the mankind's extinction may be acceptable, or rather the mankind's dying and giving way to other types of animals is more natural. Accommodation such a theory in our world may be more sound on the whole. Nevertheless, most people still hope to prosper and survive at least for a long time, if not forever. What is the source of such a wish? It seems to me to be individual persons' religions, though they are not conscious of those in most of the cases. In Judaism and Christianity, God created mankind. If it is the case, man should not go in the direction of extinction. In Buddhism, human beings exist in a relationship of "sodai" with Tathagatas (those who have attained Buddhahood). If mankind dies out, tathagatas may also die out. However, this assumption is a meaningless, unsubstantial sentence rather because tathagatas have eternity.

I discussed in this article that symbiosis is almost a synonym of "sodai" in Buddhism. In contrast, I described the basic attitude in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam as confrontation. But in Christianity, there must be something which makes man pursue not confrontation but some other greater cause, as Christianity us referred to as a religion of "love".

Be it symbiosis of Nature to man or of man to man, the discussion on "symbiosis" may be a totally unproductive one, if it ignores the very fundamentals of the subject, and centers on trivial, technical aspects alone.

P8-11 ERGO Design Spring 1987

## Confucianism and Economics MINEO NAKAJIMA

1. When the economic development of the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICS) which includes Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore led by Japan, began to attract attention in early 1980's a friend who is an American scholar said to me that this is the Post Confucian Era. He meant that the countries who have passed through Confucian culture are now showing great economic development, and it is now the age of those countries.

It is certainly true that Japan and the NICS countries all belong to the "Confucian culture block", and that in a sense, they have all been thoroughly influenced by Chinese culture. These countries can also said to be of the Chinese character (kanji) culture block, and put more simply, they all share an eating culture in which they use chopsticks to eat with.

And the recent economic development of these "Confucian culture block" nations is particularly remarkable, even to the extent that it is believed that they will provide the propulsive power in world economics as we approach the 21st century.

On the other hand, the Asian "Confucian culture block" also includes such socialist nations as China where it originated. Vietnam, and North Korea. But considered form the viewpoint of economic development, even though such socialist nations as China, North Korea, and Vietnam are apart of the "Confucian culture block", they have not developed sufficiently in terms of industrialization and modernization.

Paradoxically, this shows that even though some nations of the "Confucian culture block" are showing remarkable economic and social progress, it is quite difficult for any developing nation to succeed in any attempt toward modernization as long as it works under a socialist system.

It can be said that it is in this context that the fact that the Asia NICS nations have shown economic development and superior economic performance has made them the focus of attention of Western scholars as a civilization block which they call the "Confucian culture block". It is the cenospecies non-Western society, the modernization theories of the past have been strongly challenged by the brilliant success of the nations of the "Confucian culture block".

2. When speaking of modernization theories, we find that one of these is the highly idealistic modernization theory of Marxism which maintains that it is the change of a capitalist society into a socialist society that evokes the complete blossoming of humanism and goes on to proceed toward the formulation of a modern society. However, today it has become clear that hopes for a rosy future cannot be placed on socialism. On the contrary, it is clear in the process that has been set into motion in such socialist nations as The Soviet Union and China away from domestic socialism and toward Westernization that is the true situation today, and that Marxism, socialism, or a planned economy are no longer valid models for modernization.

However, there is one modernization model that is a highly ordered theory. That is the ideology of Max Weber.

The Weber Model Modernization is found in his "Protestant Ethics and Capitalist Spirit" (published in Japanese translation by Iwanami Bunko in 1955 and 1962). Here he states that is in the context of Western society, which takes as its core values the asceticism and will to work—the major symbols of protestantism, where the possibility to attain modernization and indus—

trialization is found.

In another of his works titled "Confucianism and Taoism" (published in Japanese translation by Sobunsha in 1971), which is a brilliant book in which sharp observations are made concerning the unique characteristics of Chinese society, he expresses no horizons for relating Confucian culture and economic development. Rather he expresses the opinion that is Puritanism, which means the Western Protestant society, that is the model for success in modernization and industrialization.

However, in actual fact, the "Confucian culture block" nations have far exceeded Waber's predictions by making a start toward demonstrating the strong possibilities for development since the beginning of the 1980s and as we press on toward the 21st century. On the other hand, Europe, which accomplished modernization through Western rationalism, has now fallen into a serious state of economic stagnation.

Also in America, the society centered around the protestant upper classes known as the Eastern Establishment is on the way toward collapse. The American nuclear values called WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) are also on the road toward fading away. And it appears that the development of the West Coast or Pacific Area, centered around California where there is a large Oriental population that has strong "Confucian culture block" coloring, will serve and the torch bearer for America in the new century.

3. Even though it is spoken of as the "Confucian culture block", there are great difference between the nations that this term includes. And there are difference in national character that make these various peoples accept the same Confucian ethics in different ways.

In his book "Why Did Japan
'Succeed'?"(TBS Britannica, 1984),
Professor Michio Morishima (of
London University) wrote concerning
the problem of Confucian culture,
saying, "China is a civil administration Confucian nation, but Japan
must be referred to as a military
administration Confucian nation".
He goes on to say that while Chinese Confucianism is humanistic,
Japan's Confucianism is remarkably
nationalistic.

Since there have always been great basic differences in the social and spiritual mores. China's feudal system ended during the Chou Dynasty of 1122 to 249 B.C. This makes it basically a very different sort of nation from Japan where the feudalistic society prevailed all the way from the Kamakura Period (1185-1333 A.D.) to the Meiji Res-

toration of 1868. One major difference is that Japan's feudal system, including its social status system and its land ownership configuration, closely resembled that of Europe.

As I have often pointed out, compared to the masculine aesthetics of Japanese Buddhist temples which have been strongly colored by the warrior culture, the Chinese Buddhist temples built of mud and stone have a distinctly feminine aesthetic. Is not this phenomenon symbolic of the Mandarin ruling system, the unique Chinese literati bureaucracy, which never experienced military culture or military government? Herein we find the aesthetic difference between Japan and China (for greater detail concerning this point, please refer to my "China's Progress Toward a Recasting of Its Civilization" (Chikuma Shobo, 1984) and my "These are the Major Differences Between Japanese and Chinese People" (UNISCO Books, 1986).

Also, when considering the Confucian virtues of benevolence, justice, politeness, wisdom, and trust, or fidelity and filial piety, we find different interpretations in China, Japan, and Korea, as well as different placement of emphasis on their relative importance. For instance, if we considered the Chinese as a people who place great stress on "politeness", we find that the Japanese put "justice" first and the Koreans think of "filial piety" as uppermost.

4. Even with these great mutual differences, we cannot help but note the fact that the nations of the "Confusian culture block", as a whole, are experiencing great development at present. Thus it can be said that we are being forced to reconsider the relationship between Confucianism and economy from various angles.

One of the best books recently published on the unique characteristics of the "Confucian culture block".

The fact that this family groupism is one of the major criteria of economic administration is clearly