stricto sensu* with the United Nations. A clear distinction between the two notions is indispensable, but often blurred in the political language as we will see below in the new draft article 9-2 proposed by the LDP. As the controversy over Article 9 began in the Diet deliberating the 1951 Japan-US Security Treaty, the LDP considered the revision necessary for the collective self-defense with the US and little attention was paid to the possibility of contribution to the collective security in the UN framework (see for example, Sayuri Umeda, "Japan: Amendment of Constitution, Article 9", The Law Library of Congress (February 2006), pp. 18-28).

⁸ For a general account of the pacifism embodied in Article 9, see Toshihiro Yamauchi, "Constitutional Pacifism: Principle, Reality, and Perspective", Y. Higuchi (ed.), *Five Decades of Constitutionalism in Japanese Society*, University of Tokyo Press, 2001, pp. 27-41.

failure of the UN security system was apparent yet. The post-war Japan was expected to live as a peace-loving country in harmony with the UN ideals and the Constitution was drafted accordingly. However, the UN Charter was a product of diplomatic negotiations and unavoidably tainted by internal contradictions. The contradiction here in question is the one between the prohibition of use of force, coupled with the establishment of the UN collective security system, and acknowledgement of the right of individual and collective self-defense⁹.

1) The UN Collective Security System

Article 2.4 of the UN Charter, adopted in 1945 is seemingly clear on the prohibition of use of force¹⁰. It provides that:

All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

The prohibition of use of force cannot be put in practice without an appropriate international guarantee, because the protection of the nation is considered to be one of most fundamental missions of any nation. Not many nations cannot abandon the right to use forces to protect themselves. The solution was sought for in the collective security system under the authority of the UN Security Council. The UN Charter declares in its very first article that the first objective of the Organization is:

Article 1 (1) To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

To materialize the "effective collective measures", Chapter 7 of the Charter enabled the Security Council to decide non-military measures (called "peaceful measures") or military measures of coercion, created the Joint Military Staff to assist the Security Council and asked member-states to provide armed forces, assistance and facilities for the purpose. In short, the Charter set up a system of collective security.

2) The Right of Self-Collective Defense

However, diplomatic negotiations created a little more complexity than there should be. At the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April-June 1945, the delegations of the Latin

⁹ For the distinction between the two notions, see Jost Delbrück, "Collective Security", *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, vol. 1, 1992, pp. 646-656; Julius Stone, *Legal Control of International Conflict*, 1954, p. 264.

¹⁰ The prohibition of use of force dates back to the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. Its first article stated that: "The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it, as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." The similarity of wordings between the 1928 Pact and Article 9, paragraph 1, of Japan's 1946 Constitution is apparent. In both texts, war was renounced as means of settling international disputes. Among the abundant literature of the issue, see for example Ian Brownlie, *International Law and the Use of Force by States*, Oxford, 1963.

American nations were particularly, but not alone¹¹, keen to ensure the validity of their regional security agreement, the Act of Chapultepec signed in March in the same year¹².

This was because they were concerned about possible inaction of the UN Security Council blocked by the veto system¹³. The result was the addition of Article 51, which would explicitly allow nations to defend themselves in emergency of aggression until the UN collective measures are implemented:

Article 51. Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

The major powers, including the US, were rather reluctant to make explicit exceptions to the principle of the UN collective security, which they believed to be under their control. Archibald Macleish within the US delegation criticized the article as "too vague" and recalled "that Germany had entered Poland at the beginning of the present war on the pretext that Poland attacked her."¹⁴ As to the addition of "collective", Sir Anthony Eden of the UK delegation is reported to be "shocked" by "a new thought that self-defense can operate outside of a nation's territorial limits."¹⁵ The compromise was reached by clarifying that the measures of self-defense, individual or collective, should be of only a temporary nature "until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." Despite such misgivings of major powers, Article 51 was approved overwhelmingly.

After the UN Collective Security system fell into paralysis, the notion of "collective self-defense" gained an unexpected legal importance, much more than simply legitimizing the 1947 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the so-called Rio Treaty), which was to implement the Chapultepec Act, not seeking anything more than a regional security arrangement. That is because, alarmed by the defection in mass of the East European countries to socialism and the creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the US and other Western nations decided to defend themselves against the communist threat and smashed the dream of a universal security mechanism by signing the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, against which the USSR and its allies replied by the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact in 1955. While the explicit acknowledgement of individual self-defense was a tiny concession and that of regional collective self-defense mechanism such as the Rio Treaty was probably more damaging, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Pact were almost lethal blows to the UN collective security. For sure this development of confronting two systems of collective self-defense could be considered wholly lawful as an exercise of "the inherent right of

¹¹ Some recent studies shed light on the efforts on the great powers' side to conciliate the collective security and collective self-defense: see Tadashi Mori, "Kokusai-ho ni okeru Shudannteki-jieiken no Ichi (The Position of the Right of Collective Self-Defense in International Law)", *Jurist*, No. 1343, Oct. 15, 2007, p. 20.

¹² Josef L. Kunz, "Individual and Collective Self-Defense in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations", *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 41, 1947, pp. 872-879.

Leland M. Goodrich and Edvard Hambro, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1949, pp. 297-302.

¹³ Article 27.3 of the UN Charter: "Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting."

¹⁴ Thomas M. Franck, *Recourse to Force: Sate Action against Threats and Armed Attacks*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 48.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

collective self-defense¹⁶", but as we all know, it kept the "universal" collective security next to meaningless for half a century.

3) Conflict between the collective security and the collective defense

In 1945, everyone applauded the advent of the universal collective security system, dreamt of since long time. Thanks to the UN collective security mechanism, member states would not need to worry any more about their national securities, as Prof. Tsutsui points out:

If the provisions of the United Nations Charter are taken at face value, membership will secure states through the function of collective security. What Japan anticipated most at the time of constitution reform [in 1946] was the effect that membership of the United Nations would have on national security.¹⁷

But as I have suggested above it did not take long for people to realize that Article 51 was more than a tiny stain on the masterpiece, which created a legal pretext to substitute collective self-defense for collective security¹⁸. This was rightly pointed out by Prof. Kelsen in 1948:

It may become inevitable to substitute collective self-defense for collective security as established by the Charter, but such substitution would be the bankruptcy of that political and legal system for which the United Nations was created.¹⁹

If an aggression occurs, in the name of collective self-defense, the aggressed state and its allies may lawfully take military measures to repel the aggressing forces, without asking for any decision at the UN Security Council. The systemic failure of the UN collective security system was followed by the prevalent use of the right of collective self-defense, which in turn brought the international relations back to their status before the Second World War dominated by "defensive" alliances. In the same time, the US who tried in 1945 to ensure the world peace by means of the UN Security Council resolutions, is now trying to ensure the world peace by means of the NATO and other military alliances, including the Japan-US Security Treaty.

3. The New Article 9 for the UN collective security or for the collective self-defense with the US?

Now the contradictory relationship between the UN collective security or for the collective

¹⁶ For some justificatory explanations of the two military coalitions in the early days of the Cold War, see for example W. W. Kulski, "The Soviet System of Collective Security Compared with the Western System", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 44, 1950, pp. 453-476. Against such justifications D.W. Bowett rightly pointed out: "The situation which the Charter envisages by the term is ... a situation in which each participating state bases its participation in collective action on its own right of self-defense. It does not, therefore, generally extend the right of self-defense to any state which desires to associate itself in the defense of a state acting in self-defense. The view that this is a possible construction of Art. 51 is, in our submission, based upon a misconception not only of the character of action in self-defense, but also of the whole system of the Charter in which Art. 51 finds its place." (D.W. Bowett, *Self-Defence in International Law*, 1958, p. 216)

¹⁷ Wakamizu Tsutsui, *The Changing Postwar International Legal Regime: The Role Played by Japan*, 2002, p. 112.

¹⁸ On the conflictual relationship between the UN collective security and collective self-defense arrangements, see Gerhard Bebr, "Regional Organizations: A United Nations Problem", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 49, 1955, pp. 166-184; Yoshio Hirose, *Nihon-no-Anzen-Hosho to Shin-Sekai-Chitsujo (Japanese Way for International Security and a New World Order)*, 1997, esp. at pp. 116-153 (in Japanese); Yuichi Takano, *Shuudan-Anpo to Jiei-Ken (Collective Security and the Right of Self-Defense)*, 1999, in Japanese.

¹⁹ Hans Kelsen, "Collective Security and Collective Self-Defense under the Charter of the United Nations", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 42, 1948, pp. 783-796, at p. 796.

self-defense is clear, let us consider which should the new article 9 should be for. First we shall see Japan's current defense policy between the UN collective security and the collective self-defense, then consider claimed justifications to revise Article 9 and finally examine the proposals of amendment presented by the two leading political parties, the LDP and the DJP.

1) Nominal renunciation of the right of collective self-defense

First of all we should consider the interpretations of the current version of Article 9 as to the right of collective self-defense. At first sight, this question is too much a simple one because the Government has been clear in saying that "the exercise of the right of collective self-defense exceeds the limit of self-defense authorized under Article 9 of the Constitution." But we will see that the renunciation of the right of collective defense was only a nominal one and further consideration is necessary as to the international legitimacy of the Japanese defense policy.

Since 1972, the Government takes the position that:

International law permits a state to have the right of collective self-defense, which is the right to use force to stop an armed attack on a foreign country with which the state has close relations, even if the state itself is not under direct attack. Since Japan is a sovereign state, it naturally has the right of collective self-defense under international law. Nevertheless, the Japanese Government believes that the exercise of the right of collective self-defense exceeds the limit of self-defense authorized under Article 9 of the Constitution and is not permissible.²⁰

In short, Japan has the right of collective self-defense, but the Constitution prohibits the Government to use it.

But here is an important equivocality of the term "collective self-defense." The Government defines it as "the right to use force to stop an armed attack on a foreign country with which the state has close relations, even if the state itself is not under direct attack" and, therefore, clearly suggests that its meaning is limited to the right to use force against attacks not on Japan but on other countries. In other words, the Government does not think collective actions against attacks on Japan is not prohibited by the Constitution.

In fact, if we define the notion as "the right to use force for self-defense together with other countries", to include collective actions against attacks on Japan, the Government position becomes only a partial renunciation of the right of collective self-defense. As we have seen, military actions of collective self-defense in this broad sense, on its territory or not, is in contradiction with the UN collective security. The collective self-defense, which is against the UN collective security, includes not only the collective actions abroad but also the actions in Japan.

Using the term in the narrow sense seems to be not faithful to the natural meaning of the expression and, indeed, the Government itself interpreted it in the broader sense at the earlier time²¹. The preambular paragraphs 3 and 4 of the 1951 Japan-US Security Treaty was rather

²⁰ Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2007*, Part 2, Ch. 1, Sec. 2, English translation prepared by the Ministry, available on its website (www.mod.go.jp). This position was made public in 1972 in oral discussions at commissions of the House of Councilors, but clearly formulated only in the "Written Answers to the Questions by Representative Seiichi Inaba on the Constitution, International Law and the Right of Collective Self-Defense" of May 29, 1981" (ibid., Reference document 9).

²¹ For the evolution of government positions, see James Auer, "Article Nine: Renunciation of War", Percy R. Luney, Jr., and Kazuyuki Takahashi (eds), *Japanese Constitutional Law*, Tokyo, 1993, pp. 69-86; more specifically, Kiyoshi Sakaguchi, "Shudanteki-jieiken-ni kansuru Seifu-kaishaku-no Keisei to Tenkai (Genesis and Evolution of the Government Position on the Collective Self-Defense)",

clear on this question:

3. The Treaty of Peace recognizes that Japan as a sovereign nation has the right to enter into collective security arrangements, and further, the Charter of the United Nations recognizes that all nations possess an inherent right of individual and collective self-defense.

4. In exercise of these rights, Japan desires, as a provisional arrangement for its defense, that the United States of America should maintain armed forces of its own in and about Japan so as to deter armed attack upon Japan.²²

In other words, Japan concluded the alliance with the U.S. in exercise of the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense. Joint military actions with the U.S. to be taken under the security treaty may not be considered to be actions of individual self-defense, but of collective defense.

At the Diet deliberation for the ratification of the 1951 Japan-US Security Treaty, the Government did not take any position as to the constitutionality of collective self-defense, because at that time even the individual self-defense was still in question²³. It was only in 1954 that the Government began to clearly claim its constitutionality²⁴. Then, the question of collective self-defense attracted much attention in 1960 at the conclusion of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America (the 1960 Japan-US Security Treaty).

Shuzo Hayashi, Director General of the Cabinet Legislation Bureau, answered in the Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Councilors on September 2, 1959, that:

If a US base in Japan is attacked, such attack necessarily involve invasion of Japan's land and sea. If the US joins the Japan's defense response, such US activities can be labeled as a kind of act of collective self-defense. If we use the word in this sense, Japan has the right to collective self-defense. However, at the same time, such an act can be explained by Japan's right to individual self-defense. The United States defends Japan based on a collective self-defense agreement, but Japan defends itself as an exercise of its individual self-defense right.²⁵

Since then the Government gradually elaborated its position on the collective self-defense to arrive at the current position according to which Japan does not exercise such right because of prohibition by the Constitution. It is true only if we accept the narrower definition of the

Gaiko-Jiho, no. 1330 (July/Aug. 1996), pp. 70-98 and no. 1331(Sep. 1996), pp. 79-99 in Japanese.

²² Security Treaty Between the United States and Japan, signed September 8, 1951, paragraph numbers added.

²³ Before the creation of the Police Reserve Corps in 1950, even the Government of Japan seems to agree to this interpretation. When the Diet studied the new Constitution before its enactment in 1946, in response to the vindication of the right of self-defense, PM Shigeru Yoshida responded: "I think that the very recognition of such thing (for a State to wage war in legitimate self-defense) is harmful. It is a notable fact that most modern wars have been waged in the name of the self-defense of States. It seems to me, therefore, that the recognition of the right of self-defense provides the cause for starting a war."(Shoichi Koseki, *The Birth of Japan's Postwar Constitution*, 1997, p. 193).

²⁴ When the Self-Defense Forces was founded in 1954, the Hatoyama Cabinet at the time stated that the first paragraph of Article 9 did not deny a right of self-defense inherent in an independent state; therefore, it permitted us to use a minimum military force with which to defend ourselves. (Research Commission on the Constitution of the House of Councillors, *Handbook on the Research Report on the Constitution of Japan*, 2005), p. 13.

²⁵ The verbatim record is available in the database on the web site of the Diet (www.kokkai.ndl.go.jp). The translation is mine.

collective self-defense. If we take the broader definition of the collective defense, actions to be taken under the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty of course fall under its category and, thus, are rather antagonistic to the UN system of collective security. Even if we take the narrower sense of the term, this treaty presupposes the measures of collective self-defense by the US. By adopting the narrower definition of collective self-defense, the Japanese Government avoided only an overt exercise of the problematic right of collective self-defense, but in reality the problems remained.

2) Three Justifications to revise Article 9

If Article 9 should be revised, there are more than one possible justifications. We can at least name three.

The first justification is the necessity to explicitly legitimize the right of individual self-defense and, in consequence, the lawful existence of the SDF. The end of the Cold War brought about a sea change in international military constellation and Japan's political configuration. The USSR disappeared and the Japan Socialist Party, after some extraordinary vicissitudes, disappeared. The latter event brought the constitutional revision to the political agenda. There are still many citizens and authors who insist to dismantle the SDF. But more and more people feel it necessary to keep military forces for national defense and for the latter group it is also necessary to revise the constitution so as to legitimize the existence of the SDF.

The second justification is the necessity to send the SDF to UN military operations, including the peace-keeping operations. After the end of the Cold War, the UN is expanding its peace-keeping operations and the traditional operations to watch the ceasefire are often upgraded to peace-making operations and even to peace-making forces. Because the Government of Japan has been taking the position that Article 9 of the Constitution prohibits military operations for purposes other than self-defense, the activities of the SDF are often limited to non combat area. The Japanese people are generally supportive of UN peace-keeping operations and many Japanese wish more participation of the SDF in UN military operations under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter. The same wish is shared by the Government who aspires to get a permanent membership in the UN Security Council and considers the military contribution essential for the candidacy²⁶.

The last justification is the necessity to expand military cooperation with the US. It is important to make clear distinction between UN military operations and US military operations. The latter may be taken at the UN initiative, as was the case in the Korean War or the First Gulf War. But in other cases, such as the Iraq War, the US military operations were out of the UN system even if they could have been somehow justified by resolutions of the UN Security Council. The Government of Japan seems to consider the constitutional revision necessary because Washington expects Japan to take more responsibility as one of its key military allies.

But the adequacy of the last justification is questionable. As we have seen above, the current defense policy based on the collective self-defense in the broader sense with the US is already not quite in harmony with the ideal of collective security system under the UN authority. But the extension of collective self-defense policy to military operations abroad would mean a complete departure from the UN collective security system. As the people wish "develop an international security system with the United Nations"²⁷, we should refrain from revising the article to allow an extension of collective self-defense possibilities at the expense of the UN collective security.

²⁶ See *infra* note 33.

²⁷ The NHK polls quoted above.

3) The revision proposals by the LDP and the DPJ

In July 2005 the LDP presented its proposal for revision of the Constitution²⁸. For Article 9, it proposes to erase the second paragraph (prohibition of possession of war potentials) and create a new Article 9-2 to legitimize the Self-Defense Military Forces. The third paragraph of the new article provides for their missions:

[LDP Proposal] Article 9-2. 1. In order to ensure the peace and independence of the country and the security of the country and the nation, the Self-Defense Military Forces shall be maintained, for which the Prime Minister is the Supreme Commander.

(....)

3. In addition to the activities to accomplish the missions provided by the first paragraph, the Self-Defense Military Forces may undertake, under the conditions set forth by laws, activities of international cooperation to ensure the peace and security of the international society and activities to maintain the public order or protect life and liberty of citizens in emergency situations.

It should be noted that the LDP proposes to use the SDMF not only for self-defense (paragraph 1) but also for international cooperation to ensure the international peace and security (paragraph 3) without mentioning the United Nations. That is probably because the LDP leaders wish to enhance the collective self-defense with the US, rather than the UN collective security.

Three months later, in October 2005, the DJP presented its "Constitutional Proposals."²⁹ This document does not contain draft amendments but only statement of principles. As to Article 9, the DJP proposes four principles: pacifism, limitation of the right of self-defense by the UN Charter, participation to the UN collective security measures and the civilian control of the military. It deserves some attention that the second and third principles would go along with the UN Charter.

Especially the explanatory note on the second principle is worth a full quotation here:

Second Principle: The "limited right of self-defense" under the UN Charter shall be clarified.

Considering the fact that the last war was undertaken in the name of "self-defense", we shall clarify in what sense the "right of self-defense is limited" by the Constitution of Japan. Indeed, the "right of self-defense" under Article 51 of the UN Charter is limited to activities of emergency until the UN collective security activities come into operation. This overlaps with the idea of "exclusively defense oriented policy" which we have developed since the last war. By such a clarification, we will restrain the exercise of self-defense right based on its arbitrary interpretation by the Government and establish a strict regulation of self-defense activities under the international law and the Constitution.

While there remains some ambiguity as to the relationship between the constitutional limit and the Charter limit on the right of self-defense, it is clear at least that the DJP is very much aware that the right of self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter is not unlimited, but permissible only "until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain

²⁸ Available on the website of the LDP (http://www.jimin.jp/jimin/shin_kenpou/shiryou/pdf/051122_a.pdf) (in Japanese).

²⁹ Available on the website of the DJP (<http://www.dpj.or.jp/news/files/SG0065.pdf>) (in Japanese).

international peace and security." While the DJP proposals are not clear yet on numerous points, including (un)constitutionality of the measures of extended collective self-defense, i.e., joint military operations out of the Japanese territory without authorization of the UN Security Council, we can perhaps reasonably hope that they are trying to make somehow the new Article 9 more compatible with the UN collective security mechanism than a plain acceptance of the prevalence of collective self-defense arrangement with the US.

4. Concluding remarks: For a realistic pacifism under the UN collective security

Prof. Yoichi Higuchi, one of most respected Japanese constitutional law scholars, claims the significance of Japan's Constitution in the worldwide development of constitutionalism:

I must note the ambivalence between the pacifism proclaimed in the Preamble and Article 9 of Japan's Constitution and the Western constitutional tradition. Pacifism is consistent with the desire for peace found in Western political thought since ancient Greece and with the history of positive law since the Constitution of France in 1791 which first renounced "wars of aggression." However, Japan's pacifism rejects the concept, included in the United Nations Charter, that a state can resort to war for justifiable aim. Instead, the Preamble and Article 9 try to go beyond this Western notion by elucidating the lesson of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: There are no "just" wars. / This is the broader significance of Japan's Constitution - the attempt through acceptance of Western constitutionalism to transcend it.³⁰

While this statement of Prof. Higuchi sounds probably too idealistic claiming to "go beyond the pacifism of the UN Charter", it should be still possible, I believe, to transcend the Western pacifism based on systems of collective self-defense.

Again since Article 51 of the Charter clearly acknowledges the "inherent right of collective self-defense", there is nothing unlawful to make military alliances for defensive purposes. But it is against the fundamental philosophy of the United Nations, based on the idea of collective security. Article 2.4 expresses one of principles of the United Nations and all the articles of Chapter 7 are for its implementation, while Article 51 at the end of the chapter is only an exception. Here it is of crucial importance to make a clear distinction between the collective security within the UN and the collective self-defense with the US.

If the coming revision of Japan's Constitution could clearly take the policy choice in favor of the UN collective security, not the collective self-defense with the US, it would bring us at least slightly beyond the distorted interpretation of the UN Charter and would be something good enough for us to be proud of. Much better if we could renounce the collective self-defense arrangement, alias military alliance, with the US³¹. Of course, such a choice is not

³⁰ Yoichi Higuchi, "The 1946 Constitution: Its Meaning in the Worldwide Development of Constitutionalism", *Five Decades of Constitutionalism...*, op. cit., pp. 7-8; for support of the idea of "a constitutionalism beyond the UN Charter", see for example, Akihiko Kimijima, "Revisiting the Pacifism of the Japanese Constitution", *Ritsumeikan Kokusai Kenkyu*, vol. 18-3 (March 2006), pp. 617-632.

³¹ In this vein, I believe Prof. Onuma's proposal in 1993 is still worth a serious attention: "Japan should seek to conclude an agreement with the UN to the effect that the UN has a certain limited power over Japan's decision to send its Self-Defense Forces abroad. ... If Japan can subject its Self-Defense Forces to a kind of dual jurisdiction of Japan and the UN, this would supply an excellent model for other nations. / Even if Japan should amend its Constitution to fulfill its role in the maintenance of international peace and security, it must not spoil its precious heritage: the spirit of peace. An attempt, almost visionary, to delegate a part of sovereignty in a crucial area such as security, is a lofty task for Japan to pursue in the emerging global community." (Yasuaki Onuma, "Japan's 'Peace Constitution' and Collective Security", *The Journal of International Law and Diplomacy*, Vol. 92, 1993, pp. 1-26 and 184-229 in Japanese, English summaries at pp. 139-140 and 309-311, quotation from p. 309.)

an easy one under the present conditions where "[t]he United Nations does not have ... the institutional capacity to conduct military enforcement measures under Chapter VII.³²" It should be accompanied by a proposal for fundamental restructuring of the UN collective security system rather than simply adding new permanent members to the Security Council³³. It would surely be a very challenging choice³⁴. But I believe it to be a more realistic way, than a complete prohibition of use of force, to come up to the spirit of the Constitution expressed in its preamble: "We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace."

³² Report of the UN Secretary-General, *Reviewing the United Nations: A Programme for Reform*, A/51/950, July 14, 1997, paragraph 107.

³³ For the Japanese policy pursuing an additional permanent membership at the Security Council, see Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, *Reform of the UN Security Council: Why Japan should become a permanent member*, a March 2005, available on its website (<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/reform/pamph0503.pdf>).

³⁴ After the end of the Cold War UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali made a proposal "that the Security Council initiate negotiations in accordance with Article 43, supported by the Military Staff Committee, which may be augmented if necessary by others in accordance with Article 47, paragraph 2, of the Charter" and "that the role of the Military Staff Committee should be seen in the context of Chapter VII, and not that of the planning or conduct of peace-keeping operations" (*An Agenda for Peace*, A/47/277, 17 June 1992), but no relevant reforms have been made since then.

The Economic Effect of Taiwanese Tourists on Akita Economy

YEH TSUNG-MING

(葉聰明)

Over the past few years, Akita Prefecture has been working on attracting foreign tourists as one strategy of boosting the local economy. The current centerpiece of this project targets Taiwanese tourists. For instance, starting in 2006, Akita Prefecture began to enthusiastically send promotional missions to Taiwan, participating in international tourism fairs held in Taipei, and sponsoring promotional fairs for Akita's agricultural products in Taiwan. As a result of these efforts, the number of Taiwanese visitors to Akita has started to increase in the recent years. Table 1 shows the statistics of foreign tourists over the past few years, compiled and published in the website of Akita Prefecture. The number of Taiwanese visitors staying overnight in Akita has risen from 6,167 in 2004, to 7,247 in 2005, and to 10,147 in 2006. The percentages of Taiwanese tourists range from a quarter to a third of the total foreign tourists. The growth rates are 17.5% in 2005, and 40% in 2006, respectively.

Table 1 Number of Taiwanese Tourists Visiting Akita

	2004	2005	2006
No. of Foreign Tourists	23,264	23,891	33,418
No. of Taiwanese Tourists	6,167	7,247	10,147
Percentage of Taiwanese Tourists	26.5%	30.3%	30.4%

The objective of this study is to estimate the economic ripple effect of the Taiwanese tourists on the economy of Akita. There is no doubt that Akita has successfully attracted more Taiwanese tourists due to the efforts of the Akita Prefecture and relevant parties. However, in order to examine the cost-benefit aspects of these promotional campaigns, we need to quantify the monetary effects of these Taiwanese tourists. This sort of quantitative estimate can be helpful not only for evaluating the efficiency of Akita's promotional campaigns, but also for serving as a guide for tourism policy making.

In the rest of this paper, Section 1 describes the methodology of the estimate of the tourists' "economic ripple effect", Section 2 discusses the empirical results, and the final section makes relevant observations and recommendations regarding tourism policy making.

1. Data and Methodology

The estimate of the economic effect of Taiwanese tourists is divided into the following steps. First, I surveyed the expenditures of Taiwanese tourists in Akita Prefecture, which is called the "direct effect". This includes the tourists' spending in their accommodation, transportation, shopping, food, admission fees to leisure facilities, and other miscellaneous expenditures.

Secondly, in order to meet the consumption demands of these Taiwanese tourists, various industries in Akita have had to increase production, which is defined as "primary production ripple effect". For instance, in response to tourists' consumption in restaurants, there is an increase in the demand for the food to be used by the restaurants. In the meantime, the increase in food production has led to higher demand and subsequent production in the agricultural industry. As such, the consumption of tourists (direct effect) has triggered an

incremental increase in the production in related industries (primary production ripple effect).

As a result of the primary production ripple effect, there is an increase in residents' (households and firms) income levels in Akita, which is defined as "income effect". The increase in the income of Akita residents is measured by the value added in the process of production, conceptually equivalent to the gross domestic production.

Finally, those tax revenues that have increased consequently are defined as "tax effect". For instance, the transactions between firms due to the production ripple effect would increase the indirect taxes. The increase in the income of Akita residents would contribute to direct taxes such as personal residence taxes, corporate residence taxes, and corporate income taxes. Also, higher income would lead to higher spending by consumers, which would also raise the income from consumption taxes.

As a matter of fact, the "income effect" will trigger another chain reaction of the previously mentioned 'production ripple effect'. Since the income of Akita households has increased, a part of the income will be consumed in Akita. This in turn would lead to a secondary 'production ripple effect', income effect and taxes effect. Such effects will continue throughout various cycles, with the magnitude of the effects in each cycle declining gradually. Theoretically, the ripple effect can continue until the final cycle's effect converges to zero. Practically, in this study I only estimate the primary and secondary production ripple effect, and I ignore the subsequent cycles of effects as they decline afterwards. Hence the income effect and tax effect in this study is based on the primary and secondary effect. The estimation methods of the above effects are to be elaborated subsequently.

1-1 Estimation of Direct Effect

I conducted a survey on Taiwanese tourists who had visited Akita during the period from June to July, 2008. In the questionnaire, the interviewees answered questions about their accommodation expenditures, food expenditures, transportation expenditures, admission expenditures, and shopping expenditures, on a per person, per night basis. In the end, I received 20 useful samples. The number is small since the survey period (June to July) happens to be in the off season, during which period the chartered flights between Taipei and Akita did not operate. Therefore the interviewees are with those tourists who flew in through airports other than Akita Airport. The survey results are reported in Table 2.

Table 2 The Average Expenditures of Taiwanese Tourists Visiting Akita on Per Staying Night Basis.

	Mean	Percentage
Accommodation Expenditure	8,157	50.90%
Foods	1,245	7.77%
Transportation	4,871	30.40%
Admission	70	0.44%
Shopping	1,682	10.50%
Total	16,025	

On average, a Taiwanese tourist spent 16,025 yen on a per staying-night basis. The breakdown shows that the accommodation expenditures take on the greatest proportion (51%), followed by transportation expenditures (30%), shopping expenditures (10%), food expenditures (8%), and admission expenditures (0.4%). The "hotel" industry in Akita benefits the most from the direct consumption by the Taiwanese tourists.

1-2 Estimation of Primary Production Ripple Effect

To measure the production ripple effect, I have utilized the input-output table for Akita Prefecture. Akita Prefecture's 34-industry input-output table for the year 2000 was obtained from the Akita Prefecture website. I must point out that there is no industry that corresponds specifically to the 'tourism' industry. Therefore, an adjustment is necessary to further divide "Service Industry for Persons" into 4 industries, "Hotels", "Restaurants", "Leisure" and "Other Service" industries. For this purpose, a set of coefficients is necessary in order to make use of data on the number of employees for each industry in Akita, available in the *Kokusei Chosa Houkoku* Vol. 5 (Census Report), compiled by Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. I adopted the methodology suggested by the Japan Tourism Association (1999). The necessary coefficients for adjustment are calculated as follows.

$$r_1 = \frac{\text{No. of employees in hotel industry}}{\text{No. of employees in service industry for persons}}$$

$$r_2 = \frac{\text{No. of employees in restaurant industry}}{\text{No. of employees in service industry for persons}}$$

$$r_3 = \frac{\text{No. of employees in leisure industry}}{\text{No. of employees in service industry for persons}}$$

$$r_4 = \frac{\text{No. of employees in other service industry}}{\text{No. of employees in service industry for persons}}$$

$$s_1 = \frac{\text{No. of employees in leisure industry}}{\text{No. of employees in leisure industry} + \text{No. of employees in other service industry}}$$

$$s_2 = \frac{\text{No. of employees in other service industry}}{\text{No. of employees in leisure industry} + \text{No. of employees in other service industry}}$$

Table 3 is the pre-adjustment input-output table. In Table 3, a_i indicates the input coefficients in the row of "Service Industry for Persons", and b_j the input coefficients in the column of "Service Industry for Persons". ab is the input coefficient in the intersection of the row and column of "Service Industry for Persons".

Then the division of "Service Industry for Persons" into 4 new industries is calculated as in Table 4. The input coefficients in each of the columns for the 4 new industries are computed as $b_i \times r_j$ for industry i except the 4 new industries, with $j = 1, 2, 3, 4$ indicating "Hotels", "Restaurants", "Leisure" and "Other Service" industries, respectively. The input coefficients in the rows of "Hotels" and "Restaurants" industries take on the values of zero, since the products and services provided by these two industries are final products and not intermediary ones. The input coefficients in the rows of "Leisure" and "Other Service" industries are computed as $a_i \times s_j$ for industry i except the 4 new industries, with $j = 1, 2$ indicating "Leisure" and "Other Service" industries, respectively. For the remaining sub-matrix intersected by the rows of "Leisure" and "Other Service" and the columns of "Hotels"

Table 3 Pre-adjusted Input-Output Table

Industry	...	...	...	...	Service Industry For Persons	...	...	...	...
...					b_1				
...					b_2				
...					...				
Service Industry For Persons	a_1	a_2	...	...	ab	...	a_{33}	a_{34}	
...					...				
...					b_{33}				
...					b_{34}				

Table 4 The adjusted Input-Output Table

Industry	...	...	...	...	Hotel	Foods	Leisure	Other	...	...	...
...					$b_1 \times r_1$	$b_1 \times r_2$	$b_1 \times r_3$	$b_1 \times r_4$			
...					$b_2 \times r_1$	$b_2 \times r_2$	$b_2 \times r_3$	$b_2 \times r_4$			
...							
Hotel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foods	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leisure	$a_1 \times s_1$	$a_2 \times s_1$	...	...	$ab \times s_1 \times r_1$	$ab \times s_1 \times r_2$	$ab \times s_1 \times r_3$	$ab \times s_1 \times r_4$	...	$a_{33} \times s_1$	$a_{34} \times s_1$
Other	$a_1 \times s_2$	$a_2 \times s_2$	...	...	$ab \times s_2 \times r_1$	$ab \times s_2 \times r_2$	$ab \times s_2 \times r_3$	$ab \times s_2 \times r_4$	...	$a_{33} \times s_2$	$a_{34} \times s_2$
...							
...					$b_{33} \times r_1$	$b_{33} \times r_2$	$b_{33} \times r_3$	$b_{33} \times r_4$			
...					$b_{34} \times r_1$	$b_{34} \times r_2$	$b_{34} \times r_3$	$b_{34} \times r_4$			

“Restaurants”, “Leisure” and “Other Service” industries, the input coefficients are computed as $ab \times s_i \times r_j$, where $i=1,2$ for the rows of “Leisure” and “Other Service” industry, respectively, and $j=1,2,3,4$ for the columns of “Hotels”, “Restaurants”, “Leisure” and “Other Service” industries, respectively.

With the adjusted input-out table for Akita described above, I proceed to estimate the “primary production ripple effect” as follows. In the adjusted input-output table,

		OUTPUT			
INPUT	Industry				
Industry		1	2	⋯	n
1	[	a_{11}	a_{12}	⋯	a_{1n}
2	[	a_{21}	a_{22}	⋯	a_{2n}
⋮	[⋮	⋮	⋮	⋮
n	[	a_{n1}	a_{n2}	⋯	a_{nn}

a_{ij} is the input coefficient, indicating the input need for the i th commodity, in order to produce one unit of the j th commodity. Let x_i denote the output by industry i , and d_i the final demand for industry i . Then x_i can be expressed as follows.

$$\begin{cases} x_1 = a_{11}x_1 + a_{12}x_2 + \dots + a_{1n}x_n + d_1 \\ \dots \\ x_n = a_{n1}x_1 + a_{n2}x_2 + \dots + a_{nn}x_n + d_n \end{cases}$$

By moving d_i to the right side of the equations, the set of equations are rearranged as follows.

$$\begin{cases} (1 - a_{11})x_1 - a_{12}x_2 - \dots - a_{1n}x_n = d_1 \\ \dots \\ -a_{n1}x_1 - a_{n2}x_2 - \dots + (1 - a_{nn})x_n = d_n \end{cases}$$

In expressing the set of equations in the format of matrix, the following result is obtained.

$$\begin{bmatrix} (1 - a_{11}) & -a_{12} & \dots & -a_{1n} \\ -a_{21} & (1 - a_{22}) & \dots & -a_{2n} \\ \vdots & \vdots & & \vdots \\ -a_{n1} & -a_{n2} & \dots & (1 - a_{nn}) \end{bmatrix} \times \begin{bmatrix} x_1 \\ x_2 \\ \vdots \\ x_n \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} d_1 \\ d_2 \\ \vdots \\ d_n \end{bmatrix}$$

If the 1s in the principal diagonal of the matrix on the left are ignored, the matrix is simply $-\mathbf{A} = [-a_{ij}]$. As it is, on the other hand, the matrix is the sum of the identity matrix \mathbf{I} (with 1s in its principal diagonal and 0s everywhere else) and the matrix $-\mathbf{A}$. More concisely, it can be expressed as $(\mathbf{I} - \mathbf{A})\mathbf{x} = \mathbf{d}$, or $\mathbf{x} = (\mathbf{I} - \mathbf{A})^{-1}\mathbf{d}$ as follows.

$$\begin{bmatrix} x_1 \\ x_2 \\ \vdots \\ x_n \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} b_{11} & b_{12} & \cdots & b_{1n} \\ b_{21} & b_{22} & \cdots & b_{2n} \\ \vdots & \vdots & & \vdots \\ b_{n1} & b_{n2} & \cdots & b_{nn} \end{bmatrix} \times \begin{bmatrix} d_1 \\ d_2 \\ \vdots \\ d_n \end{bmatrix}$$

In response to the amount of expenditures d_i spent by tourists in Akita related to industry i , the ripple production effect on each of the industries is measured as $x_j = b_{ji}d_i$, with j indicates those relevant industries in which ripple production effect appears. Hence the total primary production ripple effect is the sum of the effects on the whole industries, $\sum_{j=1}^n b_{ji}d_i$. For instance, suppose that tourists spent the amount d_2 in eating at restaurants, which supposedly fall into industry 2, then the ripple production effect on the whole industries is $\sum_{j=1}^n b_{j2}d_2$.

In estimating the primary production ripple effect using the expenditures data from the survey described in section 1.1, I make the assumption that accommodation expenditures fall under “Hotel”, foods expenditures fall under “Restaurants”, transportation expenditures fall under “Transportation”, admission expenditures fall under “Leisure”, and shopping expenditures fall under the “Commerce” industries.

1-3 Estimation of Secondary Production Ripple Effect

As stated in section 1, a secondary effect in production is due to the primary production effect and its consequent increase in income and consumption for residents. Therefore in order to estimate the secondary production effect, it is necessary to know the incremental added value brought about by the primary production effect, and the new consumption induced by the increased income level.

First of all, the “added value percentage” of each industry is computed as $(\text{employee income} + \text{firm surplus}) / \text{output}$ for each industry, using data from the input-output table. The incremental added value brought about by the primary production effect, then, is calculated as primary production effect ($x_j = b_{ji}d_i$) times the “added value percentage” of each industry. By adding up the whole industries, we obtain the total added value.

How much new consumption is to be induced by this total added value? This depends on the consumers’ propensity for consumption and on the locality’s self-sufficiency ratio. Using the data from the input-output table, the consumption propensity is calculated as $(\text{final consumption} / \text{employee income} + \text{firms surplus})$.

The self-sufficiency ratio is computed as $1 - (\text{import} / \text{output})$. Also, we need to estimate the final consumption percentage for each industry as $(\text{final consumption by each industry} / \text{final consumption})$.

Hence the newly induced amount of consumption in each industry is estimated as the product of (1) the total added value, (2) the consumption propensity, (3) self-sufficiency ratio, and (4) the final consumption percentage for each industry. The secondary production ripple effect for each industry is then calculated by multiplying the newly induced consumption amount in each industry i (expressed as d_i) with the corresponding inverse matrix element (b_{ji})

described in the preceding section. The total secondary production ripple effect is the sum of the effects on the whole industries.

1-4 Estimation of Income Effect

As a result of the production ripple effect, there has been an increase in the residents' (households and firms) income levels. The income effect is estimated by multiplying the ripple production effect with the percentage of employee income. The percentage of employee income is calculated as $(\frac{\text{employee income}}{\text{output}})$. By multiplying the ripple production effect with the percentage of employee income in each industry, we obtain the income effect in each industry. The total income effect is the sum of the income effects over the whole industries.

1-5 Estimation of Tax Effect

The tax effect can be broken down into personal and corporate taxes. The former is computed by multiplying the income effect with a "personal tax coefficient", and the latter multiplying the production effect with a "personal tax coefficient". The calculation of the tax coefficients are described as below.

The personal residence tax amount (*douhukeminzei* and *shichosonminzei*) of Akita Prefecture can be identified from the *Chiho Zaisei Toukei Nenpou (Local Fiscal Statistics)* published by The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. The "personal tax coefficient" is defined as $(\frac{\text{personal residence tax}}{\text{employee income}})$. Hence the personal tax effect is estimated by multiplying the income effect with this "personal tax coefficient".

Similarly, Akita Prefecture's corporate residence tax (*douhukeminzei* and *shichosonminzei*) and business tax (*jigyousei*) amounts can be identified from the *Chiho Zaisei Toukei Nenpou (Local Fiscal Statistics)*. The "corporate tax coefficient" is then defined as $(\frac{\text{corporate residence tax} + \text{business tax}}{\text{output}})$. Hence the corporate tax effect is estimated by multiplying the ripple production effect with this "corporate tax coefficient".

The total tax effect is the sum of the personal tax effect and the corporate tax effect.

2 Empirical Results

Following the above methodology, I shall estimate the direct effect, ripple production effect, income effect, and tax effect of Taiwanese tourists on the Akita economy during the years 2004 to 2006. The estimates are reported in Table 5. (*see Table 5 on the next page.*)

2-1 Estimates of Direct Effect

Based on the data on the per capita expenditures in Table 2, the direct effect of Taiwanese tourists can be obtained by multiplying it with the number of Taiwanese tourists. The underlying assumption is that the consumption pattern of Taiwanese tourists has remained constant over the 3 years.

As shown in Table 5, the direct effect of Taiwanese tourists on Akita economy amounts to 99 million yen, 116 million yen, and 163 million yen in 2004, 2005, and 2006 respectively. As stated previously, the most substantial expenditure comes from accommodation and transportation expenditures. Obviously, the "Hotel" and "Transportation" industries have benefited the most from the Taiwanese tourists' direct consumption.

Table 5 The Economic Effect of Taiwanese Tourists on Akita Economy.

	2004	2005	2006
No. of Taiwanese Tourists	6167	7247	10147
Direct Effect (Yen)	98,823,777	116,130,357	162,601,729
accommodation expenditures	50,301,136	59,110,156	82,764,006
foods expenditures	7,677,915	9,022,515	12,633,015
transportation expenditures	30,040,142	35,300,942	49,427,164
admission expenditures	431,690	507,290	710,290
shopping expenditures	10,372,894	12,189,454	17,067,254
Primary Production Effect (Yen)	132,837,243	156,100,454	218,566,484
accommodation expenditures	66,506,029	78,152,942	109,427,060
foods expenditures	10,151,607	11,929,415	16,703,156
transportation expenditures	42,362,287	49,781,011	69,701,658
admission expenditures	570,774	670,731	939,135
shopping expenditures	13,246,546	15,566,356	21,795,476
Secondary Production Effect (Yen)	39,862,638	46,843,610	65,588,810
Total Production Effect (Yen)	172,699,882	202,944,064	284,155,294
Income Effect (Yen)	74,751,857	87,842,825	122,994,501
Tax Effect (Yen)	1,980,489	2,327,324	3,258,639
personal tax	1,098,976	1,291,435	1,808,224
corporate tax	881,513	1,035,888	1,450,415

It must be noted that the above are conservative estimates. The statistics on the number of Taiwanese tourists reported in Table 1 only includes tourists staying overnight in Akita, with non-staying tourists unaccounted for. There are Taiwanese tourists who stay in the neighboring prefectures but also visit Akita as part of their itinerary. Most Taiwanese travel agencies offer packages visiting more than one prefecture in the Tohoku area. However, the existing official statistics only reflect those foreign tourists that stay overnight. Therefore the reported estimate in this study errs on the side of caution. In order to accurately estimate the economic effect of foreign tourists, the executive administration will have to improve its survey systems, providing more detailed and stratified information regarding the behaviors of foreign tourists.

2-2 Estimation of Production Ripple Effect

Based on the direct effect, the primary ripple production effect on Akita industries amounts to 133 million yen, 156 million yen, and 219 million yen, in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively. The secondary ripple production effect amounts to 40 million yen, 47 million yen, and 66 million yen, in 2004, 2005, and 2006 respectively. As should be the case, the secondary effect decreases compared to the primary effect. The total combined ripple production effect is 173 million yen, 203 million yen, and 284 million yen, in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively. On a per capita basis, the ripple production effect is 28 thousand yen.

Compared with the consumption by the Taiwanese tourists (direct effect), the ripple production effect is greater, since a variety of industries are involved in production in order to

meet the needs of the consumption demand by the tourists. The multiplier, defined as ripple production effect divided by the direct effect, is 1.75. To paraphrase, for each yen of consumption demand by the Taiwanese tourists, the whole industries in Akita have increased by 1.75 yen the value of the production output.

2-3 Estimates of Income Effect

The income effect measures the increase in the income level of Akita residents, equivalent to the value added in the process of production. As reported in Table 5, the total income effect is 76 million yen, 88 million yen, and 123 million yen, in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively. On a per capita basis, the average income effect is 12 thousand yen.

2-4 Estimation of Tax Effect

Finally the tax effect is 1.98 million yen, 2.33 million yen, and 3.26 million yen, respectively, in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively. Personal taxes make a greater contribution than the corporate taxes.

3 Summary

This study is motivated by the fact that Akita Prefecture has been making great efforts in attracting Taiwanese tourists in recent years. We can see this from the sharply increased numbers of Taiwanese visiting Akita. However, a quantitative estimation of the economic effect is also needed in order to examine the effectiveness of such projects. This study takes on the task, and it aims to provide relevant quantitative evidence for decision-makers.

Based on the survey of consumption behaviors and official statistics on the Taiwanese tourists visiting Akita, the estimates shows that the direct effect amounts to 99 million yen, 116 million yen, and 163 million yen in 2004, 2005, and 2006 respectively. The total ripple production effect is 173 million yen, 203 million yen, and 284 million yen, in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively. For each yen of consumption demand by the Taiwanese tourists, the whole industries in Akita have to increase 1.75 yen worth of the production. The total income effect is 76 million yen, 88 million yen, and 123 million yen, in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively. The tax effect is 1.98 million yen, 2.33 million yen, and 3.26 million yen, in 2004, 2005, and 2006, respectively. The results also show that “hotel” and “Transportation” industries have benefited the most from the direct consumption by the Taiwanese tourists.

As a cautionary note, the actual economic effect of Taiwanese tourists is estimated to be greater than the estimates reported above, because the estimates in this study are based on the number of Taiwanese tourists staying overnight in Akita. Those Taiwanese tourists who visited Akita but stayed in the neighboring prefectures are not reflected in this study, since this study relies on the official statistics, which only account for Taiwanese tourists staying overnight in Akita. Due to this limitation, the economic effects reported in this study are conservative. In order to make a more precise estimation of the tourists, the administration and other relevant parties need to improve the data on foreign tourists.

Another implication of this study that it provides clues for boosting the economic effect of Taiwanese tourists. The economic effect can be further increased either by increasing the numbers, or by inducing more consumption by Taiwanese tourists, or both. For the former, even though Taiwanese tourists visiting Akita have been increasing, the number is relatively low compared with neighboring prefectures. For instance, Iwate Prefecture, the eastern neighboring prefecture of Akita, has attracted 51,443 and 54,162 Taiwanese tourists on a staying overnight basis in 2004 and 2005, respectively. Akita Prefecture still has a substantial growth potential in the Taiwanese tourists market. For instance, Yeh and Yamazaki (2007) have made useful suggestions regarding the promotional strategies for Taiwanese market. Sasaki (2008) also made suggestions regarding the infrastructure for Asian tourists such as providing the traffic sign boards or pamphlets in Chinese and Korean. Given the efforts made

by the Akita prefecture and relevant industries, we can expect an increased inflow of Taiwanese tourists in the near future. However, even if more Taiwanese tourists can be expected, there is a cap on this number. The main reason is that the accommodation facilities that can accommodate group tourists in Akita are limited, which has been the greatest barrier suggested by the Taiwanese travel agents (Chung, 2007).

Therefore, a more flexible strategy is needed, i.e. to increase the consumption demand by Taiwanese tourists. As shown in Table 2, Taiwanese tourists spent most on accommodation and transportation expenditures, with shopping and food expenditures only accounting for 10% and 8%, respectively, of their total expenditures. There is still plenty of room to increase their food and shopping expenditures. For instance, more effort can be made in inducing Taiwanese tourists' consumption in, for instance, souvenirs or Akita specialty goods or food. It is said that Akita service industries are not very keen on such marketing aspects. Also, another method is extending the tourists' stay in Akita. This can be done by developing and marketing more attractive sightseeing spots or routes to Taiwanese tourists and travel agencies. Akita is endowed with abundant natural resources. A more creative attitude is required in tapping and utilizing these resources.

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Methods of Community Psychology in Fostering Adaptation of International Students at Japanese Universities

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Study abroad has become one of main forms of building global cooperation and understanding, and at the same time one of big business operations. Japan has joined other industrialized countries in developing increasing number of opportunities for foreign students to enrich their education by participation in study abroad programs in many Japanese universities. To be an effective tool for building cooperation and understanding, as well as to bring satisfaction to the customers of the business operation, it is necessary that this experience is positive both from the point of view of students' academic performance and their well-being. However, the accumulated experience of countries which have long tradition of hosting international students, such as United States or United Kingdom shows that quite frequently disappointments and difficulties experienced during study abroad bring opposite results to those intended.¹

There are many factors involved in the subjective evaluation of success achieved during study abroad. Satisfaction derived from the completion of the academic work is of course one of the most important. But, the academic progress is conditioned by the psychological well-being of a student, and sometimes difficulties associated with its achievement overshadow overall experience.

The difficulties experienced by international students have been a subject of multiple studies which with time produced quite extensive literature with its classics.² However, recent studies show that many former results are not being reproduced and even such classical concepts, such as the U curve of the "cultural shock" with the four fundamental stages of cultural adaptation, "honeymoon, crisis, recovery and adaptation,"³ are gross oversimplifications.

Also, recent studies give examples of very natural, unquestionable assumptions, which are falsified when tested in experiments. Probably the most puzzling and confusing result is that students, who are going through pre-departure sessions preparing for study abroad, experience more psychological problems such as being homesick, than those who are not going through any preparation.⁴ Since the researchers have been able to exclude the possibility that students of weaker psychological constitution have been more likely to participate in pre-departure programs, the only currently available explanation, of course speculative, is that the preparation for the difficulties has deceived participants who believed that they can overcome what is known to them, and made them more vulnerable.

The examples above have been given to justify the claim that the study of the conditions for successful study abroad experience requires not only continuation of the direction set in the classics, but also, that new alternative approaches to the subject are desirable.

This paper is devoted to one of more recently explored ideas in the search for optimal methods in fostering adaptation of international students based on experience of community psychology.

Since this discipline of psychology, although fully recognized by American Psychological Association (in which it has own Division 27 called the Society for Community Research and Action), as well as other major psychological associations of the world, may easily be confused with the associated but distinct discipline of social psychology, its principal methods and the subject of interest will be presented in a very brief outline.

The discipline of community psychology originated in the attempts to provide empirical foundations and tools to activists who wanted to empower individuals and communities that have been marginalized by society, where empowerment has been understood as “[...] the mechanism by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over their lives.”⁵

Thus, community psychology has as its mission providing the empirical tools for action to improve well-being of individuals, in particular individuals who are most vulnerable members of the society, through the transformations of the relationship of individuals and their communities and through increased involvement of individuals in the matters of their communities. At the same time, the role of communities in helping individuals with their mental health problems has been recognized. In such a role, the community can play much more effective role than the institutional forms of mental health care by providing several measures of prevention. Instead of trying to revert the psychiatric pathological states, for which usually is too late, it is much easier to prevent them.

In the conceptual framework of community psychology, the main role is played by socio-ecological levels of analysis focused on the relationship between individuals and their social environment, proceeding from the informal micro-systems such as family, classmates, sports teams and other interest groups, through institutional level of schools, business organizations, local government organizations, to macro-systems of municipalities, township governments, etc. Community psychology is focusing on the lower level systems and their role in improvement of well-being of individuals. Within these lower levels, ways to transform the social environment are sought in order to accommodate individual needs of members. One of the aspects important for the effectiveness of such actions is the effort to defend cultural diversity, which frequently is the source of difficulties in social adaptation of individuals.

The ecological conceptualization of community psychology broadens its scope of applications beyond the original goal of the support for marginalized members of modern societies. When we recall that the main reason for psychological problems of international students in their study abroad is related to being separated from the familiar cultural environment, the experience accumulated in community psychology becomes a natural resource for the study and action in improvement of their well-being.

The recognition of the common sources of problems for the two very different social groups, the marginalized socially and economically disadvantaged members of the society and international students frequently belonging in their own societies to privileged social strata, has opened a new perspective on the matters related to study abroad, but we have to be aware of the essential differences. Community psychology can enrich the study of adaptation of international students and can provide new focus on the matters pertaining to students' social environment, but we cannot expect ready solutions waiting there. For instance, international students have the advantage of relatively high educational background and strong motivation, but their community involvement can be very restricted by the limited language proficiency.

Thus, we have to be careful in assessing which of the methods of community psychology can be useful in fostering international students' adaptation.

At present, the use of community psychology in supporting international students is at the introductory level in Japan. Naturally, in this first stage the focus is on building community support within the lowest level of students' social environment on campus. An example of such transformation can be found in the attempt to change the passive system of international student counseling by professional counselors waiting for students seeking advice in their offices into the system involving student tutors from Japanese student body, staff members, dormitory management, etc. The role of these assistants is to create a community which can provide support not only to those who are already experiencing psychological or social problems which prompt them to seek help, but to provide advice and support preventing such states.⁶

Another example of the development utilizing the experience of community psychology can be found in the collaboration support system for international students coordinated by

International Center at Ochanomizu University in Tokyo. The organizational structure of the system consists of three units supervised by International Center. The main activities, such as regular lunch meetings, retreats, seasonal events advised by a faculty member, are being carried by volunteers from Transcultural Exchange Association (TEA). Additional contributions are made by tutors from the graduate school (mainly academic support) and volunteer mentors in the dorm.⁷

The use of the support of the out-of-campus local community has been also propagated in Japan, although the history of this support is more complicated.⁸ With the increase of the number of international students in Japanese universities, local communities in the proximity of such universities expressed interest in hosting the visitors on various communal events. However, the university authorities were strongly reluctant. Only after the Ministry of Education issued an encouraging note to all higher education institutions, governors of prefectures and prefectural boards of education in 1997, public support for international students started to be considered an agenda for both the university authorities and local governments.⁹ However, there was no discussion or recommendation of the preferable forms of interactions between the visitors and local communities.

The organizational forms of interactions with local communities are various. Some examples have been given in the extensive study of international student advising.¹⁰ At Kyushu University the International Student Center limits its involvement to direct invitations from local communities to interested international students. The forms of interaction or activities are being a matter of initiative of the multiple volunteer groups organizing students' participation in community events.

While in Kyushu there was already existing communal interest in interactions with international students and the university was only delivering invitations, in Kunitachi city where Hitotsubashi University is located, there was no much interest in the community in building the relationship with visitors. The university created a faculty post in international student special education. This faculty member has fulfilled the important role in developing an interest in the community to stimulate formation of volunteer groups which could serve as hosts for students. In time this stimulation has generated enough interest to create several forms of recreational activities involving local citizens and international and even Japanese students.

In either case, the role of community at large was to provide general support necessary to develop in the international students the familiarity with new social and cultural environment. Not always such efforts have been appreciated by the visitors.¹¹ Sometimes they perceived them as results of simple curiosity which did not lead to the increase of mutual understanding and lasting relationship. On the other hand, the attempts to bring international students into the contact with local communities constitute the first step in developing the role of local communities in student support.

My own interests in the methods of community involvement started from the pedagogical objectives of developing more effective methods of language learning in which the advantage of accessibility of the actual cultural environment is utilized. Since the progress in language proficiency involves not only acquiring the syntactic and semantic knowledge of the language structures and vocabulary, but also developing pragmatic experience of using the language in its actual cultural context, I was trying to create the opportunities for foreign students to interact with the members of local host communities. For this purpose, and for the purpose of developing intercultural competencies in the students, I have developed a course "Cultural Background of Japanese Language" which includes among educational activities student participation in several field trips during which they have opportunity to observe daily activities of the members of the community at large and to be engaged in the interactions with the hosts.

Even before the course has been implemented, I was visiting with my Japanese language students local schools near campus. Both the international students and children from local schools liked this form of interaction. From the beginning, I was trying to avoid carefully the

model of passive interaction in which field trip activities are limited to mutual observation and simple attempts of communication. Too frequently, it is assumed that the very fact of mutual contact is sufficiently valuable to both sides. In reality, this “zoo” type presentation of the both sides just perpetuates stereotypes and does not help in mutual understanding. Thus, I am always preparing for international students clearly defined objectives of the field trips. Also, I am arranging activities involving members of both sides with some communication goals.

As long as the only objectives involved are related to language learning or intercultural communication skills, field trips with appropriately structured activities in which international students participate together with members of local communities seem working well. However, from the point of view of developing community involvement which could be used as a means of student adaptation, such forms of activities are not sufficient. International students, in spite of the activities involving them in common action with community members, have remained the visitors, guests who are welcome, who become more comprehensible, but still guests.

In order to include in the plan of activities for international students the objectives of developing actual, authentic community involvement, it is necessary to reflect on the basic characteristics of the community bonds, and therefore to refer to community psychology. Examples of the missing elements in the field trips in the past are the common purpose and the sense of responsibility.

The first step was to introduce the common purpose. In June 2007, an opportunity appeared to include this element. In cooperation with Yokote city office, two tours of the city for AIU international students from my class have been arranged. Students were guided by staff members of the city office. The groups have visited local tourist attractions (historical monuments, natural beauty spaces, seasonal attractions, such as cherry fruit picking). The task for students was to discuss (in Japanese) what they are shown with staff members and to write their own assessment of the sites’ level of interest for foreign tourists, preparation of services for tourists, selection of the points of interest, etc. There was a clear common purpose of these activities for both students and staff guides to find all possible ways to make the area more attractive for tourists and to identify directions of improvement. Needless to say, both sides felt very satisfied having the perception that they are doing together something useful.

The next step was to introduce in addition to common purpose, shared responsibility. The opportunities for this type of involvement appeared last winter term. Thanks to the cooperation of organizers of two winter festivals and the sponsorship of AIU President, international students from my class had opportunity to participate in the festivals not as visitors, but as hosts.

Winter festivals belong to great tourist attractions of Akita Prefecture. In the past, international students were visiting several such events. Usually most memorable was the Tug-of-War festival in Kariwano, where hundreds of people, local inhabitants and visitors, are pulling huge, several hundred meter long rice-straw tag-of-war rope. This direct involvement in the action of the festival was probably the crucial element in its popularity among students.

Last winter, I managed to arrange that international students from my class had the opportunity to join the organizers of two local festivals as hosts. In Yokote, where following an old tradition local citizens build from snow small houses called *kamakura* to which visitors (local people and tourists from all Japan and also from abroad) are invited to eat rice cakes and drink *amazake* (low alcohol content sake), the students were invited to help in building a *kamakura* and five of them assumed the roles of hosts.

In Tazawako, the rest of the students in the class in three groups joined the organizers in the preparations for the Snow Festival combining elements from several Akita festivals at the largest ski resort of the prefecture. Their responsibilities were to make a big paper balloon, to assist in a big pot (*nabe*) competition, and to build mini-*kamakura*. Unfortunately, the activities of the festival have been restricted by unusually severe weather conditions. However, the role of these preparations for the festival in building the relationship with local community fulfilled to

some extend its role. It was the sense of responsibility for successful outcome of the preparation shared with the people from the community which mattered the most.

The two examples of the community involvement constitute only the exploratory beginning of the study of possible ways to develop bonds of international students with local communities. They were possible due to exceptionally accommodating cooperation of the organizations involved. The latter was influenced negatively by the conditions out of control. However, they give some indication that community psychology can serve as a framework for such an approach.

The next step in the study is to develop action plan less dependent on favorable (or unfavorable) circumstances. Its preparation requires an analysis of the reactions of students collected after their involvement in the activities, being carried out at present.

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Conceptual Changes in American Individualism – An Essay

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American thinkers generally understand individualism to be a concept that demonstrates the ideological difference between liberalism and communitarianism. (1) This essay reviews trends in American political thought about changing definitions of individualism by assessing the conceptual changes which have occurred over the previous two centuries.

The concept of individualism in the American and French political traditions differs according to each tradition's peculiar historical context. This is why some say individualism lacks conceptual unity and consistency. (3) “Absolute liberalism” characterizes American political thought. (2) Absent feudalism in America's past, America's political foundation is based on the concepts of freedom, equality and popular sovereignty. In other words, there is no traditional European conservatism in American political thought. Consequently America's political philosophy is anchored in a school of liberalism that is concerned with ideas that express individual rights, freedom and equality.

French individualism, on the other hand, is generally viewed as essentially based on a school of liberalism that arose from the unstable social conditions created by the French Revolution. At that time, French thinkers considered individualism as being egotistical and verging on anarchy. Unlike American thinkers, French conservatives and socialists, as well as “liberals” viewed individualism with a negative feeling.

Discussions of American Individualism in the 19th Century

Generally speaking, it is said that the concept of American individualism became a subject of discussion only after the publication of the French aristocrat's Alexis de Tocqueville's assessment of the United States contained in his classic work, *Democracy in America Volume II*. Originally, the concept of individualism that John Locke advocated supported the concept of popular sovereignty. During the era of the American renaissance in the early 19th Century, de Tocqueville visited the United States in the 1830s to observe its social and political systems. At that time, a new social ethic that accented cooperation came to challenge Jeffersonian Democracy's emphasis on competition.

De Tocqueville viewed individualism as a psychological tendency among people in a democratic society. People in a liberal society, he believed, were not interested in other people because of their belief that all people are created equally. Thus, he concluded, people devoted themselves to their private lives with little desire for a public life. He believed this resulted in “moderated despotism.” But Americans had both private and public lives. They took part freely in political activities and public associations, and participated with others in social activities. This prevented them from experiencing the ill effects of individualism and despotism. (4) In this way de Tocqueville discovered the possibility of coexistence between egalitarianism and individualism in American society.

His ideas ever since have been discussed in relation to American political ideology. Some American thinkers became very impressed by de Tocqueville's views because they appreciated his explanation of the relationship between individualism, on the one hand, and public activities and citizenship on the other hand. (5) Relying on de Tocqueville's ideas, these thinkers interpreted individualism to be closely related to American traditional liberalism rooted in Protestantism. (6) They criticized liberals because they saw their concept of egalitarianism as being similar to anarchy which could result in despotism. In other words,

it can be said that the concept of individualism in the United States had already begun to show in the early 19th century ideological divergence between liberalism and communitarianism. Moreover, the Americanization of European thought by American thinkers had become evident by the mid-19th Century.

Also by the mid-19th Century, a new interpretation of individualism emerged that was tied to the notion of the “frontier spirit.” (7) Pioneers migrating west across North America viewed themselves as independent human beings who lived far from public institutions. Their behavior was assessed to be more akin to individualism than egoism. From this historical development emerged the concept of American “rugged individualism.”

As the 19th Century ended, prominent businessmen like Andrew Carnegie and J.D. Rockefeller adopted the theory of Social Darwinism to justify their philosophy of business. Earlier Adam Smith had associated the right of private property and *laissez-faire* capitalism with the concept of individualism. Subsequently individualism came to be interpreted as encouraging individual economic activity, a consequence of American thinkers’ confidence in the social science of economics. Later businessmen like Carnegie and Rockefeller forged a new theory of individualism that fused the idea of *laissez-faire* capitalism with the Puritan ethic using Darwin’s scientific explanations. American thinkers subsequently forgot about De Tocqueville’s views, enabling American thinkers to demonstrate the originality of their thought relative to that of Europeans. (8)

American social reformers rejected Social Darwinism. They criticized it as being responsible for expanding the gap between the rich and the poor. (9) They also criticized their government for accepting the overwhelming power of *laissez-faire* capitalism and its functioning solely according to the rules of the market place. These thinkers protested that the government had a social responsibility to distribute wealth fairly to all people. Society, they asserted, should become more involved politically with addressing civic and social problems which appeared as a consequence of urbanization, industrialization and population increase. Advocates of social reform came to view individualism based on *laissez-faire* capitalism to be a vice. In other words, no longer was it considered appropriate for individualism to be interpreted as political self-reliance.

New Concepts of Individualism in the 20th Century

The American philosopher John Dewey early in the 20th Century proposed a new concept of individualism that was consistent with the newly emerging social ideology of the times. He viewed individualism to be collective, cooperative and progress. For him, individualism enabled all individuals to develop their own potential to the fullest extent possible. This replaced the older definition of individualism that accented selfishness and *laissez-faire* individualism which had come to be viewed as anti-social and destructive. Dewey advocated extensive government intervention in the economy and society to provide all individuals security and the opportunity to participate in society. His political views contributed to the development of social liberalism that came to influence President Franklin Roosevelt’s “New Deal” after the 1929 Great Stock Market Crash and subsequent economic depression. New Deal programs also influenced those of the 1960s such as the “New Frontier” and “Great Society” which represented the high point of social liberalism in the United States.

After World War II, there was a “De Tocqueville Renaissance” that refocused American thinkers on De Tocqueville’s ideas. Numerous discussions ensued about the relationship between democratic society and citizenship based on De Tocqueville’s views. At the time, the United States was proud of its military superiority and material prosperity which fostered “permissiveness” in American society. Liberal groups could fulfill their welfare agenda, and society tolerated protest movements and the counterculture boom of the 1960s. But the growing financial burden of welfare policies and the Vietnam War, plus the excesses of presidential authority such as the Watergate break in nurtured the view that morality and social ethics were in decline.

Reacting to these developments, communitarians by the late 1970s began to criticize

the policies of liberals with yet another concept of individualism. A noted representative of this communitarian trend was Robert N. Bellah of the University of California at Berkeley. (11) He and others who shared his views advocated a balance between communitarianism and De Tocqueville's concept of individualism. They warned that liberalism was being overwhelmed by an excessive degree of "privatization." In the 1980s there were discussions that urged a return to "traditional" American ethics to define individualism's relationship to the community and the individual's responsibility as a citizen.

More recently, partially as a consequence of trends in the 1980s, Neo- Tocquevilleans such as Robert Putnam have advanced the theory of social capital. (12) According to Putnam, social capital refers to the connections among individuals – their social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. Putnam observes that the promotion of democratization depends upon the maturity of civic virtues such as solidarity, trust, and tolerance in a community. De Tocqueville presented these virtues as social factors which can prevent people from experiencing the ill effects of individualism in a democratic society.

Clearly the concept of individualism has changed gradually according to the current of historical events. Individualism can be said to be a unique political idea which lacks conceptual unity and consistency. Nowadays, however, it is said that American thinkers are beginning to a clear and focused direction in their discussions about individualism. The study of individualism points to the need to reconsider the public role citizens should play in a democratic society.

The mainstream of American political ideology changed after World War II because of the impact of the Cold War, Korean and Vietnam Wars, the Oil Shocks of the 1970s and East Asia's emergence as an economic competitor of the United States. American thinkers tended to favor communitarianism. But as some liberals point out, it is also important to emphasize that the need for solidarity within the community can be as dangerous as excessive individualism. In the final analysis, individualism can serve as an indicator for maintaining the proper balance between liberalism and communitarianism.

American philosophers in the 19th Century sought to demonstrate its originality by reinterpreting the ideas of their European counterparts. In the 20th Century, America's political thinkers searched for a path between the drastically different themes of liberalism and communitarianism as they sought to reinterpret individualism. Now in the 21st Century they are seeking a point of fusion.

Through history, America's thinkers have aimed for stability by avoiding excessive swings in the ideological pendulum. Today the extent of the pendulum's swing has narrowed. New concepts of individualism have emerged which have been labeled a "third way." Some contend that this is actually an "Europeanization" of American thought, something American thinkers have sought to avoid since the early 19th Century.

Endnotes

- (1) George C. Lodge, "The United States: The Costs of Ambivalence," in *Ideology and National Competitiveness*, ed. Ezra F. Vogel and George C. Lodge (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1987), 103. Communitarianism emphasizes the proper balance between individual rights and the interest of the society.
- (2) Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1991), 208.
- (3) Steven Lukes, foreword to *Individualism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), ix-x.
- (4) Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 479-492.
- (5) Anonymous, "Catholicism," *Boston Quarterly Review* 4 (1841): 320-332.
- (6) John Taylor, "The Course of Civilization," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 6 (1839): 213-214. ; John W. Nevin, "Human Freedom," *The American Review* 7 (1848): 406-418.
- (7) E. L. Godkin, "American Opinion of Democracy," *Problem of Modern Democracy* (New York, 1896), quoted in Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1964), 39.
- (8) Robert Nisbet, "Many Tocquevilles," *American Scholar* 46 (Winter, 1976/1977): 61. According to Nisbet, the Tocqueville boom depended on changes in thinkers' ideas reflecting the trends of American politics and economics.
- (9) The American Economic Association, which was established in 1885, criticized the theory of laissez-faire, and insisted on state intervention in the fields of society and economy as a symbol of social evolution.
- (10) Jo Ann Boydston, ed., *John Dewey, the Collected Works 1882-1953*, Vol. V : 1929-1930 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 41-123.
- (11) Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habit of Heart—Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996)
- (12) Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 19.

A Brief Statement

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World Englishes and Globalization – An Overview of Models and Paradigms –

Kolawole Waziri Olagboyega

1. Introduction

The establishment of Akita International University (in 2004) as an English medium University puts it in a unique position amongst the universities and other tertiary institutions in Japan. The medium of instruction, of assessment and of communication on all courses (except Japanese language courses) is English Language. The stage was then set for anxiety, apprehension and trepidation. However, within a few years of operation, the initial apprehension of the administrators, the students and the entire community at large has evaporated as it became apparent that they could use English language to express themselves in their own unique ways. The purpose of this article is, therefore to exemplify the status of English around the world in order to remove any other trepidation that any non-native speakers of the language might have.

Due to the geographical expansion of the British Empire in the past and the predominance of the USA in the present, English has acquired the status of a world language. The sociolinguistic situation of English around the globe is marked by the unprecedented depth and range of uses among native and non-native speakers alike. For the first time in history, a language has established formal and functional contact with almost every language family (Bolton 2005; Mesthrie 2003; Crystal 1985/95:108f). This versatility and ubiquity of English prompts some fundamental questions as to whether it can still be conceived of as a monolithic entity. As a result, a new plural, “Englishes”, has gained currency among a minority of academics alongside the traditional singular label “English” (Stevens 1987a: 27f; Nelson 2006.).

It is a truism to state that the instances of the use of English are basically unique and ungraspable in their totality, since language is a social activity and subject to constant change. Consequently, the categories used for the description of English can be nothing but abstractions. Tom McArthur (1992a) and Francois Chevillet (1993) draw attention to how variational typologies have changed over time to capture linguists’ new conceptualisations of English.

Given the long and well-documented history of the world-wide spread of English, it may in fact seem surprising that the question of its variability has met research interest only relatively late. Since the 19th century, anglicists tended to view the English language in a chronological frame of reference, representing it linearly from Old English to Modern English or in the bifurcating tree model of Scotticists. Genealogical model-making of this kind constructs language as a living organism (as in Baugh & Cable 1951:2f.) and owes inspiration to the work of Darwin and other biological taxonomists. No matter how subdivided, these conceptualisations highlight continuity, without, however, providing for the future, as the maturity of contemporary associates change with decay. Thus, the basic imagery of these models encodes a unitary view for Modern English.

The trend to accept differentiation in English has emerged in three stages in response to historical, leastwise political developments (Berns 2005; Hbller 1985: 178-86; Stevens 1987a: 30). Initially, the unitarian idealisation has been relaxed in the wake of the Saussurean emphasis on the synchronic to allow consideration of the diversity across native Englishes. The 1930s saw the rise of British and American English dialectology, a hundred years after Noah Webster’s linguistic declaration of independence in 1829. In general, the recognition of or claims to varieties in the diaspora ensued from their consolidation as politically independent nations. The same applies to the second phase since the 1960s, which brought the

study of English in the institutionalized contexts of British ex-colonies. Finally and most recently, there have been attempts at extending variational models of English to include its usage in the increasing number of cross-cultural interactions that are occurring among states, organisations, networks, and individuals.

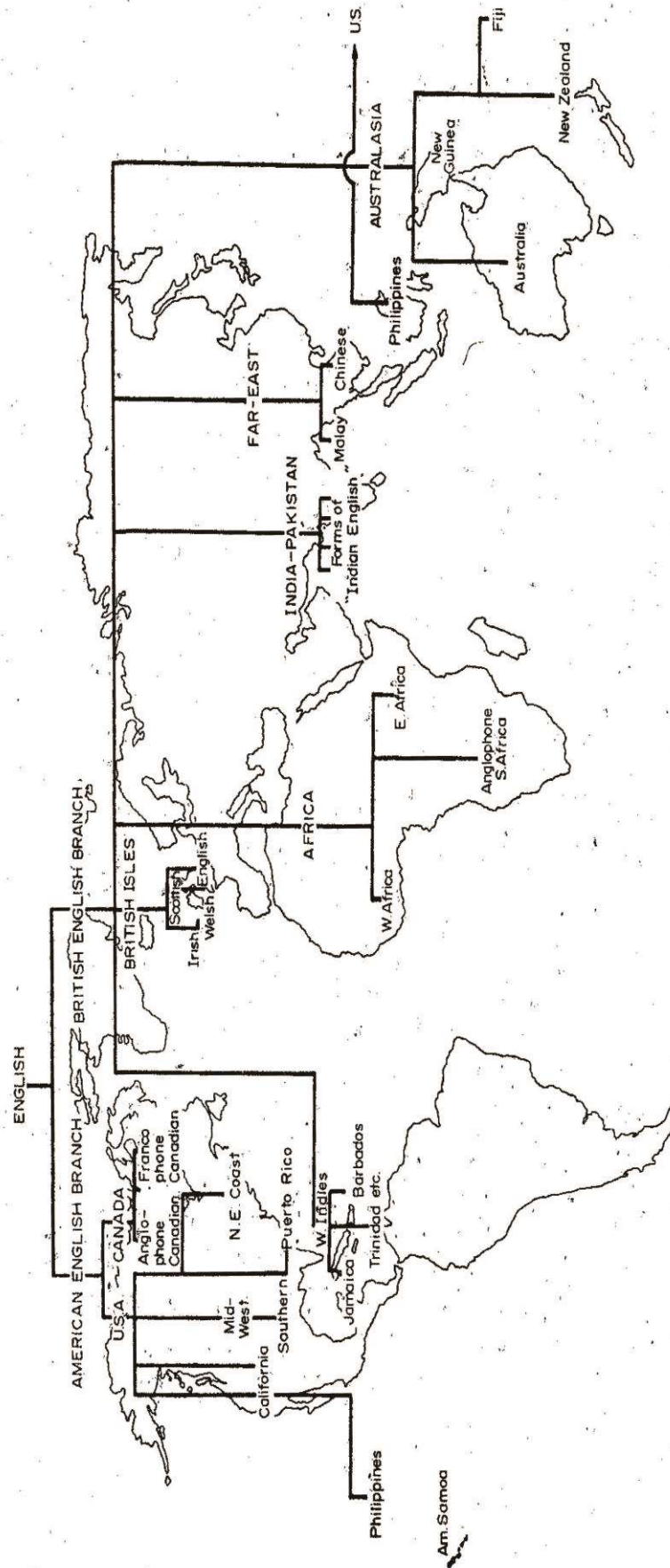
2. English in institutionalized contexts

Since the emancipation of the British colonies after the Second World War, the role of English in their linguistic economies changed from being an instrument of subservience to fulfilling institutionalized functions, thereby compelling scholars to seek for greater accuracy and sensitivity in their descriptions of English. Research in the use of English amongst non-native speakers would still have been difficult to justify before the 1960s with the wide-spread focus on the language system suggesting that there exists in the usage of the native speaker both a unity and a hierarchical superiority. A number of developments – Labov’s variation paradigm and advances in language acquisition research, reflecting discontent over these homogenising traditions, along with the growing national consciousness among the ex-colonies – paved the way for transplanted varieties of English to become an acceptable object of inquiry. Initially, academic concern was almost exclusively pedagogical, resulting in the terminological triad of ENL [English as a Native Language], ESL [English as a Second Language], and EFL [English as a Foreign Language]. This widely accepted stratification is based on the status and functions English assumes in the various speech-communities. It was later refined by Moag (1982), who shows convincingly that the types are not categorically different, but areas on a multidimensional scale.

Organised efforts in discussing the wider theoretical implications of the imperial spread of English were not inaugurated until 1978, when they became the focus of two independently organised international conferences in the USA. The first was planned by Larry Smith in April at the East-West Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii (Smith 1981a). Braj Kachru arranged the second conference in June, in conjunction with the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, hosted by the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign (Kachru 1982a). The discussions firmly entrenched on the research agenda glotto-political and sociolinguistic issues, the structure and use of transplanted varieties, the question of intelligibility and appropriateness of a model. The early 1980s saw the appearance of a number of important monographs and handbooks (e.g. Bailey & Gollach 1982; Pride 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 1982; Platt et al 1984) as well as the foundation of specialised journals: *English World-Wide* in 1980, *World Language English* in 1981 revived as *World Englishes* in 1985, and *English Today* in 1985. From 1963 to 1993, the bibliography on varieties of English lists 2207 titles on English in the World, excluding studies in Great Britain, Ireland, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Viereck et al. 1984; Glauser et al. 1993; cf. Gollach 1992), to the point that Gollach (1984) asks: World language English – a new discipline?

(see Figure 1 on the next page)

Interestingly, one of the first models of English as World Language by Peter Strevens still attempts to align it with the 19th century taxonomic tradition, as it pictures the derivational relations between the major regional varieties world-wide in an inverted family tree (1972:18). Its basic extensions have later been further ramified (Strevens 1977:33), and for a last update, Strevens (1980:86/1987:33) adds a unique geographical dimension by superimposing the family tree on a map of the world. Thereby, he provides a conceptual link with both synchronic and diachronic implications. More recently, John Algeo (1991:5) also proposes similar branches and sub-branches in list form.



(Figure 1: The family tree of English, reproduced from Strevens 1980:86)

In other contemporary models, however, the historicity is generally lost in favour of circular representations. While the diagrams in question all express the departure from the traditional unitary view, they differ in their management of the diversity in the use of English world-wide depending on which position on standards and on the function of language in general is taken by their proponents. A closer investigation of their underlying paradigms unfolds two variant strands, one underlining the formal unity and the other emphasising the cultural plurality of the English language around the globe.

Figure 2 illustrates the unifying model implicit in Quirk et al.'s metaphor of the "common core of English" or "nucleus" (1972:13; 1985:16). It highlights "the very high degree of unanimity, the small amount of divergence among the varieties of English in the world (Quirk 1962:95f.) and, thus, pertains to a more conservative stance. The notion of core and periphery English forms the backbone of most dictionaries and grammars, with the image of the kernel connoting stability and uniformity (Quirk et al. 1972:30; 1985:31). Note, for example, that figure 2 is paralleled by the "circle of the English language" in the General Explanations of The Oxford English Dictionary with a "well-defined centre" of "common words", but "no discernible circumference" (Simpson & Weiner 1989:xxiv). Quirk et al.'s authoritative grammars retain the traditional dichotomy between native and non-native speakers, insofar as they "focus on the common core that is shared by standard British English and standard American English" (1985:3). The important question remains whether national standards other than Anglo-American English are outside or inside the nucleus; one is left implausibly, with a hodgepodge of peripheral, variety-specific features.

Gerry Abbott (1991a/b) tries to overcome this deficiency in that he discerns (cultural) identities of non-native varieties within the periphery and conceives of their relation to the core in terms of a planetary system. The non-mother tongue Englishes are held in orbit by the gravitational pull of a central cluster of native standards. Abbott (1982) concurs with Greenbaum (1985) in arguing a strong case for using native syntactic and phonological systems as models for the sake of commonality. At the same time, there is provision of culture-specific lexical sets for each satellite to maintain a distance sufficient for distinctiveness. Abbot's vision of English shows both theoretical and rhetorical affinities to the two-fold typology devised by Quirk et al., who in fact, also speak of "the orbit of the English language" (1985:28).

While both approaches remain inherently nativist, Gorlach's representation of "the status of varieties of English and related languages world-wide" (1988b/1990:42) goes a step further to yield a number of standards irrespective of their status as a native or second language. The 'core' International English is retained in the centre, surrounded by three concentric circles

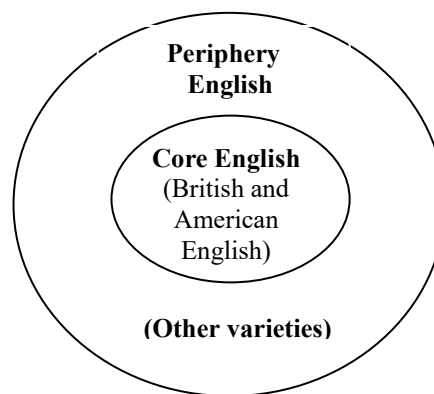


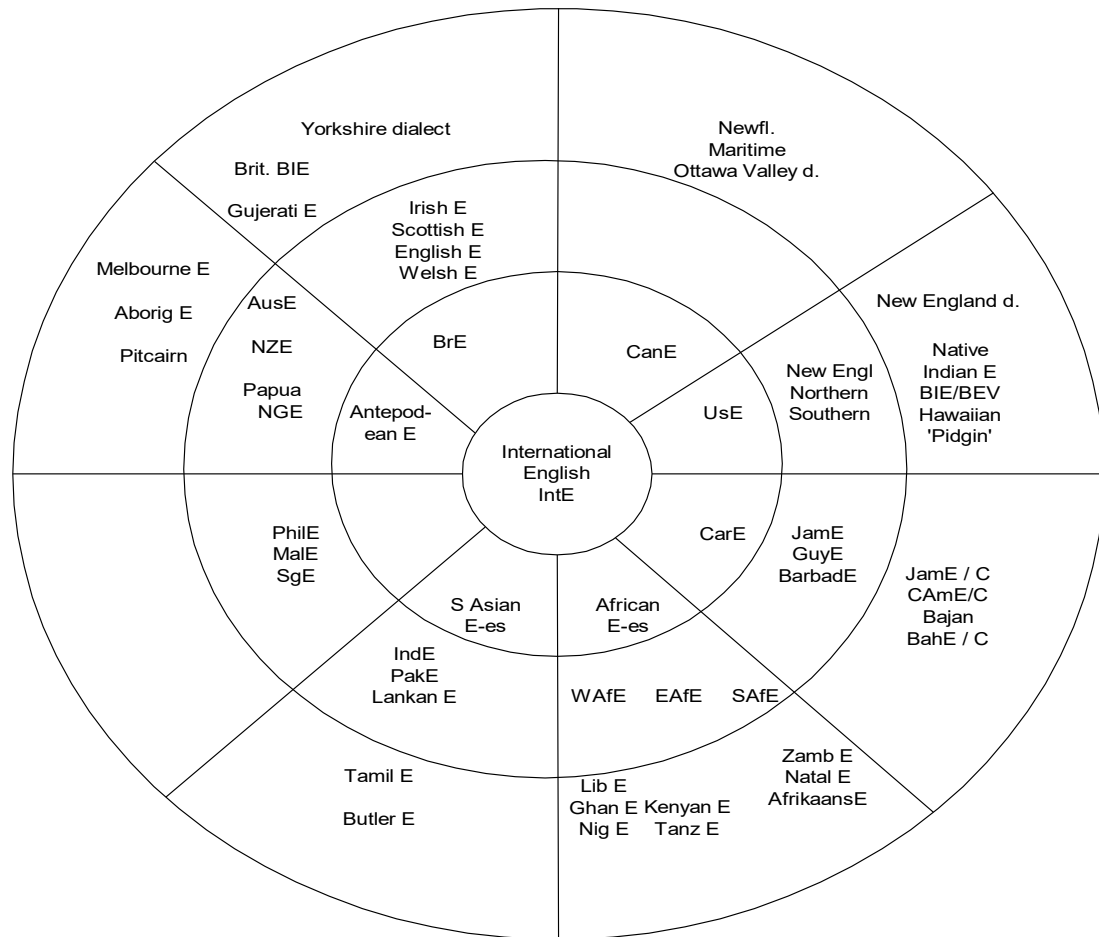
Fig. 2. Quirk's 'core' versus 'periphery' English

of standards, semi-standards and non-standards [Figure 3]. Further, eight specific regions of the world are marked off by spokes, and thus, Gorlach arrives at an integrated perspective of both geographical diffusion and norm-related aspects. His aim may well, however, be underpinned by a desire to see the nucleus hold against all the centrifugal tendencies at work, but by means of the intriguing device of relocating the centre beyond mother-tongue varieties. Algeo can be understood as advancing a similar idea, namely the co-existence of different national standards with the "Common English norm", when he writes (1988:3):

A unified standard for English had ceased to exist by the eighteenth century. Today there are a number of such standards, and British needs as careful a description in its

departures from the Common English norm as do any of the others.

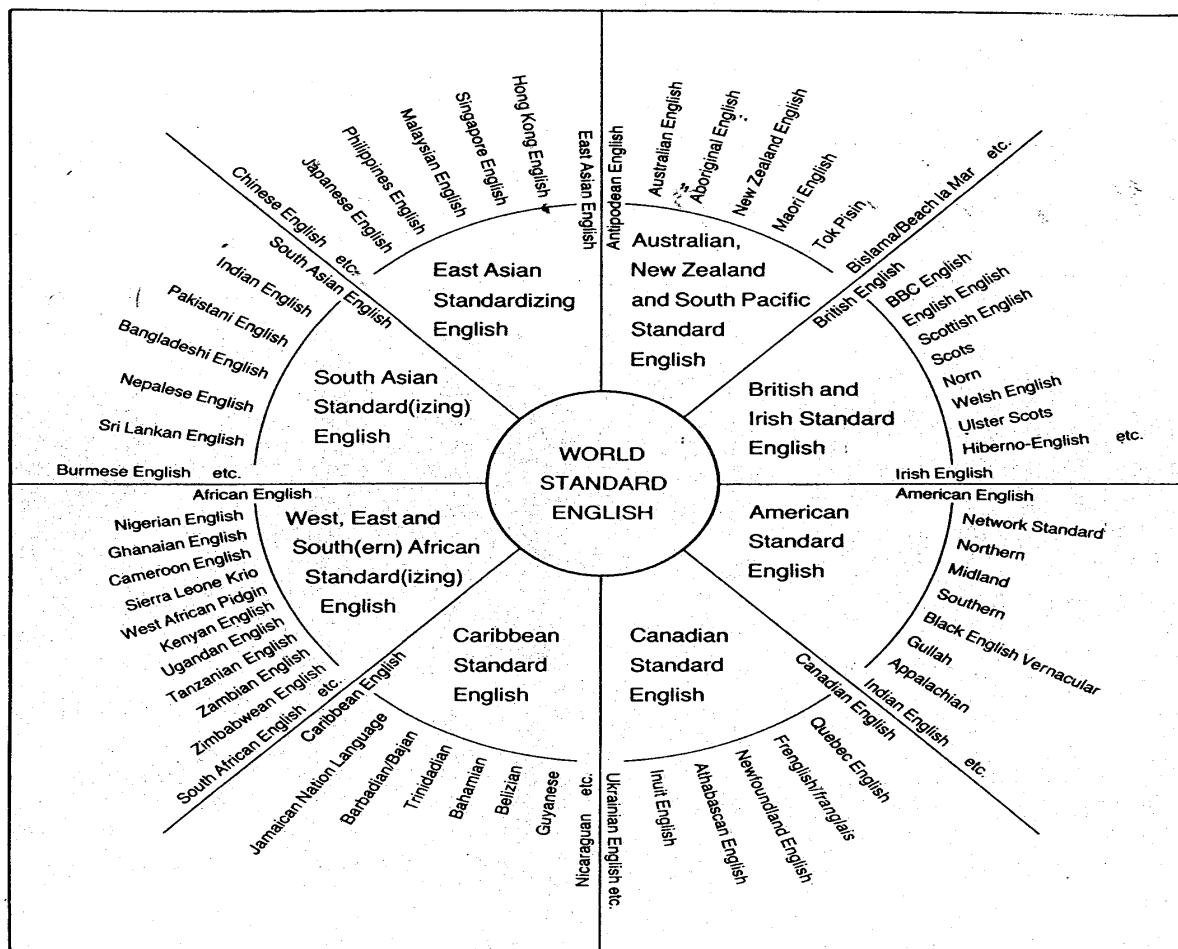
Gorlach's set of circles is basically a revised version of an earlier model by McArthur (1987:11) with only two bands around the centre World Standard English (Fig. 4). This unhelpfully inflates the rim with disparate terms such as "Australian English" and "Tok Pisin", and even "BBC English".



(Figure 3: The four concentric circles of English reproduced from Gorlach 1990:42)

However, McArthur's (1987) image of the wheel adds dynamism to Gorlach's static rings (1990), with the eight regional spokes extending outwards away from the hum World Standard English, thus, illustrating centrifugal forces. Interestingly, McArthur has made the three concentric circles the organisational principles of his Oxford Companion to the English Language. The 'core' entries of the innermost circle cover "immediately obvious aspects of the language such as its grammar", while the first and second circles reach out further to related subjects such as language acquisition (1992b:xviii).

These four circular models emphasise to a growing extent the diversification in the use of English. The terminologies have changed accordingly. Whereas Quirk's English still implies a monolithic entity, the terms Standard English (Gorlach 1990) and even English languages (McArthur 1987) call to mind heterogeneity. However, the predominant perspective remains monocentric, insofar as all models revolve around the centre of the circle. It embodies "the universal glue" (McArthur 1992a:21) of lexis and grammar, converging the use of English among educated speakers around the globe. More traditionally minded



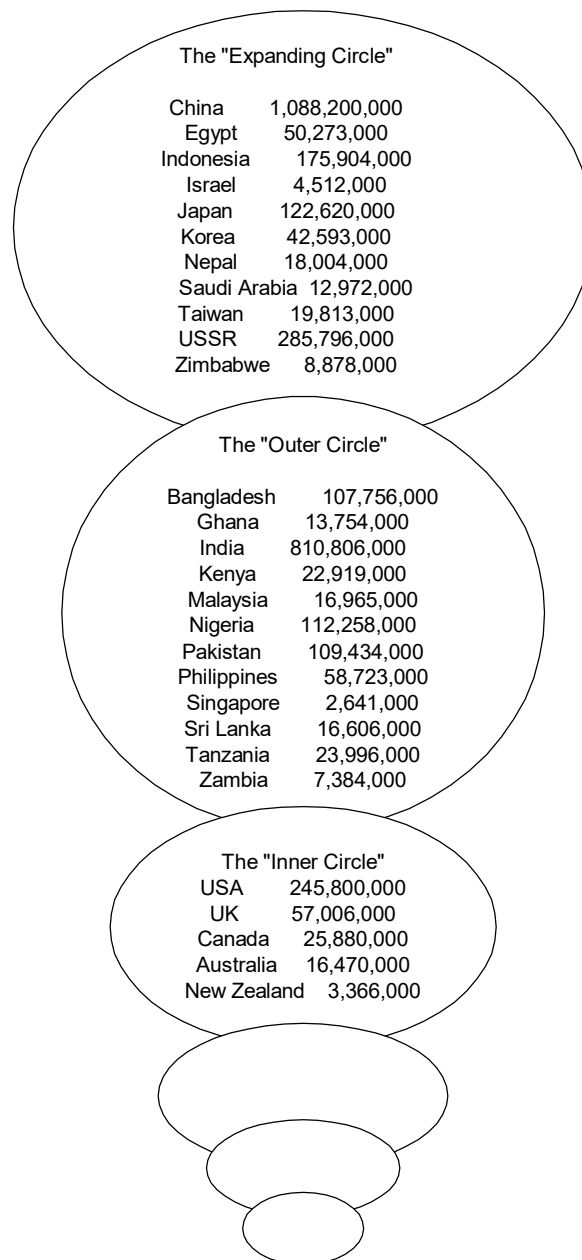
(Figure 4: The wheel of English adapted from McArthur (1987:11))

place geographical and acquisitional limits on this core, Gollach (1988b/90) and McArthur (1987), on the other hand, preserve the essential unity through a non-localised standard (cf. Stevns 1982b/85). They share a practical concern with countering divisiveness in English for the benefit of mutual intelligibility, as the social and economic value of the English language in the long term is seen as lying in its international currency. The underlying rationale tends to abstract from the cultural diversity of the peoples involved and foregrounds language as a morpho-syntactic system and in its instrumental function as a medium. An alternative pluricentric perspective on English looks at language as a social code and is the consequence of the theoretical and methodological insights gained by 'socially realistic' approaches to language study, particularly those of the British linguist Firth (Kachru 1986c). The study of language form is embedded within the theory of language function in interactional contexts and, thus, brings to the forefront differences on the pragmatic and discursive levels. The term pluricentric was actually employed by Heinz Kloss as early as 1952 to denote languages with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms. As a result of social and communicative paradigms and activism of their proponents, linguistic pluralism and diversity are considered indices of multiculturalism and societal interaction (Clyne 1992). The 'grammar of culture' is the central sociolinguistic concept from which notions of appropriateness that regulate linguistic behaviour are derived (Halliday 2003; Bright 1968; D'Souza 1988). For non-native uses of English, this presupposes that it is possible to dissociate a language from its culture, which challenges the widespread belief in the inextricability of their indexical and symbolic relationship (cf. Fishman 1994).

George Steiner (1975:4f) was one of the first to depart from a monocentric view of the English language, without, however, elaborating on any of the wider implications in his observations:

The linguistic centre of English has shifted. This is so demographically [...]. But this shift of the linguistic centre involves far more than statistics. It does look as if the principal energies of the English language, as if its genius for acquisition, for innovation, for metaphoric response, had also moved away from England.

The concept of pluricentricity in English was given full exegesis in a theoretical framework by Kachru, who visualises English in three intersecting circles or ovals (1985:12-5; with illustration 1988:5; 1990:4; 1992:3). They include the Inner Circle of mother tongue speakers, the Outer Circle with nativised varieties for intranational communication such as in India, and the Expanding Circle, where English is essentially taught as a foreign language [Fig. 5].



(Figure 5: The three contiguous circles of English reproduced from Kachru [1990:4])

Whilst not watertight, these distinctions supersede the traditional EFL-ESL-ENL trichotomy insofar as Kachru considers the types of both diffusion and acquisition as well as the functional and social penetration of English. The main thrust in his scholarship arises from evidencing endocentric norms and speech strategies for the Outer Circle and construing them as exponents of cultural distance and political independence (cf. Kachru 1982b/86). With most of the non-native institutionalised varieties being spoken in Third World ex-colonies, their investigation has thus become politically charged as the outgrowth of 'critical' approaches to language study, which stress the responsibility and accountability of the discipline towards relevant social issues (Kachru 1990). The motive for redefining the ecology of English lies in establishing parity of value, in linguistic and human terms, of all Englishes, whether native or non-native. Still, the rhetorics associated with the pluricentric model come down on the integrationalist side. Kachru (1985:15f.) breaks down the homogeneous speech community of English into what he calls "speech fellowships" in order to "bring us closer to the real world of English users, their underlying distinct differences, and also their shared characteristics" (my emphasis). Further, the acronym of the journal title *World Englishes* is to symbolise "WE-ness" rather than divisiveness (Kachru & Smith 1985/88).

A more radical view questions the very ontological implications of the blanket term 'English', which "does not cognise the possibility of the emergence of new Englishes which, far from being dialectal variations, may turn out to have little in common with the original" (Tripathi 1992:9). The "worldliness" of English is deconstructed as an ideological production, the creation of the native and non-native elite with a material and professional interest in the language, its retention and dissemination world-wide (Pennycook 1994:24-37; Phillipson 1992a). By way of a striking analogy, the core/periphery metaphor is taken up to unmask the linguistic hegemony of rich western nations over underdeveloped countries (Phillipson 1992b: Ch.2). One of the problems with the radical view is that it simplistically sets up new dichotomies between the dominant and the dominated (Holborrow 1993).

Both the pluricentric and radical approaches configure English in terms of power, rather than language. A number of research activities document a growing awareness of this issue such as the conference on 'Language and power: cross-linguistic dimensions of English in media and literature' at the East-West Center in Honolulu in August 1986 (Kachru & Smith 1986) and the 'Symposium on Power, Politics, and English' in *World Englishes* (Dissanayake 1993). The most balanced account has been presented by Kachru in his "blueprint for the study and conceptualization of selected issues related to the power and politics of the spread of English in a global context" (1986b:121; cf. 1986a:Ch.1).

There has been a backlash against the "ethnocentricity" of prevailing theoretical and methodological approaches for fostering asymmetries between the Inner and Outer Circles (Nelson 1992, 2006; Kachru 1990:14-18). Crucially, the ideological need to outbalance the non-native/native distinction entails a principled reluctance to accommodate the paradigms of second language acquisition research and corollary interpretations of transplanted varieties as collective fossilizations of an interlanguage (Selinker 1972: 215; Platt & Webber 1980:184). Variationists in *World English Studies* are biased towards evidencing linguistic, cultural and sociolinguistic innovations, rather than deviations from an exonormative standard (Bamgbose 1982; 2001). Their recognition of ever new and distinct varieties and autochthonous identities rests on these assimilation processes, labelled variously as "contextualization" (Kachru 1965), "nativization" (Kachru 1981bf.; cf. Pandharipande 1987), "localization" (Stevens 1982c/80: Ch.5), "acculturation" (Lowenberg 1986), or "indigenization" (Baumgardner 1990). The validity of a monocentric standard core has been challenged on the same grounds by Hirschmiller (1989), Leitner (1992), and Lowenberg (1993), who document systemic morpho-syntactic differences between educated native and non-native variants.

These features may well ensue from nativization, however, Samuel Ahulu (1995) points out that variety status depends not so much on their mere incidence but on their distribution and stability in the text. His extensive corpus analysis of Ghanaian English language newspapers shows that Ghanaian forms are only realized in less than 5% of occasions of use.

In this statistical paradigm, the notion of a lexico-grammatical core is corroborated, with further proof from other varieties pending (Gupta 1986). Moreover, a number of cross-variety data suggests that non-mother-tongue varieties are not just idiosyncratic collections of characteristics (Leitner 1992:222-5). Platt et al. (1984) made a pioneering attempt to establish patterns at various levels of the linguistic structure of the “New Englishes”. Other investigations have cogently accounted for developmental and performance parallels among native and non-native variants in terms of universal learners’ strategies relating to concepts such as naturalness, markedness, least effort, and cognition (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001; Ritchie 1986; Williams 1987; Hartford 1989; Ahulu 1994a/b/ 95). Independent norm-setting in each non-native society therefore seems less plausible than the proliferation of terms such as Filipino English makes believe.

In conceptual terms, the antipodes in the model-making of variation in English centre around the native/non-native distinction. The underlying political agendas have polarised Kachru’s multiple circles and Quirk’s unifying core, culminating in a polemic debate, which took its historical outset in the Prator/Kachru controversy (Prator 1968; Kachru 1976). The feud is far from dead with Quirk’s paradigm papers (1988/89/91) indicating a modified return to parochial views proposed by Clifford Prator twenty years earlier. In a strongly nativist vein, Quirk rejects the linguistic and sociolinguistic identities of non-native institutionalised varieties as “misleading, if not entirely false” (1988:234), whilst insisting on “a single monochrome standard form” (1985:6). Kachru (1991:4) and Fairman (1992) debunk the ideological underpinning of his arguments as “deficit linguistics”. Barbed criticism is also raised by Tripathi, who sees in Quirk “a latter-day avatar of imperial sentiments” (1992:5). In retort, opponents of the pluricentric view discount research on non-native varieties as political sophistry. Ahulu (1995) speaks of “an attack-to-defend strategy whereby ‘New Englishes’ are being defended not so much by describing such varieties as by attacking the pedagogic notion of ‘Standard English’ or of correctness” (cf. Medgyes 1992:342). This anti-standard ethos has been ascribed to “liberation linguistics”, whose ideals are said to be “just stale leftovers from the 1960s” (Quirk 1989:18/1991:57; cf. Spencer 1973:ix)

Ironically, both the promotion of endonormative standards and the adherence to a uniform standard have been linked to linguistic neo-imperialism. To defenders of non-native varieties, colonialist attitudes lie in the unrealistic prescription of a native model, which is perceived to pin non-mother tongue speakers to way-stage English (Wong 1982) and to induce “‘integration’ with the British or American culture” (Kachru 1975:230f.). However, in the countries concerned, there is a widespread feeling that, as a kind of neo-colonialist trick, a second-rate version of the English language is being imposed on the poor of the world, thereby linguistically cementing the divide between them and the industrial West (cf. Gupta 1986:80). Those with authority in education tend to view the national variety as an attempt to imply and justify inability to acquire what they persist in seeing as ‘real’ English (cf. Quirk 1989:19). With social and economic inequalities at the heart of the discourse, one cannot be surprised about reverberations from internal issues of the main mother-tongue countries, such as the curriculum debate over standards of English in the United Kingdom (cf. Davidson 1994, McArthur 1994, Trudgill 1995) and the legislative ‘English Only’ nativism of the 1980s in the USA (cf. Fishman 1988).

It would be beneficial to academic inquiry to break the ideological deadlock and see these models as contributions to the general knowledge of language. However, the empirical limitations of scholarship on World Englishes constitute a major drawback to assessing their validity. For about forty years now, most of the investigations on local norms have only offered anecdotal data on production almost incidentally, and within no particular explanatory framework. Crucial details such as the source of the data and their regularity and representativeness remain in the dark. There is a growing concern among linguists about the nature of evidence and the lack of detailed, descriptive documentations (e.g. Spencer 1973:ix; Viereck 1983:20; Trudgill 1984:86; Gupta 1986:75; Williams 1987:165; Quirk 1988: 235f. Goralach 1988a:22; Ahulu 1995) and Sridar & Sridar’s (1986:4) conclusion from twenty years ago still holds true:

There is an urgent need for detailed studies of the acquisition of IVEs

[Institutionalised Varieties of English] using systematic data collection procedures, rigorous analytical methods, and explicit reporting conventions.

3. The Conclusion

In any case, it seems to me that the polarisation of the debate suggests false dichotomies, as both the unifying nuclear model and Kachru's circles are adequate descriptions of English in their respective terms. In fact, they need not be mutually exclusive, the same as structure and use are not, and an integrated view of the singularity and plurality of English perhaps serves best its Janus-faced nature. As McArthur (1992a:21) puts it, "if we can work with both ideas at the same time – two sides to one coin – a linguistic Yin and Yang – then maybe we can get closer to grasping the ungraspable". If we retain the circular metaphor as it can be read to embrace both directions, a dynamic picture emerges locating English between centrifugal and centripetal forces. The cohesiveness of the common lexical and grammatical base derives from the historical diffusion from the American and British parent varieties and their sheer availability in teaching contexts world-wide (Sinclair 1988; Tickoo 2005). It is complemented in non-native varieties by the diversifying power of nativisation, whose linguistic response is found by either language in their substrata and the creative potential of their users. On the other hand, universal psycholinguistic and historical processes minimise these centrifugal tendencies. In sociolinguistic terms, the acculturation of English into different environments is counterbalanced by the modern societal and technological pressures of globalisation (Sakai and D'Angelo 2005; Bamgbose 2001; Yano 2001; Bruthiaux 2003; Willmott 1982: 163). It remains to be seen whether the non-native institutionalised varieties of English can achieve a balance that reconciles the competing drives for intelligibility and for identity.

4. The Future

At the 2008 13th International Conference on English in Southeast Asia held in Singapore, this researcher promoted the recognition of "Japanese English" as another non-native variety of English language. In his presentation (Olagboyega, 2008), he supported the establishment of other grammars of English other than the British and American model. There was a general recognition and acceptance by most of the scholars at the conference that this is only a matter of time. As we all know, a dictionary of words and phrases used in 'Singlish', which is also known as Singapore English or Singapore colloquial English, with etymologies, synonyms and antonyms is now being sold throughout the world. This was just the beginning of "a giant leap" for non-native varieties of English language.

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JAPAN STUDIES



Reform of English Education in Japan and Teacher Training - Focused on Akita International University -

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Introduction

91.1%. This is the percentage of guardians who answered the question “What do you think about implementation of English activities?” with the answer “favorable” “generally favorable” in the survey conducted by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (henceforth MEXT).¹ In Japan, English education started in the Meiji Restoration with the idea that learning English was necessary for modernization. For instance, Fukuzawa, who had pointed out the importance of learning English earlier than others, strove to learn English himself, saying that “English will be necessary in the days to come. As a scholar on the West, I must study English. I must learn English.”²

However, the English proficiency of the Japanese is not necessarily excellent. For example, while the number of annual candidate for TOEFL is 82,000, which is next to South Korea, the average score of Japanese candidates is 191, which is close to the worst along with North Korea.³ It may be said that these data have encouraged English education at earlier age or the reform of English education.

In this paper, I will analyze the recent trends of the reform of English education and explore links between the trends and AIU, which has unique English education programs. I will also examine the significance and role of the Teacher License Course at AIU from the viewpoint of English education.

Chapter1. English Education at Earlier Age and Fostering of the Japanese with English Proficiency

“Through foreign languages, deepen the understanding of language and culture, foster the attitude to communicate actively, get familiar with the foreign accents and basic expressions, and lay the groundwork for communication competency”
(Education Ministry Guidelines at Elementary School “Foreign Language Activities” 03/28/2008 Public Notice)

As a new requirement, “foreign language activity” was put in the Education Ministry Guidelines at Elementary School (henceforth New Educational Guidelines), which will be implemented as of 2011. With this, English education will be conducted 1 credit hour per week (35 credit hours annually). The emphasis is not on “studying grammars”, but on the “fostering of the attitude to communicate actively.”⁴

Many debates have occurred so far over introduction of English education into elementary school. A lot of critical views have been raised on the definition of “communication competency.”⁵ However, it may be said that English education was made compulsory just to confirm the fact that 97.1% of elementary schools had already been doing English-related activities.⁶ Behind this is the fact that “the period for integrated study” was put in the current Education Ministry guideline, which was announced in 1998. The content of the period includes

“understanding the international community,” and English activities in cooperation with ALT⁷ started all across Japan as part of education about international community. In the current Education Ministry guidelines, 105 credits are set annually for the period for integrated study, but it will be reduced to 70 credits in the New Educational Guidelines. It is conceivable that the reduced 35 credits will be appropriated to “Foreign Language Activities.” While it is the well-known fact that Japanese people are generally interested in English education, the strong requests from the guardians must have played a significant role in making compulsory English education at elementary school. There is even the data that shows as much as 70.7% of guardians support the idea of making compulsory English education at elementary school.⁸

Although making compulsory English education at elementary school is not unusual worldwide, the fact that it will be codified in the Education Ministry Guidelines and implemented as the requirement activity means something.⁹ I have to point out that this is a national project and “the Strategic Concept to Foster the Japanese with English Competence” (henceforth Strategic Concept). Also, as specific quantitative indicators by 2008, “Action Program to Foster the Japanese with English Competence” is provided (henceforth Action Program).¹⁰ Then Minister of Education Toyama showed her awareness that fostering the Japanese with English competence is the quite important task for the future of children and further development of Japan, and ranked “improving communication competence in English as “international common language” as national “strategy” by stating that “English plays a central role in communication between people who do not share mother tongues, and learning English is necessary for children to survive 21st century.”¹¹ As goals for “strategic concept,” communication competence of STEP 3rd-grade (easy daily conversation) at the stage of graduation from junior high school and that of STEP semi-2nd-grade or 2nd grade (ordinary conversation) at the stage of graduation from high school are set, and the emphasis is on communication competence through conversation. Also, 5 tasks---1. Make learners motivational, 2. Improve the quality of the class, 3. Improve the quality of English teachers and reinforce the teaching system, 4. Enhance English conversation activities at elementary school, 5. Improve national language---are raised. The characteristic of the Strategic Concept is that it includes the viewpoints of Agency for Cultural Affairs to improve national language¹² and introduces English education into early stage of elementary school. It is clear that making English education compulsory is embodiment of “strategic concept.” In addition, under the goals of “being able to communicate in English after junior and junior high school” and “being able to use English in business after college”, various policies such as appointment of more than 100 high schools as Super English Language High School (SELHi)¹³, encouragement of high school students to study abroad, introduction of listening test into National University Entrance Examination, and participation of a native speaker in an English class more than once a week were planned. Although we do not know the result of these measures, we do know that listening test in National University Entrance Examination has been implemented since 2006 and 169 high schools have been appointed as SELHi by 2007.

In the first place, the debate regarding educational reform of English comes from the final report of “Commission on Japan’s Goals in the 21st Century.”¹⁴ In the report, it is pointed out that “Japan’s TOEFL score was worst in Asia.”¹⁵ The discussion in the first sectional meeting¹⁶ has put forward the countermeasure.¹⁷ That is the enhancement of “word politics.” The word politics means the dynamics towards establishment of international relations, using words as weapons, as the “persuasive and attractive comments that consider the needs of other countries have the great influence in meetings.” Therefore, in order to increase the power to compete internationally, the importance of improving “international communication competence (Global Literacy) along with the ability to gather information is pointed out. This idea, as “English as Official Language Concept”¹⁸, supported the notion that “as long as English is practically the worldwide common language, that Japan must get used to and deal with it, that we must use English along with Japanese, and that publication by the government should be both in Japanese and English”, which raised the hot debate in the past.

After this, MEXT set “Commission on Improving English Teaching Methods” (henceforth Commission) in order to measure the actual effects of Education Ministry guidelines revised in 1998. Along with the revision of the Education Ministry guidelines, the Commission requests that English teachers improve the one-way lecture of grammar and translation oriented class, and introduce discussion or presentation in English to enhance the communication competence of students. It also referred to the possibility of adding English as a subject to elementary school. Subsequently, “Commission on Reform of English Educational” was held, and MEXT asked scholars for opinions five times. Based on these two Commissions, measures for “Strategic Concept” and “Action Program” mentioned above were developed.

Chapter2. English Education Reform and Akita International University

President Mineo Nakajima, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies at that moment, was one of the members who led English Education Reform in Japan. As the report of 21st Century’s Japanese Reformation Meeting, in which he served as the chairman, was released he was one of the professionals who understood the necessity of English Education in Japan. Additionally, he took a strong initiative in the Central Education Council.¹⁹ Akita International University (henceforth AIU) was established as the first university that is independent administrative institution in 2004 with Mr. Nakajima being both the president and the chief director.

AIU has unique principles and curriculums. For its principle AIU aims to provide all lectures in English in order to create internationally competitive persons with their high language capability as well as the deeper understanding of current issues in the world particularly through its Liberal Arts policy. All students are also required to complete one-year studying abroad. Those innovative principles cannot be observed in any other university in Japan.

One of the most unique curriculums of AIU is in its English Language Courses. All freshmen are divided into three different EAP²⁰ (English for Academic Purposes) classes according to their TOEFL test score that after the enrollment. Students take classes such as Reading, Writing, Listening, and Speaking in EAP course. The level of each class is designed according to their English skill. To complete EAP, students must achieve paper based TOEFL score over 500. Through this process, students gradually gain high English ability that can cover from daily English to college-level academic English. After the completion of EAP, students move to Basic Education courses. In this part of the curriculum students take courses from various subjects in order to achieve Liberal Arts principle of the school. All students have to take TOEFL score higher than 550 to go to one-year exchange program in abroad. Through the compulsory exchange program, all students will be able to use English more freely. Through these curriculums students will be trained with their English ability. After these processes, students move to either Global Studies major or Global Business major. Students are expected to achieve TOEFL 600 score before the graduation. The other characteristics of AIU are that students are required to do reviews and preparations for each class, there are random quizzes besides mid and final examinations, and there are also assignments given due next class time after each class. Synthesizing these tasks, students get their total evaluation in point system. They have to achieve a certain standard of average point of grades for courses they take in order to be allowed to study abroad.²¹ By adopting a system like this, AIU makes sure that it fosters people who can survive in the knowledge-based society.²²

These curriculums and principles of AIU are the ideal form of English Education in Japan. In other words, the high quality of English education in AIU realizes the goal “language as a weapon” (Commission on Japan’s Goals in the 21st Century) and the goal “be able to use English at work after graduating from university” (Strategic Concept), thus realizing President Nakajima’s ideal for foreign language education. President Nakajima explains English as the global language and emphasizes English education as the way of improving national strength of

Japan. Additionally he mentioned that learning a foreign language does not contradict with high Japanese language skill. In fact he stated that learning another language accelerates the skill of mother tongue.²³ In Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century, he recommended total English education in Japanese University. He emphasized learning university level courses in English not learning English in university courses. He clearly showed the future form of university education in Japan in the Commission. Also, he emphasized the importance of internationally recognized English proficiency examinations such as TOEIC and TOEFL. He said that the preparation for those examinations should be rewarded in the form of credits during university years. In addition to it, in the fifth "Commission on the Reform of English Education there are several comments that implied dramatic change of English education in University. Some of these comments recommended "providing more financial aids to universities which are trying new forms of education," "checking English proficiency when hiring professors at university," "creating environments of English-spoken culture," or "making something like 'Super English University.'" Judging from these comments, it is as if what AIU has been trying is highly valued.²⁴

Through his comments in the two national educational reform meetings and his actual implementation of new form of English education, President Nakajima has been leading the next level of English education in Japan. At the same time, AIU has been showing the success of the new form of English education initiated by President Nakajima. In that sense, AIU is one of the representative institutions of the newly established English education in Japan.

Chapter 3. Teacher's License Course and Teacher's Training

As it was mentioned before, the importance of English communication skill is highly demanded in today's globalised world. The new form of English education should not be "leaning English at school", but it should be "leaning subjects in English." Therefore, some scholars recommend starting practical communication education from primary school and AIU is one of the institutions that have already implemented this new form of communication education. Although AIU is one of the Japanese universities, English has been used as the first language in campus not only in lectures but also daily life conversations. This unique principle has been creating a unique atmosphere on campus where students use English daily and conduct their academic life also in English.²⁵

Considering its unique curriculum specializing in English communication, it is natural to expect the graduates of AIU to become English teachers at schools and make big contributions to the new form of English education in Japan. AIU received a permission to provide official teacher-training courses from MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) and it has started from 2008. High quality of English teachers are naturally expected to come from AIU in the future, and they can not only teach high standard English to the next generation, but also develop materials for English class and establish the way to teach English. The Strategic Concept says that all English teachers should have any higher certification than STEP (Society for Teaching English Proficiency) pre-level 1 or TOEFL 550 or TOEIC 730. It also recommends including this English score requirement as one of the criteria of teacher recruitment. With respect to this English examination requirement, AIU has already been using TOEFL as a requirement for EAP completion and studying abroad program; it clearly shows that students in AIU has high potential to become currently demanded, skilled English teachers.

Conclusion

As we have seen, AIU has been practicing a new form of English education which has been

actively discussed nationally, on a trial basis with strong leadership by President Mineo Nakajima. It means that this innovative form of English education at AIU has encouraged the continuity education from primary school to higher educational institutions to the real world where English is actually used. Therefore, the significant role of AIU in English education will continually draw national attention.

However, there are some concerns in AIU's curriculum. At first, as it was mentioned before, there is a problem regarding to course planning. Since all students are required to do one-year exchange program in abroad, they have to take all requirement courses for teacher-training courses, around 23 credits, in three years. In addition, students have to take other requirement courses to graduate besides these teacher-training courses. This situation is obviously a heavy load for students. Therefore, the school needs to provide a proper course taking guidance and develop students' motivation for courses. Particularly, practice teaching at local schools demands close tie between university and high school. Studying abroad program could also be an obstacle to smooth execution of practice teaching. Based on that acknowledgment of this unique curriculum, first, AIU needs to provide professional and more practical lectures on teaching profession. Second, AIU should support students' preparation for teacher employment examination. As already explained, AIU has designed each courses' goals clearly in order to assure the quality of students' language ability as well as college education knowledge. With maintaining this standard of original courses, AIU needs to implement students' preparation for teacher employment examination. In some cases, students may need to start this preparation during their exchange program in abroad. Although it has been quite difficult to pass the examination in recent years, AIU's duty is to send as many well-educated and skilled English teachers as possible to Japanese educational community. Third, AIU needs to verify the quality of graduate students who completed teaching license courses. Last year, AIU sent their first group of students as graduates. Originally AIU set TOEFL score 600 as students' goal in the time of graduation. However the English ability among the first graduates was not verified. In order to improve the quality of graduates in the future it will be necessary to have objective and multiphase checking system about the graduates' language level. Central Education Council demanded universities to hold internationally competitive undergraduate programs. At the same time, the council claimed that it is necessary to set new goals that encourage students to become independent and to gain deeper understandings as "21st century-type citizen."²⁶ Teachers are also requested to have higher teaching ability to independently deal with issues related to today's education in Japan and to cultivate children's future possibilities.²⁷ In other words, through the Liberal Arts education in AIU, students are expected to have not only high English ability but also wide knowledge. AIU needs to seek the way to create well-rounded teachers with practical abilities through the bachelor degree program and teachers' license program.

Notes

¹ MEXT "opinion poll on English education at elementary school" conducted in June in 2004.

² Yukichi Fukuzawa "The Biology of Yukichi Fukuzawa" Iwanami, October, 1978, pp99-100. Fukuzawa started to focus his attention on English after he felt through his experience that Dutch he learned is useless.

³ See also documents distributed in the 35th curriculum sectional meeting of primary and secondary education sectional meeting in Central Education Council (held in March 31st, 2006). Based on the result between July of 2004 and June of 2005. Singapore and India are followed by 215 points (TOEFL score) of South Korea, China, and Hong-Kong, which is ranked as middle-level.

⁴ Central Education Council Report “About improvement of Education Ministry guidelines at kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school, high school, and special needs school” April 18th 2008, pp63-64.

⁵ For example, Saito says, “Even MEXT started to raise “communication” as English education principle and Yamada criticizes, “Education Ministry guidelines regard the ‘basis of communication competency’ as ‘easy English conversation.” Also, Torii doubts that the “practice of English conversation for one hour per week will foster the attitude to communicate actively.” Critical views on early English education can be divided into 3 main points. 1. children should learn their mother tongue, Japanese first, 2. Fear towards the view that does not pay much attention to grammar or reading comprehension, but only emphasizes the practice of conversation, and 3. Learning English does not necessarily mean understanding foreign culture.

⁶ MEXT “survey results on implementation of English activities at elementary school” (2007). According to the result, 97.3% of activities done by sixth-graders were singing or playing games, 96.6% easy English conversation, 45.7 % activities to learn about foreign cultures, 48.4% activities, using English letters, and these data confirm the criticisms above.

⁷ Japan started to hire ALT (Assistant Language Teacher) since 1987 as a part of Japan Exchange and Teaching program (JET), whose purpose is to encourage foreign youth who can assist language teachers to come to Japan, and ALTs have played a role in “teaching a class in cooperation with English teachers (Team Teaching) at junior high or high school” or in “interacting with other teachers and participating in club activities.” In 2005, 5,362 ALTs have been sent off across Japan. 65% of English activities at elementary school have used assistance from ALT (including ALTs from other programs than JET). (Cited above, “survey results on implementation of English activities at elementary school”)

⁸ “Survey results on implementation of English activities at elementary school.” About this, the number of teachers who support making English education at elementary school compulsory barely reached 36.6%, and the different degree of interest is contrastive.

⁹ Along with the compulsory English education, English teaching training for elementary school teachers, outline of teaching plan, preparation and study of course materials are now necessary, and inspection on the content of the activity and its results need to be carried out continuously in order to maintain a certain standard across Japan. In East Asian countries, English education is required from third-grade for one to two hours per week in South Korea, China, and Taiwan.

¹⁰ MEXT “strategic concept to foster ‘the Japanese with English proficiency’” July 12th 2002, “action program to foster ‘the Japanese with English proficiency’” March 31st 2003. “Strategic concept” is based on the discussion in “Commission on improving English teaching methods (Final report, January 2001).”

¹¹ “Regarding institution of action program to foster the ‘Japanese with English competency’” March 31, 2003

¹² In the report by the Council for Culture “Regarding the national language competency necessary for the future” (February 3rd 2004), the importance of individuals having affection for Japanese language as a mother tongue and understanding about Japanese culture to build the awareness as Japanese people and the importance of mother tongue for establishing national identity in the international community are pointed out. It also says that “acquiring good national language skills is the most important”, and contain the criticisms on English education at elementary school.

¹³ SELHi is the measure put forward in the 2002 “Encouragement of Learning” by MEXT to improve academic achievements of students, and it was also put in the “Strategic Concept.” SELHi was appointed to establish a progressive precedent by developing an English education-oriented curriculum or an effective joint measure with universities and sister school abroad, conducting some classes in English or research and development on English education for three years, and applying the results of these measures to classes at school across Japan. The number of SELHi appointed was 81 in 2007, 100 in 2006, and 101 in 2005.

¹⁴ 21st century Japanese Reformation Meeting was conducted directly by the former Prime Minister Obuchi. It was formed in March 1999 with inviting Hayao Kawai as the chairperson. This meeting released a report, called Japanese Frontier is Inside of Japan; the new century will be conducted with independence and public self-governance.

¹⁵ Cited in the report above, p.13.

¹⁶ In the first sectional meeting, Iokibe Makoto (the current President of National Defense Academy) being a chairman, the new framework of international relations, Japanese national interest--redefinition of international role, and Japanese people in the world were discussed under the theme of “Japan living in the

world.”

¹⁷ Cited in Chapter 6 in the report above, pp107-134.

¹⁸ Yoichi Funabashi, the former member of the first sectional meeting, has argued that faced with the domestic and foreign changes such as globalization, IT revolution, and aging society with fewer children, many Japanese people have to master English in order for Japan and the Japanese to be understood, recognized, and appreciated by the world. Further, he warns that unless Japanese people learn English, Japan shall lose her national power in the international community before the world understands the spirit and truth of Japan.

¹⁹ He served as the president of the section for the curriculum specializing in foreign language in the primary and secondary education sectional meeting.

²⁰ In EAP, TOEFL score less than 460 is beginner level, less than 480 is intermediate level, and more than 480 is advanced level.

²¹ GPA (Grade Point Average) system.

²² Central Education Council Report “The Future Figure of High School Education in Japan,” January, 2005.

²³ Morning paper of Yomiuri newspaper, April 29th, 2008.

²⁴ From the homepage of MEXT. “The Proceedings of the Commission on the reform of English education” May 30th, 2002.

²⁵ While the English education curriculum at AIU is advance, AIU also has something to do with the educational reform at high school. For example, the active introduction of autumn admission system and hiring distinguished faculty from all over the world (April 2008 at present, out of 50 full-time professors, 22 of them are professors with non-Japanese nationalities) are the characteristics of AIU. The professional graduate school at AIU, which is going to start this fall, has “English Language Teaching Program”, “Japanese Language Teaching Program”, and “Global Communication Program.” The graduate school aims to professionally have students learn the concept of “Word Politics.”

²⁶ Central Education Council University Sectional Meeting System • Educational Sectional Meeting “For establishment of Bachelor Program” March 25th, 2008, pp7-8. Also, “21st century-type citizen” is explained as “People with a wide range of liberal arts, strong public spirit, and morals as well as with his or her specialty, who actively make contributions to changing society, or who have qualities to improve society.” (Central Education Council Report “The Future Vision of High School Education in Japan” January 28th, 2005).

²⁷ Central Education Council Report “Regarding the Way of Teacher Training and Teacher’s License System in the Future” July 11th, 2006. Also, the quality necessary for teachers are mentioned in the Teacher Training Council Report “Regarding the Measures to Improve the Teacher Training Program in the Future” (July, 1997) and Central Education Council Report “Create the Compulsory Education for the Future” (October, 2005).

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On Japanese Language Education at AIU

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In this paper, we would like to discuss some of the characteristics of the Japanese language program of Akita International University, as well as how it is likely to develop in the near future.

Let us first touch upon briefly characteristics of Akita International University and its educational philosophy.

1. Characteristics of Akita International University

Akita International University (hereafter AIU) was opened in 2004 as a public university corporation subsidized by Akita prefecture. One of its educational goals is to foster “leaders who will effectively conduct business and lead international organizations in the 21st century.” (2008-2009 school brochure) AIU places an emphasis on “international liberal arts” education and offers a variety of liberal arts courses ranging from humanities, social sciences to natural sciences and arts. AIU also offers two advanced level programs; Global Business and Global Studies, either of which degree-seeking students choose as their major.

The main features of the AIU curriculum can be summarized as the following points:

- First, AIU recognizes the importance of acquisition of English as a tool of communication in international communities.
 - Therefore, AIU offers almost all the degree-related courses in English.
 - All freshman students are initially placed in the EAP (English for Academic Purposes) program and receive intensive English language training so that they will be ready for taking content courses in English.
 - After completing EAP, and obtaining a TOEFL score of 500 or higher, students start taking courses in Basic Education.
- Secondly, all degree seeking students are required to study abroad for a year.
 - To be qualified to study abroad, students must have a TOEFL score of 550 or higher and must have taken required courses with a satisfactory G.P.A.

Since study abroad is an important component of educational philosophy, AIU has been seeking to expand its partnership program with universities all over the world with a view to exchanging students with them. Moreover, AIU and its partner schools agree that they would not collect additional tuition from students exchanged (through a cross-waiver system). This sets something of a limit on the number of international students coming to AIU. Since AIU offers courses taught in English, a minimum TOEFL score of 500 is required for non-English speaking international students, and then, international students do not necessarily take Japanese language courses. They can take courses exclusively taught in English if they wish. International students live in the dormitory or the campus apartments with Japanese students. This arrangement has created an international community where students from all over the world (as well as all over Japan) not only study together in the same classrooms but also live together and help each other in every aspect of their everyday lives. As was mentioned above, the language of communication and instruction on campus is primarily English. Therefore, even international students who do not speak Japanese can live in the AIU community comfortably.

2. Japanese Language Program

2-1. Development of Japanese Language Program

The number of AIU's partner universities has rapidly increased in the past four years, and consequently, the number of international students coming to AIU from those schools has also increased. As of September, 2008, we are allied to 79 partner universities in 26 countries and regions. In September, 2008, we accepted 106 international students from 22 countries and regions in Asia, North America, Europe and Oceania, which is the largest intake so far. Most of our international students study at AIU for either one semester or one year (two semesters and Winter Program). The goal of our Japanese language program, therefore, is not so much to provide Japanese language training with the students for their study in undergraduate or graduate programs in Japanese universities. Rather, we are trying to offer high quality all-round Japanese language education while satisfying the needs and expectations of individual students and partner universities.

It is not an easy task, since we have so many partner universities, each of which has different requirements of foreign language studies, and so different expectations of our courses. Students' needs are also diversified. We have, for example, students from China and Taiwan whose native language uses Chinese characters, and also students from other countries and regions whose native language does not include the use of Chinese characters. We have students who major in Japanese language and have studied Japanese intensively for a few years before coming to AIU, reaching the advanced level proficiency, and on the other hand, those who have never studied Japanese at all. We have students who want to learn a minimum of operational Japanese, just to get by in day-to-day situations, and also students who wish to take as many intensive Japanese language courses as possible. Moreover, we have also had students who want to study Japanese not necessarily for credits, but to acquire enough proficiency to get a job in Japan. The number of such students seems to be increasing. Thus, in order to develop a program which meets the diversified needs of each individual student and institution, we have been doing our best to learn about students' background and the educational culture which underpins their perception of language education at AIU. In this regard, we recognize the need to remain alert to the needs of our students and flexible, within the bounds of educational propriety, to those needs to further improve the program as a whole.

2-2. Other Japanese language programs at AIU

In addition to our regular Japanese language program, we offer a summer intensive Japanese language program every year since 2004. The six week summer program starts at the end of June and ends in early August. We have 30 participants this summer, most of whom are from partner universities in the U.S., Canada, Singapore, Taiwan, Malta and Russia. Students choose to attend the summer program due to various reasons, but are all still eager to immerse themselves in Japanese culture even for a short period of time. In our summer program, therefore, we try to incorporate as many cultural activities as possible such as flower arrangement, Kimono wearing, calligraphy and field trips to local areas in the curriculum. We are able to offer a variety of extra-curricular activities taking advantage of being in Akita which is blessed with beautiful nature and still retains many historical and traditional places and events.

We also offer a unique winter Japanese language program for the students from our partner university in Taiwan in February (unfortunately, the 2007 program was canceled.) It is a two-week program which also emphasizes the first-hand living experience in Akita as well as learning of Japanese. Participants in this program are from Taiwan who have never seen snow, and are excited when they see a lot of snow for the first time in their lives as soon as they arrive in Akita. Just as the summer program, this program includes many extra-curricular activities such as field trips to local areas.

2-3. The Japanese program now and its challenges in the future

We now offer eight different levels of Japanese language courses in which we place our students according to their proficiency. We have the elementary level Japanese consisting of three sub levels, the intermediate Japanese consisting of three sub levels, one higher intermediate level and one advanced level. The elementary level classes are comprehensive courses which cover all the four skills (speaking, reading, writing, listening) and cultural aspects of the language. They are all six-credit courses meeting six hours a week. The intermediate, higher intermediate and advanced levels consist of comprehensive core classes and other classes focusing on a specific skill such as writing, speaking, pronunciation, translation-interpretation and so on. In total, we offer 43 different Japanese language courses. Most of the core courses are offered every semester including winter. The total number of credits of all the elementary level classes in the Fall 08 semester is 25, the intermediate levels, 28, the higher-intermediate level, 11, and the advanced level, 12, totaling 76. As for the teaching staff, we have five full-time instructors and five adjunct lecturers in the Fall 08 semester.

In addition to these language courses, we offer content courses on various aspects of Japanese culture such as pop-culture, art, politics and so on in English. There are also courses on Japanese culture in which both Japanese and international students study together and exchange their views on many issues candidly. For the students at the advanced level, there are content courses taught in Japanese such as “Japanese Literature,” “Japanese Politics,” and “Japanese Art History.” The advanced level students can also take “Japanese Expression” which is taught in Japanese and offered mainly for Japanese students to polish their Japanese language communication and presentation skills. Although we have been constantly increasing courses for international students for the past four years, considering the variety of courses we will offer this fall, it seems that we have created enough courses to cope with diversified needs of our students, and so will not have to make a drastic change in our curriculum from now on.

There are, however, some aspects which we have not been able to pay due attention to yet. One of such aspects is how to meet the needs of those students who want to learn minimum Japanese to get by in Japan. As was mentioned above, all of our elementary level Japanese courses bear 6 credits, meaning meeting six hours a week, which is too much for some students whose major is not Japanese language and cannot spare so much time to study Japanese. We have heard voices requesting us to offer a “survival Japanese” class which meets two or three hours per week with lighter course load than regular classes so those students who are busy taking courses in their major fields but still are interested in learning everyday Japanese can take it. With our limited man power, we have not been able to respond to this request yet, but would like to consider a possibility of offering such a course in the future.

In addition, we have not been able to satisfy the needs of the advanced level students who want to take more content courses taught in Japanese with Japanese students or those students whose home institution requires specific content courses taught in Japanese. There are some courses taught in Japanese for Japanese students such as the ones for teacher’s license program and those required for the minor in teaching Japanese language. In order to take these courses, however, international students must have near-native fluency in Japanese, so are too difficult for international students even at the advanced level. Since offering courses for Japanese students in English is the basic premise of AIU education, all the other courses than above are taught in English, and thus, it will be difficult to meet such needs.

Having said so, if we look at the campus environment, we can say that students have opportunities to learn Japanese outside of class as well. Although the language of instruction of most of the courses is English, since international and Japanese students live together in the

residence hall or campus apartments, international students have ample opportunities to use Japanese in their daily lives as well as English and other languages spoken by native speakers from all over the world. It is an amazingly multi-lingual, multi-cultural community. Also, Chinese, Korean, Russian and Mongolian languages have been part of our curriculum and French and Spanish will be added to our curriculum in Fall 2008, making our campus community even more multi-lingual.

In our Japanese language classes, we, of course, use the standard Japanese as the language of instruction and communication. Outside the class, however, students have many opportunities to learn the local variety of Japanese, Akita-ben (dialect), by participating in various festivals and events held in the local communities and by visiting local kindergarten, elementary, junior and senior high schools. They also have chances to spend time with their host families and enjoy learning local dialects from their host families. In addition, local governments and tourist facilities in Akita often invite the input from our international students and in such occasions, there are opportunities for our students to interact with the local people. Students also have opportunities to learn many different varieties of Japanese language, not just Akita-ben since our Japanese students are from all over Japan.

In Fall 2008, we will start The Professional Graduate Program which offers a Master's Degree of Japanese Language Teaching as well as English Language Teaching and Global Communication Practice. The Japanese Language Teaching is a small program with the capacity of 10 students. Eventually, we hope to have our graduate students studying in this program design their own classes and student-teach our international students. There might be a possibility to establish a "Japanese Language Center" attached to AIU, where those who are not our exchange students can take non-credit Japanese language classes. Such classes meet the needs of those foreigners who live and work in Akita and wish to learn Japanese in order to function as a full-member in the Akita communities. The students who have finished the graduate program might be able to work as instructors there. Such a center can also offer a short course for tourists from overseas as well as foreign business people from Tokyo and Osaka who wish to spend their holidays in Akita both visiting tourist points and learning Japanese at the same time.

3. Conclusion

As was discussed above, we have been developing Japanese language curriculum to meet the needs of our international students from partner schools. We, however, have not been doing so only in a passive way just to satisfy external needs. Our partner universities have other partner schools in Japan than AIU, and we must offer an attractive program so they choose us over other schools. Learners of Japanese in recent years have more exposure to and have strong interest in Japanese pop culture, such as *anime*, *manga* and TV dramas. We have recognized the importance of incorporating such aspects of Japanese culture in our curriculum not only because they are interesting teaching materials for our Japanese language classes, but also because they are important components of today's Japanese culture and we cannot afford to ignore them. In addition to Japanese language classes which cover these materials, we also have content courses such as "Manga Mania," and "Film Studies." We will also offer higher – intermediate and advanced level Japanese language courses dealing with up to date current topics using mainly newspaper articles and TV news. Many students of Japanese today are first exposed to Japanese sounds through a variety of media such as Japanese anime or pop music, rather than reading. We might need to develop new teaching methods to enhance the learning of such new generation learners of Japanese. AIU's new library has a facility called Language Development & Intercultural Studies Center (LDIC), where students can utilize DVDs and CDs and self-study at their own pace. Taking advantage of such facilities, we would like to explore a new approach to teaching Japanese which will enhance students' autonomy as learners of Japanese so they can be an independent learner even after leaving

AIU.

On a final note, we hear good news from our former students occasionally. Recently, one of our former students from UK told us he had won the first prize at a Japanese language speech contest held in London last February, and was awarded round trip air tickets to Japan and so would like to visit Akita again. Such news always encourages us and makes us feel that education we offer here bear fruit in different parts of the world. As part of AIU, we, Japanese language program, would like to contribute to the active international exchange by offering an attractive program for international students and also to the improvement of Japanese language education by networking with Japanese teachers at our partner universities all over the world.

The Teacher Adoption Screening Examination and In-service Teacher Training in Akita prefecture –to explore the role of AIU–

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AIU (Akita International University: Kokusai-kyouyou-daigaku), established in 2004 is the first public university corporation in Japan. It is located in Akita city, Akita prefecture. As the name suggests, it values both liberal arts and high English communicative competencies; considered highly important in world education, as well as increasingly important in the Japanese scheme of things.

Beginning this April, AIU has opened a teacher license program dedicated to the training of, so called the first-class certificate (Isshu Menkyo-jyou) of English high school teachers. The university is also in the process of setting up a graduate course in which students may study for the advanced class certificate (Sensyu-menkyo jyou) of high school and junior high school English teachers,ⁱ through accumulating a regulated number of credits.

This paper aims to explore what role AIU, and its teacher license program faculty can play in the admission process (especially with regard to the screening examination, as well as ongoing teacher training in Akita prefecture). More precisely speaking, these examination and training taken up in this paper are mainly those for English teachers of public high schools in Akita prefecture, although both the first-class and the advanced class certificate are effective nation-widely. The measure of teacher adoption screening examination and teacher in-service training is different according to the appointment authorityⁱⁱ.

I Teacher adoption screening examination in Akita prefecture

(a) Schedule and contents of the examination

The ‘Operation Manual of Public School Teacher Candidate Screening Examination in Akita Prefecture’ (2009 version) states that the Akita prefecture board of education accepts applications in May. First, it gives a screening examination (which includes a written test and interviews to every candidate) and a practical for those of certain subjects in late July announcing the results one month later. Secondly, it administers a follow-up round of screening examinations (this time including stringent aptitude tests, essay submissions and interviews) to those candidates who have passed the first examination, in middle September, and announces the results one month later. The screening on the required document and medical certificate is included.

To candidates for the English high school program, an interview in English is also given in the first screening examination, along with a more complete interview which focuses on specialized area in the second round. This is part of a national trend to require English teacher candidates to have high spoken English competencies as well a sound theoretical knowledge of grammar and form.

This is because the aim of English education in high schools defined in the Course of Study is ‘to develop students’ basic practical communication abilities such as understanding information and others’ intentions and expressing their own views, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through English’.

In Japan, valuing communicative competencies in English education is not new however, and even in the early Meiji era teaching ‘practical language’ was seen as the most important way to give students the competence they needed. Indeed, ‘thinking in English’ and ‘listening and speaking in English’ was the target of English education at high schools according to the Course of Study (proposal) issued in 1947. However, a number of environmental factors (such as a large class size, high demand for teachers and general lack of teaching experience in communicative English among those staff) proved very real obstacles to this original aim.

Therefore, English education which heavily focused on translation and grammar quickly became the norm at entrance examination level for most universities in the post-war period. This was partly because of the factors mentioned, the restricted number of individuals who use English in their ordinary life, and gaining Western knowledge from written materials rather than direct communication.

However, though this practice as always been flawed, its inadequacies have only recently become so glaringly obvious (in the harsh light of ‘Global 3.0’) that practical English competency has, once again been recognized as a much more important aspect of language education in Japan – both within an individuals’ ordinary life and in the work-place.

Thus, in one of the biggest expansion for the education system since 1945, the Ministry of Education announced that 55 prefectures and ordinance-designated cities gave tests asking candidates’ English communicative competencies including listening tests, English conversation and interviews to English teacher candidates of high schools in 2007ⁱⁱⁱ.

AIU’s program has been established on the ideals laid out by our president, Dr. Nakajima Mineo, and values fostering students’ English communicative competencies in line with these ministry dictates.

Considering the historical background of education for English communicative competencies, this university has a reputation of being one of leading seats of learning in Japan in this sense. Besides the well-organized Teacher License’s Program, the university provides students with a well-planned curriculum through which students can ‘get to know’ practical, academic English from the beginning of day one, and it has a specific program in which almost all of the classes are conducted in English (often in an environment which finds English-speaking teachers and international students sharing the class with Japanese fellows). Moreover, all the students are required to study abroad for a year. Such opportunities and challenges are, in our view, an absolute good (in educational terms) for those who seek to become English teachers – and in support of this Akita prefecture has set in place a number of educational policies which absolutely value practical English competence (such as the ‘Activities Plan for Fostering Akita Children Who Can Use English, from 2004 to 2008’^{iv}, to which AIU students are regularly invited). These opportunities give the students confidence in thinking of future plan to use their English competencies with people outside the university.

The Akita Board of Education also requires a good personality of English teacher candidates. On the first page of the manual, the board mentions that an ideal teacher image in Akita prefecture is a person who can foster children’s dreams and nourish students who cleave the future of hometown Akita vigorously’.

The board sets up more concrete characteristics of teachers sought in Akita prefecture in five main points:

- A person with an avowed mission as an educator.
- A person with a deep understanding of growth and development of human beings
- A person with educational love for students.
- A person with specialized knowledge on the subject and a broad and affluent

sophistication.

- A person of attractive personality with strong advantages.

These characteristics are required not only for the English high school teacher candidates but also any other candidates as well.

AIU values and provides a wide range of liberal arts education to foster students' profound knowledge and personal growth. This is also based on the idea of the president, and AIU is one of the leading universities in this sense as well. Although provision of liberal arts at universities has been less valued in the society requiring the speed to obtain specialized skills, the meaning of liberal arts is well acknowledged as giving a profound basis of specialized knowledge, by some universities, including AIU.

AIU provides students with a basic education course where students can learn systematic surveys of natural science, obtain profound knowledge concerning global issues, brush up practical communication skills, deepen understanding of Japanese culture and prepare for the job market through Career Design. Educational opportunities to obtain sophistication in this extensive course of liberal arts and specialties in the specialized course, either 'global studies' or 'global business' of student's choice is absolutely beneficial for students to build up individuals' integrated and sophisticated human resource^v. This is the characteristic of teacher candidates every prefecture is seeking for.

(b) Age restriction of teacher candidates

The Board of Education in Akita sets up the requirement for teacher candidates and describes in the manual. The teacher candidates for English teachers of public high schools in Akita must have an ordinary certificate of English high school teachers including the cases of those possibly obtaining the certificate by the end of March of the following year. In addition, they have to be under age of thirty-five, that is to say, there is an age restriction. The age of the teacher candidates was pulled down from age of thirty-nine in the examination held in 2007^{vi}. In the case of those in teaching posts at moment in other prefectures are exempted from this age restriction^{vii}.

Pulling down the age restriction of teacher candidates was proposed as one of the measures to review the teacher appointment system, in the 'Program of creating Akita education in the new era, *Akita Kyouiku Shinjidai Sousei Program*' which the Akita Board of Education published in December 2004. The Board of Education proposed to pull down the age restriction gradually, from age of 39 to 30 by the examination held in 2009, aiming to examine the low proportion teachers in 20s out of the whole number of teachers and increase the number of younger teachers with high competencies to activate schools. Initially, the age restriction was planned to be pulled down to 35 in the examination held in 2007, 32 in 2008 and 30 in 2009.

However, reexamination of the necessity of pulling down the age restriction of teacher candidates at the relevant committee led to the conclusion that the board would pull down age restriction to age of 35 at all levels of schools in the examination held in 2007, and further treatment will only be applicable for elementary school teachers^{viii}. The main perspectives opposed to the further actions were in three points^{ix}:

- Teachers with high competencies can be found in any age range.
- It gives disadvantages to those candidates completing the graduate course or already working at companies (in terms of the opportunities to sit for the examination).
- Good human resources in Akita may drain off to other prefectures especially to the metropolitan areas, whose own Boards of Education are striving hard to attract competent English teachers from all over Japan.

The Akita Board of Education has adopted a system in which teachers can work with a multi-year contract, as opposed to a one-year contract or part-time contract. The committee has also discussed this system; some of the members support it as older teachers over the age restriction can work at schools using this system^x; while others are against it as introduction of this style of employment gives those teachers financially unstable situation.

The Akita Board of Education has also adopted an employment system aimed at those with high English competence but without a teacher certificate. For posts involving English high school teaching, those of age under forty-nine who have high English competencies (such as possession of Test in Practical English Proficiency first rank or Japan interpreter's examination second rank) can use this system^{xi}. Besides that, the Akita Board of Education also employs screening opportunities for Ph.D. degree holders, and those who have high competencies in sports and the arts (six and one respectively, passed this examination in February 2008). These employment system have advantages in terms of securing teachers with high competencies, but sufficient training should be provided to implement their competencies into educational settings effectively.

(c) The number of teacher candidates passing the examination

The number of teacher candidates passing the examination is approximately one out of fifteen in the whole subjects on average of public high schools in Akita last two years.

The success rate is low compared to with the success rate for elementary school teacher candidates and junior high school candidates; only one out of twenty-seven candidates and one out of thirty-four^{xii} candidates passed the examination, respectively. However, it is apparently higher than the success rate in Tokyo and Chiba where approximately one out of nine high school teacher candidates passed the examination. The number of candidates has decreased every year, eighty-three English teacher candidates in the examination held in 2004 to forty-eight in 2007; four candidates passed the examination held in 2007. All of these four candidates got a teacher certificate from any of other prefectures^{xiii}; this means that those candidates were highly likely to graduate from universities located outside Akita. One of reasons is that few universities have teacher licenses' program course for English high school teacher candidates in Akita and this is one of the reason AIU has established.

The number of public high school teachers (*Kyouyu*) in Akita prefecture has decreased by 94 teachers, approximately from 25 to 35 teachers a year on average, from 1843 teachers in 2005 to 1749 teachers in 2008. The number of public high school English teachers (*Kyouyu*) in the prefecture has decreased by 16 teachers, approximately 5 teachers a year on average for this duration^{xiv}. The number of high school students has decreased by approximately 2600, from approximately 34800 students in 2005 to 32200 students in 2007 and the number of those attending full time high schools has decreased by approximately 2200 students, from approximately 29500 students to 27300 students for this duration^{xv}. The number of full time high schools in Akita is 57; the number of 20 students has decreased per year at each high school. Although this is probably because of the small number of children (and the financial difficulties which are often stacked against this argument – as an excuse to reduce the expenditure for education), the board of education in Akita should secure the number of high school teachers to provide students with attractive classes. Otherwise, the number of students who would like to choose high schools in Akita will decrease and they may drain off to the high schools in adjacent prefectures.

II in-service teacher training in Akita prefecture

(a) Training for newly graduated teacher candidates and in-service training

Akita prefecture gives a week teacher training at public schools to the teacher candidates who will be newly graduated from the university and passed the teacher appointment screening

examination, in winter before the teaching job starts in April. It is called ‘training for newly graduated teacher candidates’ and aims to ‘foster the awareness of teacher candidate as an educational public servant, and promote smooth adjustment to the working place’^{xvi}.

The ‘whole structure of teacher training in Akita (revised in March 2006)’ defines that the board of education gives teachers training according to their life-stage. The board divides teachers’ life-stage into three: first stage where teachers improve their fundamental competencies and establish specialties as a teacher working at schools; the middle stage where teachers enrich their competencies and expand their specialties; the last stage where teachers enrich their competencies as a leader and an administrator of individual school and deepen their specialties.

It is a legally defined duty of the appointment authority (that is to say the superintendent of the prefectural board of education, in the case of public schools) to plan and provide a teacher training according to individual teacher’s experience; this is also beneficial for individual teachers to think of training through their life span. The ‘whole structure of teacher training in Akita’ defines that ‘teacher training should be organized according to the individual goals set up in the system of efficiency rating’; the board of education needs to plan and hold training so that individual teacher’s needs are fulfilled.

The Akita Board of Education divides the kinds of teacher training into three: fundamental training, specialized training and special training. Fundamental training is divided into two: training according to the duration of teaching experience and training according to the tasks individual teachers are currently in responsibility. The board provides training for teachers in the first year and in the tenth year, both of which are defined in the Exceptional Law for Public Servants in Education (*Kyouiku Koumuin Tokureihou*) and training for teachers in the fifth year additionally. In these training, high school teachers can improve their practical teaching competencies on subjects and student guidance. Training according to the tasks is mainly for the teachers in chief (*syunin, syuji*), vice-principals and principals.

The ‘whole structure of teacher training in Akita’ defines that specialized training is training to deal with today’s educational issues such as teaching subjects, student guidance and school management and aim to achieve the goals in educational issues the prefecture has set up.

For English high school teachers, several training opportunities including those titled training to improve English teachers’ communicative English competencies’ and ‘teaching pedagogy to foster practical communicative English competencies’ are provided at Akita Prefectural Education Center.

Special training sends teachers to graduate courses home and abroad, other training institutes and companies, and special training for English high school teachers aims to improve their teaching competencies of international understanding and communicative English. Several teachers get training through visiting fellow system, ‘the systems of leave for attending graduate course’ and ‘the systems of leave for self-enlightenment’. One English high school teacher is currently studying at a graduate course, using ‘the system of leave for attending graduate course’.

This system defined in the Exceptional Law for Public Servants in Education secures the target teacher’s status during the leave but no payment for the duration and this may cause financial burden for the teacher. The visiting fellow system which sends teachers with financial support is beneficial for the teachers to meet their needs, but increase in the cases is not practical at moment due to the stringent condition of the prefecture. In addition, consideration for the increased workload of other teachers is needed when some teachers leave schools for training.

AIU provided an English high school teacher with training opportunity in Year 2005 and 2006. The university is going to open a graduate course and six teachers applied for the course, consideration on the convenience of attending classes for these teachers is needed.

(b) Teacher License's Renewal Lecturers

The amendment of the teacher license Law (*Kyouiku Shokuin Menkyohou*) was proclaimed in June 2007 and the teacher license's renewal system, TLRS, is going to be implemented since 2009. This system is applicable for all the teachers who have ordinary certificates (*Futsu Menkyo Jyo*) and special certificate (*Tokubetsu Menkyo jyo*), of course including English high school teachers. Those under age of fifty-five should take thirty hour lectures at universities for certain duration, to keep their certificate effective. The Ministry of Education explains that the aim of this system lies in the perspective that teachers should keep always their competencies which are needed as a teacher and teachers can gain confidence and pride in teaching, and respect and trust from the society, through gaining the latest knowledge regularly. Thus, universities and teachers need to explore what is the latest knowledge in the field and develop meaningful lectures.

The Ministry of Education is going to hold a commissioned project of teacher license's renewal lectures, TLRL in 2008; it aims to find out the problems of the TLRS and the solutions for the problems and expands them to other universities which are going to held the regular TLRL from next year. One hundred and one universities are going to take part in this year's trial version of TLRL. In Akita, Akita University is going to take part in this trial version of TERL and the faculty of AIU is going to work together. Continuous and further cooperation and collaboration between university faculties should be explored in the practice of TLRS.

NOTES

- ⁱ Students who want to get the advanced class certificate of junior high school English teachers need to get the first-class certificate of the subject in advance.
- ⁱⁱ The appointment authority of public school teachers is the superintendent of prefectural board of education.
- ⁱⁱⁱ This figure is according to ‘Operation Report of 2008 Public School Teacher Appointment Screening Examination’ announced by the Ministry of Education in Japan. In Japan, the board of education of prefectures and ordinance-designated cities holds individual teacher adoption screening examination on behalf of the superintendent of the board, although a prefecture and an ordinance-designated city in the prefecture hold an examination in cooperation in some cases; they hold an examination independently in other cases. The whole number holding examination in 2007 was 64 in total.
- ^{iv} “2008 Summary of Policies of Board of Education, *Kyouikuinkai Shisakuno Gaiyou*,” issued by the Akita board of education.
- ^v The central council of education, an advisory committee of Ministry of Education in Japan, in their reports titled ‘Creating compulsory education of the new era, *Atarashii-jidai-no-gimukyoiuwosouzousuru*’, describes an ideal image of teacher as the person with ‘passion for teaching’, ‘good competencies as a specialties in education’, and ‘integrated and sophisticated human resource’.
- ^{vi} ‘the fourth committee; Summary of Council for Program of Creating Akita Education in the New Era, *Akita Kyouiku Shinjidai Sousei Program*’ shows that age restriction was pulled down to age of thirty-nine in 1983.
- ^{vii} Those candidates under forty-nine who is in teaching posts at moment can apply the examination.
- ^{viii} As for elementary schools teacher candidates, the age restriction will be pulled down to age of 32 in the examination held in 2008 and 30 in the examination held in 2009. .
- ^{ix} ‘the fifth committee; Summary of Council for Program of Creating Akita Education in the New Era, *Akita Kyouiku Shinjidai Sousei Program*’, pp.5-8.
- ^x ‘the fourth committee; Summary of Council for Program of Creating Akita Education in the New Era, *Akita Kyouiku Shinjidai Sousei Program*’, p.3.
- ^{xi} ‘Operation Manual of Public School Teacher Certificate Screening Examination in Akita Prefecture’ (2009 version).
- ^{xii} These numbers are from ‘the operational situation of 2007 public school teacher appointment screening examination Hisei 19 nendo kouritsu gakkou *Kyoin saiyou senkou shiken no jisshi jyoukyo ni tsuite*’ announced by the Ministry of Education.
- ^{xiii} These figures are based on the answer of enquiry to the Akita Board of Education. Teacher certificates are issued by the Board of Education of each prefecture, normally the university is located as the university applies on behalf of all the applicants in block; some cases the students apply individually to the board of education of the prefecture they live.
- ^{xiv} These figures are based on the answer of an enquiry to the Akita Board of Education.
- ^{xv} School Statistics announced by the Akita Board of Education. *Ken Kyouikuinkai Gakko Toukei*
- ^{xvi} 2008 Operational Plan of Program of Creating Akita Education in the New Era.

Saibata Puppets: Bamboo Shoots

(西畑人形:たけのこ)

Darren Jon Ashmore

‘One would not have thought it possible that so much acrimony could surround such a relatively unimportant matter as puppet theatre and yet it did. Some have said that I was the one to blame for being party to the modernization of Saibata puppets. I care not what they think though, because as long as this theatre exists it will be a reminder to everyone that the Tokushima Puppet Theatre does not represent the only voice for Shikoku’s puppet arts’

Ikehara Yukio: Director, Saibata Ningyō Takenoko Puppet Theatre.



Photographer Unknown. Dated 1915 and provided by Ikehara Yukio

山本久助: Yamamoto Kyusuke in an advertising image from 1915

Of Eggs and Sawdust: Saibata Puppets

The first performance of what would come to be called *saibata ningyō shibai* [Saibata Puppet Art] was given on the morning of the tenth of January 1879 in the Tosa Village Hall by Mr. Yanai Juzō (1832-1892) as part of the village's Tōka Ebisu [Tenth Day Ebisu] festival celebrations. A devoted aficionado of puppeteering from childhood according to Ikehara Yukio, master Juzō had become by the time of his first performance something of an accomplished amateur puppeteer and had long wished to practice the arts he admired so much for the people he lived among in Tosa. However, not being of a puppeteering family he possessed neither *ningyō* nor any of the other properties which would be required to put on a performance. This small fact does not seem to have deterred him and he advertised that he and an assistant Yano Kosaburo (1848-1890) would put on a series of puppet folk plays at the Tosa community hall on the last day of the Ebisu celebrations of 1879; an announcement which appears to have caused a good deal of interest in the local community.

'Worse' was to come in the shape of the puppets which the pair manipulated: lacking *ningyō* of a more classical design or the money to have them made, master Juzō had taken painted chicken eggs and, having mounted them on colourfully dressed poles, manipulated them along with master Kosaburo in a rendition of the story of 'The Oni of Takamatsu'. However, the puppets themselves were not simply put together without careful thought for their form. Indeed, it would seem that he had elected to use this egg-pole-cloth form for his first puppets as much for the fact that their construction drew on a very important form of Shikoku ritual puppet art, as for the equally important fact that they were cheap to manufacture. The *tamago* [egg] *ningyō* had, by Yanai Juzō's time, been employed for centuries in many of the region's shrines, as well as in homes, as *goshintai* [body double] puppets of *kami*. The use of the egg for the head of this puppet type is especially important in that it represents the potential which is in all living things; a potential which would, through that medium, be transferred to the *kami* which inhabited a particular *goshintai*¹ during a performance. Yet, such simple puppets would not do for a more dedicated company and, when the decision was taken by Juzō to take up the arts professionally, these puppets were largely set aside² in favour of a design developed by Yano Kosaburo.

The problem which faced master Kosaburo in this regard was that this nascent Saibata Puppet Theatre had built itself up on being extremely traditional, in that it called on the oldest known form of *ningyō shibai* practiced on Shikoku for much the same reason. The Saibata narratives themselves presented no problems to the developing troupe. Indeed, once the group, which had started to expand in June 1879, had started toying with a full stage and props, it soon became evident that some very exciting possibilities were open to them. However, there remained the thorny issue of what sort of puppets were to be used and how were they to be made within the constraints of the, still self-financed, Saibata Ningyō-za [Saibata Puppet Theatre], which itself was divided into three smaller concerns.

First was the size of the puppets, for they would have to be several times larger than Juzō's original *ningyō*. This was so because as the troupe was aiming at moving into theatrical performances, the puppets they used had to be easily visible to all members of an audience.

Second, there was the issue of how to make the heads which would replace the eggs of the original puppets. Here Kosaburo appears to have felt that imitation was the way to go and he created a style which might simply be called an 'artificial egg', replicating the form of the original *ningyō*. However, it is one thing to decide how the heads should be made to look, but quite another matter to actually make them. Heads of this size would have to be made, according to master Juzō's directive, in such a way that they would last a long time and at the same time retain something of the ritual characteristics which had made his first puppets so appealing. Thus, materials such as clay which, according to Ikehara Yukio, master Kosaburo had first experimented with were very quickly dismissed and, in the end, it was concluded that only 'sacred' paulownia wood could fulfil the requirements of master Juzō. However, the

troupe could not afford to buy this valuable wood in any quantity, let alone engage a craftsman skilled enough to shape it, so Kosaburo was forced to think laterally about the issue and came up with a solution which stands out even today in its elegance and simplicity. He contracted with a number of carvers to buy paulownia sweepings which they would normally throw out at the end of a day's work. Then, mixing this powdered wood together with a cheap resin material, he fashioned his heads as a potter might make a statue smoothing the composite material into shape before coating them in *gesso* [(a chalk-based) lacquer] as normal when dry.³ This not only allowed the creation of more lasting puppet heads, but also allowed for experimentation with materials like hair and some mechanical improvements⁴ which the use of eggs had not permitted.

Thirdly, there was the issue of how to manipulate these puppets, which had not only grown in stature, but also acquired articulated arms. Smaller puppets were manipulated with the thumb alone – the head being fixed into the egg itself, and the curled fingers forming a body under the clothing.⁵ However, this technique would not suffice for larger dolls.

Master Kosaburo's suggestion of making them two or three man puppets was rejected by master Juzō for reasons of cost, in that it would radically increase the puppeteer budget. However, this apparently left master Kosaburo in something of a bind, in that he seems not to have known how to make the puppets move effectively with only one person underneath them, especially as master Juzō had also insisted on the Saibata Puppet Theatre not abandoning the 'over-the-head' style of manipulation which had been characteristic of the first 1879 performance. According to master Yukio, the troupe quickly came to the conclusion that internally mounted rods and wires could not provide enough support for the arms in question and master Kosaburo became convinced that only externally mounted rods, both held in the off-hand of the puppeteers, would be able to work.

It must be remembered here that this, now ubiquitous, technique of puppet manipulation was entirely new to master Kosaburo at the time and it took him a good deal of trial and error to find the ideal rods for his *ningyō*. Initially, he seems to have tried wooden staves, but soon rejected them as they were apparently excessively thick and distracted audiences. He is even noted as attempting to use materials such as bone, baleen and bamboo without much success before, as master Yukio tells us, quite by accident, coming across the solution: the extruded steel tines from European umbrellas which were becoming extremely popular among the elite of Meiji Japan.

Thus when these puppets were added to a new performance hall the Tosa Saibata Puppet Theatre was finally born on the 10th January 1881, giving a day of Ebisu and Sanbaso performances to beg the indulgence of these most *ningyō shibai* friendly of *kami*. As might be gathered from the Tosa public's willingness to support the venture, the theatre appears to have become an outstanding success from the its opening, not only within the context of the company's own theatre, but also within the more festival-oriented folk culture context which had given birth to the troupe in the first place. Indeed, it is possible to see just how important the theatre had become to the local community when one examines the way in which Meiji government officials, who were despatched to the region to see to the closure of places such as the Saibata troupe, spectacularly failed in their stated objectives due to pressure from the people who essentially controlled all rights of signification to the Saibata puppet theatre.

Indeed, in the years from 1881 to 1888, the Saibata Puppet Theatre is noted as going from strength to strength, with attendances rising to such an extent that the troupe had paid its debts on the theatre by 1886 and was required to extend the hall to accommodate a further thirty seats by the winter of 1887. Indeed, so successful does the troupe seem to have become that, in 1888, master Kosaburo requested to leave the troupe and set up his own theatre in the village of Hirota, whose people often visited the Saibata Puppet Theatre itself. This request was readily granted by master Juzō and, along with a number of the players from the first theatre, Yano Kosaburo took a number of puppets and a generous loan from master Juzō, to Hirota and founded his own troupe, thereby establishing the second of the lines of succession to the Saibata legacy which would, though founded in loyal affection, become the cause of so

much modern acrimony.

The expansion of the Saibata tradition at the end of the 1880s, just at the time that the island was finally opening up properly, began to attract the attention of patrons from the mainland, who seemed to be universally intrigued by this, then rather modernist, take on puppet art. As he tells us, this period of increased artistic popularity saw not only the wealth of both Saibata theatres increase, but also some remarkable technical innovations which remain part of the character of Shikoku's surviving theatres to this day; largely in response to the contribution which these new elite audience members were making to the process of artistic signification of Saibata puppets. For example, it was in 1889 that the Tosa theatre of master Juzō finally began using fully carved paulownia wood heads, though, ever after, they remained carved in the fashion of master Kosaburo's resin heads. Moreover, in 1892 Master Kosaburo's disciple Nakayama Ushitaro (1864-1952)⁶ redefined the performance space of the Saibata tradition and created the 'pit and screen'⁷ form as it is known today. Further and perhaps most importantly, wealthy Osaka sponsors who helped turn the small scale Saibata Summer Puppet Festival, which had been founded in 1887 by master Juzō as a way of showcasing all the talent in the theatre at one time in open air performances, into a well regarded annual celebration of puppet art, coining the term 'Saibata Deko Shibai' [Saibata's Deco⁸ Theatre] for the festival's advertisements.

It was also around the time of the opening of the Hirota Theatre and possibly the reason why master Juzō was content to allow Yano Kosaburo leave Tosa, that the acclaimed (western opera) singer Yamamoto Kyusuke⁹ from Takamatsu joined the Tosa Saibata Theatre as master Juzō's first disciple; a prestigious position¹⁰ and an appointment which speaks volumes of the reputation of master Kyusuke before he came to Tosa. He brought to the Tosa theatre a level of voice training which had been rather lacking in the previous incarnations of the Saibata puppets. In addition, master Kyusuke brought to the theatre, which was renamed the Yamamoto Kyusuke Ichiza [The House of Yamamoto Kyusuke] after Yanai Juzō's death in 1892, increasing numbers of patrons of western arts. These were people who had been persuaded to see the Saibata puppets as representing a form of artistic expression which was attempting to bridge the gap between folk and elite culture, much in the way that *kabuki*, *bunraku* and *kyogen* had done before it.

It cannot be denied that the Saibata puppet traditions of Shikoku have always taken advantage of whatever materials, concepts or narratives came the performer's way when considering how to make shows more easily assimilated by the paying public; and the above references to composite heads and umbrellas are only the beginning of a process which picked up momentum as more and more troupes broke away from the two founding theatres. Indeed, between 1893 places such as Tosa, Hirota, Tokushima and Takamatsu saw the creation of over thirty individual puppet theatres of the Saibata type, all of which seem to have contributed something of importance to both the pre-war development and the modern revival of the arts. Moreover, even the build up to war did not seem to dampen the popularity of the Saibata tradition with several of the larger troupes regularly touring the military bases and cities of the south of the country with the full support of the authorities.

However, in the years following the ending of hostilities, much as was the case all over Japan, many of the theatres began to merge or close as interest was drawn off to other quarters, both by the practicalities of post-war austerity and the increasing availability of other forms of entertainment. Of course, this is not to say that Saibata puppet art suffered quite the same degree of decline which other forms of the art did; despite all the hardships, the two core traditions of Tosa (by this time called the Saibata Ningyō Bushi Asahi Wakateru [Asahi Wakateru's Saibata Puppet Art])¹¹ and Hirota (by then known as the Toyo Kabuki Ningyō Shibai [Oriental Puppet Kabuki Art]) remained active and well enough supported by die-hard fans to run as commercial ventures until they were handed over to the next generation of performers.

During the 1950s and 60s, each of the two branches of the Saibata tradition began to develop independently and focussed their attentions on very different aspects of puppet art in

general, seeking perhaps paths which would separate one from the other in the eyes of the theatre-going public. According to master Yukio, it would appear that this movement developed from the fact that Honda Kotaro (known professionally as Asahi Wakateru II) and his disciple Ikehara Yukio (Asahi Wakateru III – title granted in 1997), were experimenting with material which the more traditionally minded Nakayama Kazuki found inappropriate.¹² This seems to derive from the fact that in 1956, Kotaro's Theatre (at the time known as Koppuri) put on the first foreign play to be performed by a Saibata troupe,¹³ a compilation of some of Grimm's fairytales, using materials such as plastic and foam to make the mysterious characters of these dark, brooding¹⁴ tales of emotion running amok. Further, when NHK was persuaded to film a Saibata performance in 1959, it was a Koppuri rendition of Christopher Marlowe's 'Faustus' which was broadcast to the Kinki region, which fact, according to master Yukio, further increased the perceived distance between the two schools.¹⁵

This performance caught the attention of UNIMA [Union Internationale de la Marionnette]¹⁶ and opened up the staff of Koppuri to a world of puppet possibilities. Indeed, as master Yukio tells us, it was almost exclusively through the encouragement of the membership of UNIMA Japan, such as then vice president Kawajiri Taji, which saw the Koppuri performers turn their stop-start attempts at making their puppet performances more contemporary into an impressive artistic renaissance. Thus it was that in the years from 1959 to 1962 the Koppuri theatre worked together with the like minded Shinjuku Puk troupe on one of the most innovative and important modern era puppet performances to come out of Japan: 'Nigedashita Jupiter' [Escape From Jupiter] and laid the groundwork for Koppuri's modern transformation into Takenoko.

Art For Heart's Sake: The Takenoko Theatre

It was in 1971, the year of the first Saibata Festival since the war, that Ikehara Yukio took possession of the Koppuri Theatre from Honda Kotaro, renamed it Saibata Ningyō: Takenoko and gave his first public performance as leader. This had been at the suggestion of the old master and was devised as a way of introducing the youthful Yukio to an audience which had great respect for the elderly Kotaro and might not have reacted as positively if the retiring puppeteer had not made some effort to acknowledge his disciple as the legitimate successor to his tradition:

'[Master Kotaro] was of the opinion that when the time came to hand over the theatre it had to be in the context of an important public performance because he felt that the public had to see themselves as being involved in the changeover and that they had the right to approve, or disapprove, the selection of successor. [...] My master was very much of the mind that the authority of the paying public was the ultimate test of his art, after all if people do not like a thing they will not partake of it and respected the 'family' with their few small coins far more than he did the big spending industrialists which the Hirota group feted'. (Ikehara Yukio. Jan 22 2002)

Master Yukio's point is extremely important, in that it reminds us that this sort of cultural activity possesses an element of negotiation which cannot be overlooked when making adjustments to its form. By making the changeover from Koppuri to Takenoko in the shadow of the Saibata Festival master Kotaro was ensuring that as many people as possible were involved, if only superficially, with the decision to partially transfer the rights to signify the Tosa branch of the Saibata tradition to the care of the Ikeharas. Moreover, despite the popularity of Koppuri's experiments with modern puppet theatre, such as their cooperation with Puk on 'Nigedashita Jupiter', there appears to have been some concern over the fact that the Tosa faction was taking the Saibata tradition away from the roots which had been laid down by Yanai Juzō and, more importantly, Yano Kosaburo. Thus it was also to answer these criticisms that the Saibata Festival was used to 'pass the torch' from master Kotaro to master Yukio, with the elder recognizing the importance of the modern influences of his young

disciple, in that:

‘Saibata puppet art was envisaged by both its founders as a contemporary form of folk theatre which all classes and all ages could enjoy in the context of their own time¹⁷ and not something to be mired in the past as a museum piece’. (Ikehara Yukio. Jan 22 2002)

The success or failure of a situation such as this hinges on how much each participant in this process of negotiation is willing to accommodate the group as a whole into their own desires. In the ‘Tosa vs. Hirota’ case however, people who had long been aware of the divergent nature of Saibata puppet arts¹⁸ were being asked to judge the path which each troupe was taking. In essence, each troupe seems to have accepted that, as the ‘property’ of the community at large, they bore a responsibility to it in a very real way and could not simply take actions which would damage the way in which their arts were perceived both on Shikoku itself, and in the wider world.

The conflict which sometimes seems to bubble to the surface between the Kagashi-za and the Takenoko theatre – no matter how vocal the various supporters of the troupes are – masks, at least to my mind, the underlying acceptance of each other which emerged from the 1971 conference and the notions of tradition and modernity which each theatre represents.

Mr. Ikehara may complain about the funding which is granted to the Kagashi-za and the museum at which the more traditional troupe is the centre. Yet, the first place he took me when visiting his home for the first time was that very museum where he spent several happy hours regaling me with the history of an art which shares more in common than its most die-hard adherents might like to admit. The Takenoko has succeeded as a modern theatre because it seems to hold very firmly to its traditional roots. Moreover, for the people living around the theatre, for whom, as we have already seen, both Honda Kotaro and Ikehara Yukio had and have, great affection, the Tosa branch of Saibata puppet arts seems to have stood for a form of social continuity and popular involvement in the development of common cultural practices.

Puppets Have Only One Face at a Time

In this article we have generally concerned ourselves with examining what happens to the processes involved with the negotiation of social signification of a cultural property which has been beset by an internal conflict of control. In this regard, its main aim has been to demonstrate how individual agents contribute to the ongoing resignification of culture. What it has also done, in contrasting the different of certain branches of Shikoku’s puppet art community (the very socially inclusive way in which the branches of the Saibata puppet tradition have grown developed in the last century) has been to highlight the way in which such cultural debates are often driven by what observers might consider trivialities.

As we have seen, the motivations and desires which each of our signifiers brought to the revival of the Saibata Puppets are far too complex to simply write them off as manipulators of the culture, who only entered into the process of negotiation because it was the best way that they would be able to enforce their opinions in such a fashion as to make them appear reasonable and valid. Such a view is, at best, an oversimplification of the pragmatics of how groups assign rights of signification between agents of control and, at worst, almost verging on a blind belief in the inviolability of the common man. However, to deny the power of such a situation, in which the very state of reality is being redefined by group consensus, to affect the way in which a person, or group, might act should not be disregarded as going against the better natures of the individuals involved. None of us are immune to the desire to defend our own positions above the considerations of others and when presented with such a poorly defined and easily manipulated source of self validation, it would be wrong to look down upon the groups involved and condemn them for playing up to their fellow conspirators and re-creating the Saibata Puppets as a reflection of their immediate concerns.

Thus, it might be said that altruism and personal gain seem to strike a balance within

the survival of the Saibata Traditional Puppets, with each participant in the process of re-signifying this regional *ningyō shibai* theatre willing to work closely with all other parties in order to create something which has as much value to the group as to each member individually. Yet, this cannot be seen as being an unexpected outcome for the negotiation of specific realities through ongoing interaction is what defines all levels of human social behaviour. However, Shikoku's Saibata Puppets themselves still stand out as being perhaps very important. Firstly as it demonstrates that it is possible for those with enough support to claim a degree of control of the right to signify a specific cultural reality (especially in revival). Secondly in the fact that no-one can truly claim ownership of such a reality – as all rights, privileges and controls in such circumstances derive from a mandate of support from others and cannot simply be claimed because of the way that it is impossible to destroy the significations of a specific reality within each participant.

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¹ This notion of potential energy transfer eventually passes on to more ‘stable’ sacred elements such as paulownia wood, as eggs tend to be both fragile and prone to decay.

² Such puppets still possess an important signification within the Saibata puppet art community as a whole. Their manufacture, as well as their ritual/historical significance, is taught in schools and amateur puppet clubs in the region as a way of passing on the fundamentals of the region’s puppet art. The surviving theatres make examples for the shrines of Shikoku for important festivals, which affirms the deep running foundations of this, superficially, very secular art form. Moreover and perhaps a little flippantly, they are made to sell to tourists in some parts of the island, a simple, but very effective souvenir.

³ Only three of master Kosaburo’s heads survive to this day, all in the hands of the Takenoko theatre, having been passed down from master Juzō and photographs of the heads can be found on the CD-ROM ([orig-001.jpg](#), [orig-002.jpg](#) and [orig-003.jpg](#)). Photographs by Darren-Jon Ashmore, January 16 2002.

⁴ For example, though not able to duplicate the technical complexity of classical Takeda *ningyō*, master Kosaburo’s puppets often included, where dictated by role, such features as articulated jaws, closing - or ‘popping’ - eyes and even battle wounds (such as heads which split open when struck - such in Images [O-001.jpg](#) and [O-002.jpg](#) on the CD-ROM). Photographs by Darren-Jon Ashmore, January 16 2002.

⁵ Even to this day, the various Saibata troupes maintain this unique form of performance technique, which is currently found nowhere else within the puppeting community.

⁶ Under the stage name of Nakayama Yoshimoto.

⁷ Master Ushitaro recognized that, unlike *bunraku*, part of the charm of the Saibata puppets was that, much as with very early *ningyō jōruri*, the performers were completely out of sight of the audience. However, as they were required to work with their arms above their heads it meant that stages were incredibly tall. Master Ushitaro’s solution was to place the performers into a three foot deep pit so that the puppets would be seen to be walking on a stage which was only just over three foot in height.

⁸ There is some argument as to exactly what *deko* actually means in this context. The term is a reference to the local dialect – meaning wooden – but Master Ikehara maintains that it is also held to be a humorous contraction of the French word *decoupage*, in reference to the sort of intricate paper decorations which were/are used in the manufacture of the puppets of the modern Saibata tradition.

⁹ Known to many Saibata puppet theatre followers as Kiusu.

¹⁰ It must be remembered that for an outsider to have effectively stepped into Yano Kosaburo’s shoes, bypassing the other performers of the Tosa theatre, was unusual in the extreme.

¹¹ Named for its leader, the disciple of Yamamoto Kyusuke.

¹² Ikehara Yukio: Director, Saibata Ningyō Takenoko Puppet Theatre. Interview with Darren-Jon Ashmore, January 16 2002.

¹³ With the assistance of the Tokyo based modern puppet theatre, Puk. Whose staff were eager to bring their work with modern materials and foreign narratives to the Saibata tradition as it had been from Saibata that the company had taken their performance style in the early post-war years.

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that though this play was not designed for children, respecting the Grimm’s original, blood soaked, narratives, both the Koppuri and its successor, the Takenoko Theatre, would gain from this event something of a reputation as a children’s theatre: a reputation which persists to this day.

¹⁵ Taneda, Yosuke. Ed. (1997). *Saibata Deco Shibai* (西畑デコ芝居) [Saibata’s *Deco* Theatre]. Okayama: Yamagawa Shoten.

¹⁶ Founded in Prague in 1929 at the fifth Convention of Czech Puppeteers, UNIMA has grown into an umbrella body (affiliated to UNESCO) which promotes the study and practice of puppet arts of all kinds: the first such organization in the history of world puppet theatre.

¹⁷ This defence, which had been first used by Kotaro when the Grimm’s Fairytales play had been put on by his troupe (and which would be heavily leaned on by the Ikehara over the years), seems to derive from the work of Yanai Juzō himself who was a champion of making his art as relevant as possible to his audience.

¹⁸ Indeed, it has been said that such a thing as Saibata puppet art actually never existed, in that each person who takes up this art, which has never possessed an official school, any written performance doctrines or craft directives, does so in a totally unique way and is bound to every other puppeteer on Shikoku who does likewise. Ikehara Yukio: Director, Saibata Ningyō Takenoko Puppet Theatre. Interview with Darren-Jon Ashmore, January 16 2002.

BOOK REVIEWS



**“Trauma and Recovery:
The aftermath of violence- from domestic abuse to political terror”
by Judith Herman, M.D.**

Tomomi Saeki
(佐伯 知美)

This is a book to which many teachers, as well as specialists in child development are paying great attention in Japan – indeed, such a good reputation has it garnered that it has become the focus of a number of specialist study groups. I myself encountered the book in this fashion, through the admiration of Professor Tanaka Takahiko (Tsuru University) at an academic conference. Thus, being fortunate enough not only to secure a position at AIU but also an opportunity to write a book review of my choice for university consideration this year, I have selected this book without any hesitation.

There are currently a great many problems involving violence at both schools and home in Japan – with a good many of these actually being rooted in official, yet illegal forms of censure. Corporal school discipline is still being reported by many children, even though such practices are now strictly illegal. Moreover, the ingrained discipline of the track, field and *dojo* still seems to be cast in iron, no matter the long term harm which such brutal treatment seems to be having on its recipients – especially as an all too large number of such ‘punishments’ result in permanent harm or death.

There is a culture at schools, as well as in society itself which values discipline and places heavy responsibilities on students (including the ultimate responsibility for violent correction) on them directly, rather than giving students opportunities to raise their own views or even listening to them. The competitive atmosphere of schools further hinders students in some aspects of actual learning as well, with some children taking the pressures of the place home to environment which is rife with ruined parental expectations, fear and isolation rather than the peace and affection which should dominate therein.

Some children vent their pent-up discontent and anger through bullying their classmates and carrying out violence against their teachers, parents and other close adults. Such violence sometimes leads to more extreme outcomes, including suicide and murder; perplexing the authorities and damning the communities which suffer them to the torments of hell.

Vices which, at one time were seen as the problems of degenerate societies (such as glue-sniffing, drug abuse, gambling, alcoholism and so forth) are now beginning to bite this society and the community at large is beginning to ask the questions which it should have been asking decades ago. Violence begins with the way in which children perceive it, and specialists are now beginning to sincerely consider how to reach the very young and positively alter the way in which they view such acts within the context of their own world. The author of this work is one such person.

Most of the readers of this book, especially people concerned with child-care, are trying to find an answer to these questions in this book, and while this is an issue which is not to be solved over-night (it being a global problem) it is a large step forward for the Japanese social care community, in that it actually recognizes the role of traditional Japanese authority structures as the root of much of the ingrained violence which so badly affects youth.

I myself have learned a great deal from this book, though it can be summarized in the answers to four issues: what trauma is; how do traumatic events occur; how traumatic disorders can be treated; what society and specialists in this field should do for the victims of traumatic events. Here I would like to examine prolonged and repeated traumatic disorders caused by repeated attack (including physical punishment), child abuse and bullying, although I acknowledge that unexpected and unintentional events such as natural disasters and bereavement may cause individuals' traumatic disorders.

The structure of this book helped me to find many answers to these four points.

After a short introduction the work divides into two main parts, both of which consist of several chapters. In the introduction, the author argues that remembering and telling the truth about terrible events are critically important, although people individually and in the society as a whole may want to deny, repress and dissociate the occurrence of such events. The first part titled 'traumatic disorders' delineates the spectrum of human adaptation to traumatic events; while the second part titled 'stages of recovery' gives an overall picture of the healing process from trauma. The author gives further examination of the psychological disorders found in the survivors of prolonged, repeated abuse, which have not been fully studied as yet. In addition, as the author explains in the introduction, this book contains a lot of testimony from survivors and case examples, and this format helped me understand the technical description of the medical issues.

An answer to the first question, what the trauma is, is found in Chapter 2, titled 'Terror'. In the chapter, the author gives a definition of 'trauma' as an affliction of the powerless, and under this situation ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection and meaning is overwhelmed by force.

She describes three main categories into which symptoms of post-traumatic stress can fall; 'hyper arousal' reflects the persistent expectation of danger; 'intrusion' reflects the indelible imprint of the traumatic moment; and 'constriction' reflects the numbing response of surrender.

The negative effects of traumatic events are described in Chapter 3. Such events deprive the victims of trust in human relationships, sense of community and the sense of self which is normally founded within the community. The author explains about the individuals' vulnerability in traumatic events; because of this, the target of investigation should be put onto traumatic events itself rather than individual's personality to prevent traumatic syndrome.

The author specifically deals with negative effects of child abuse on children's personality in Chapter 5. In the climate of disrupted relationships with caretakers, a child faces many formidable developmental tasks; those children are highly likely not to form primary attachment to caretakers; nor develop a sense of basic trust and safety with caretakers, nor a sense of self in relation to others, nor a capacity for bodily self-regulation, nor even a capacity for initiative or intimacy. Those children also have to face formidable existential hurdles: finding a way to preserve hope and meaning in their despair. Despite the unforgivable disservice from their caretakers, those children avoid blaming their caretakers and try to adapt to the environment through elaborating dissociative defenses, developing a fragmented identity and pathological regulation of emotional states. The survivors of child abuse are left with fundamental problems in relations with others, in terms of basic trust, autonomy and initiative even when they are grown up.

An answer to the second question, how the traumatic events occur, the author argues, in Chapter 4, 'the methods that enable one human being to enslave another are remarkably similar', from political prisoners to subjugate women and abused children. The formulation seems to be applicable to every case where captor-perpetrators relationships exist. These

methods are based on the systematic, repetitive infliction of psychological trauma with the organized techniques of driving the victim to the situation of disempowerment and disconnection from outside world both physically and mentally, and development of emotional dependence upon their captors. The perpetrators are skillful to adopt coercive techniques including inconsistent and unpredictable outbursts of violence, capricious enforcement of petty rules, and even the capricious granting of small indulgences.

As mentioned above, such captivity causes chronic trauma and severe symptoms on the victims' physical and mental conditions; these symptoms persist even after the victims are rescued from the violence of the perpetrators.

An answer to the third question, how the traumatic disorders can be healed, the author describes, in Chapter 3, the effects of social support on the victims' recovery from the trauma including people's patience to listen to the victims, understanding and sympathy, and the role of the community including public acknowledgment of the traumatic event and community action for restitution of the order and justice. She argues that legal bias and institutional discrimination towards certain group including children and females should be altered.

More medical and therapeutic treatment to people suffering from trauma is explained in the latter section titled 'stages of recovery'. The author mentions, 'the core experiences of psychological trauma are disempowerment and disconnection from others. Recovery, therefore, is based upon the empowerment of the survivor and the creation of new connection'. Chapter 7 titled 'A Healing Relationship' describes the relationships between survivors and therapists.

Although therapists try to foster both insight and empathic connections with their patients, a destructive force such as traumatic transference and counter-transference appears to intrude repeatedly into the relationships. The author mentions, the two most important guarantees of safety are the goals, rules, and boundaries of the therapy contract and the support system of the therapist.

The author explains the process of recovery in three stages: the establishment of safety in the first stage; remembrance and mourning in the second stage; and reconnection with ordinary life in the third stage; description for each stage is contained in Chapter 8, Chapter 9 and Chapter 10, respectively. The author mentions that the therapy should start with conducting a thorough and informed diagnosis evaluation, restoring control and establishing a safe environment; the goal of the first stage is establishing safety and securing a therapeutic alliance.

In other words, by the end of the first stage, the survivors come to gain predictability in their lives, some rudimentary sense of safety, appropriate trusting to the therapist and supports, knowledge of coping with the most disturbing symptoms and self-protective. In the second stage, by telling a story of trauma, the survivor transforms the traumatic memory and integrates the story of trauma into the story of life. The goal of this stage is that the survivor reclaims his/her own history and feel renewed hope and energy for engagement with life. In the last stage, the survivor starts creating a future through developing a new self and relationships with others.

The possible change and difficulties the survivors and therapists may face is described in detail, sparing each chapter for each stage; a lot of advice for survivors, therapists and supporters is provided; here again a lot of testimony of survivors and case examples are noted for readers.

To find an answer the fourth question, what the society and specialists in this field should do for the victims of traumatic events, the author's argument written in Chapter 1 titled 'A

Forgotten History' should be heard. She mentions that the historical truth that the investigation of trauma has flourished in some duration and repressed or forgotten in other duration, in affiliation with a political movement. She introduces the examples of flourish are investigation of hysteria grown out of the republican, anticlerical political movement; the discovery of shell shock or combat neurosis in England and the United States after the First World War and reached a peak after the Vietnam War; and the rise of an public awareness of sexual and domestic violence in the context of feminist movement. However, these investigations has been denied, repressed and delayed by someone in power and the society itself who thinks the investigation of these issues is against their interest.

The author mentions, in Chapter 6, the survivors from trauma are still being suffered with misunderstanding of the therapists and the society. The investigation of prolonged and repeated traumatic disorders has delayed; the lack of enough information in this filed leads to diagnostic misleading and blame on the survivors; autonomy and self-efficacy of the survivors has not fully valued. In 'the Dialectic of Trauma continues' which the author wrote five years after the book's publication, she mentions, the undesirable situations for the survivors still contuse or even goes to a wrong direction where the investigation for traumatic stress disorders are conducted from a more abstract scientific biological focus and disregard the psychological, social, and political dimensions of trauma. Thus, I have learned from this book about not only the traumatic disorders and the healing process from trauma, but also the attitude researchers should take; possession of individual autonomy and efficacy and safe connection with others are the keys for individuals' survive
als and investigation for individuals should truly be conducted for the target individual, not for others' interest.

『アイゼンハワー政権と西ドイツー同盟政策としての東西軍備管理交渉』
 (“The Eisenhower Administration and West Germany:
 Negotiating with the USSR, to Control the Allies”)
 by Itsuki Kurashina
 Kyoto, Minerva Shobo, 2006

Tetsuya Toyoda
 (豊田 哲也)

This book makes four remarkable contributions to the historiography of US-USSR arms control Negotiations¹. First it reveals the strong influence of Bonn on Washington in the course of arms control negotiations with Moscow during the Eisenhower presidency (1953-61). Secondly, it gives us a reasonably detailed and well articulated account of the relative rise in importance of arms control diplomacy during the same presidency. Thirdly, it clarifies why such a rise took place. Fourthly and finally it proves the importance of the role played by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, among other key players: President Dwight D. Eisenhower, his Disarmament Special Assistant Harold Stassen and others in the US government.

After an introductory chapter on the historical contexts and the methodology of the author, Chapter I extends on the development of the US disarmament policy in most of the first term of the Eisenhower presidency, leading to a subtle decision in May 1956 of the Western members in the Subcommittee of the UN Disarmament Commission: Canada, France, the UK and the US. They decided not to make a fundamental agreement with the USSR on arms control issues before reunification of Germany. The decision was a subtle one, because it allowed in fact the US and its allies to negotiate a *limited* disarmament before any advance for German reunification. Such a subtlety may be largely explained by the political necessity not to disappoint West Germany which wished a linkage between the two issues.

Chapter 2 deals mostly with personal rivalries of John Dulles with Harold Stassen, who obtained in May 1957, Eisenhower's approval to his idea of US-USSR agreement on limited disarmament. However, by submitting his draft to Ambassador Zorin, the Soviet representative of the Sub-Committee, before to the other Western members, Stassen fatally lost their support and, consequently, Eisenhower's support. Dulles did not fail to take the opportunity to expel his political rival from the decision-making circle at Washington.

Chapter 3 is about the Eisenhower's presidential statement of August 1958, calling for negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban convention and declaring a unilateral suspension of nuclear tests for a period of one year. The policy change was a real one and Dulles changed his stance, because he was concerned with possible nuclear armament of the Allies, especially that of West Germany, as well as the rise of anti-nuclear sentiments in allied nations.

Chapter 4 focuses more on the US concerns on possible German nuclear armament. In order to eliminate such a possibility, Washington promoted an idea of mutual inspection in Europe, to which West Germany strongly opposed, fearing a consolidation of the status quo of the divided Germany. In the same time, Dulles sought for a possibility to deploy US nuclear weapons in NATO countries. This policy too aimed at nuclear non-proliferation to West Germany, making it less meaningful to develop its own nuclear weapons. These two policies were both intended to halt the supposed West German nuclear armament program, but contradictory to each other, they added more reasons to the confusion of the Eisenhower arms control diplomacy.

Finally Chapter 5 summarizes the very much complex development on arms control negotiations in the last two years of the Eisenhower presidency and the failure of negotiations

¹ Kurashina, pp. 17-18.

at Geneva. After resignation of Dulles, a month before his death in May 1959, Eisenhower was without a clear strategy for arms control. The author points out "the impasse facing the US government was a result of confusion of the president himself."²

Having gone through these historical accounts, fully documented by public and private archives, we cannot but be convinced by the statement of the author that "West Germany which was only 'one of allies' exercised a considerable influence on the US arms control policy."³ Some actions of US diplomacy, for example those of John Dulles in 1958, "are comprehensible only if we understand that the Western nations for the US were something more than simple allies in the Cold War."⁴ Indeed, in 1957, it was reported that "if given unrestricted access to high-grade uranium ores, or to the fissionable material output of the planned power reactor, West Germany could commence weapons production within five years from the date of decision."⁵ Stassen and Dulles believed and tried to make other US officials believe that it was necessary to make an agreement with the USSR in order to halt nuclear armament programs of West Germany and other US Allies⁶. The pursuit of the policy of 'double containment' of Soviet and German power, well known in the time of the Kennedy Administration began already with Eisenhower.

A good book leaves many questions unanswered, or even creates many new ones. Having read these exciting stories, we may wonder, for example, whether Eisenhower reprimanded an "ever-ebullient" Stassen *because* of his diplomatic blunder, as is often told. But the content of the Stassen plan was something which was sure to worry the US Allies and, nevertheless, Eisenhower and Dulles *did* agree to the Stassen plan. If they really wanted not to anger the Allies, they should have stopped Stassen earlier, but they didn't. In addition, according to J. R. Beal, "[i]nsiders to the negotiations say Stassen did not deviate more than a hair's breadth, if at all, from U.S. government-confirmed policy."⁷ Only if Moscow happened to accept the US proposal, wasn't it perhaps possible to impose the plan on the Allies as a *fait accompli*, to perfectly achieve a 'double containment'? If it were to be so, then, can't we speculate that Eisenhower reprimanded his Disarmament Special Assistant, not because his *démarche* was stupid but simply because it was not successful?

As the author remarks himself in the concluding chapter, this book certainly gives us new insights into the Cold War. An early publication of this book in English would be beneficial for all those who wish to better understand the international relations of the last century and, perhaps, of this century.

² Kurashina, p. 179.

³ Kurashina, p. 13.

⁴ Kurashina, p. 105.

⁵ CIA, "Nuclear Weapons Production in Fourth Countries - Likelihood and Consequences," *National Intelligence Estimate 100-6-57*, June 18, 1957, declassified in 2001, now available on the internet at www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB155/prolif-2.pdf (visited Nov. 20, 2008), para. 14.

⁶ Kurashina, p. 189.

⁷ John Robinson Beal, *John Foster Dulles: 1888-1959*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959) , p. 324.

An international Colloquium in Akita Presentations and Arguments that Enhanced Contemporary Evaluation of ANDRÉ MALRAUX

Mineo Nakajima
(中嶋 嶺雄)

An international colloquium entitled *ANDRÉ MALRAUX, His Philosophy and Art – Temptations of the Orient and Japan*, was held on June 7-9, 2008, in Akita City under the sponsorship of Akita International University. Twenty-seven presenters, most French members of the International Congress of the History of Art (CIAA), participated. At times they engaged in heated discussion to produce a contemporary evaluation and analysis of this world renown French writer and his works. The colloquium, its presentations and discussions attracted a large audience.

As a young man, Malraux pursued Buddhist relics in Cambodia, something he wrote about in one of his early works, *The Royal Road*. His work, *The Conquerors*, followed. In it he featured the anti-imperialism movement (the so-called “5-30 Incident”) that occurred mostly in Canton and Hong Kong, China. In another novel, *Man’s Fate*, Malraux dealt with the 1927 effort to eradicate Communism in Shanghai. These works earned him fame as a leading French writer.

Eventually Malraux, after a very eventful life, served as France’s Minister of Cultural Affairs under President Charles de Gaulle. Malraux is also known for having had the ceiling of Paris’ Opera decorated with Marc Chagall’s works. Malraux had an uncanny eye for art, particularly painting and sculpture.

At the colloquium, Melbourne University Professor Jaynie Anderson, also president of the CIHA, delivered the keynote presentation about Malraux’s, *Musée Imaginaire*. Henri Godard, a professor emeritus at Université de Paris at Sorbonne, emphasized in his presentation that Asian art was an extremely valuable object of inquiry to Malraux. The French writer’s fascination with Japan’s beauty was exemplified by his own philosophical revelations about *Nachi Falls*, *Ise Shrine*, *Ryoanji Temple’s* rock garden in Kyoto, and Fuedal Lord Tira-no Kiyomori’s portrait, a Japanese painting in the Kyoto National Museum’s collection.

With due respect to Malraux, AIU Select Professor Hidemichi Tanaka, who played a key role in organizing the colloquium, argued that Malraux appreciated only a part of Japanese art. He referred to Malraux’s limitations by pointing out that he did not identify the kind of “hints” in Japanese paintings that he had in Western ones.

On the colloquium’s second day, Claude Cadart, a French scholar of China and historian, and Ms. Cheng Yingshang criticized Professor Tanaka’s assessment. They argued that such criticism was not acceptable since Malraux had written *The Conquerors* and *Man’s Fate* before he had visited china and had seen the Chinese Revolution first-hand. Claude Tannery, former president of the Porto France Association, opposed this view so vehemently that I wondered for a while where the disagreement might lead.

As chairman of that session, I first spoke highly of Malraux’s superb writing ability and pointed to his realistic and detailed depiction of the situation in Shanghai and the settlements, as well as the way local people lived and the activities of revolutionary groups. Then I criticized France’s assumption that Kyo, the hero of *Man’s Fate*, was actually Zhou Enlai.

This enabled me to settle the heated argument. It is likely that Kiyoshi Komatsu, one of Malraux's close friends, was portrayed as Kyo. Despite his having been a terrorist, Komatsu gave the character Kyo a uniquely Japanese aesthetic sense.

Kazuo Ijiri, director of the Japanese Culture Research Institute at Takushoku University who was clad in a dignified kimono, delivered an impassioned speech about the impact Yukio Mishima's suicide had on Malraux and Malraux's views toward *Bushido*. Finally, Professor emeritus Tadao Takemoto of Tsukuba University summed up, in connection with Japan, the whole image of ANDRÉ MALRAUX as a return to a Shintoistic "spirituality." Takemoto is a noted Japanese scholar of Malraux who was on familiar terms with the French writer.

Malraux's works have become increasingly difficult to find in bookstores, but I believe this colloquium significantly "brought back to life" interest in Japan regarding this legendary French writer. How appropriate since Malraux is loved by intellectuals not only from France but also the United States, Germany, Switzerland, Japan, China, South Korea and India.

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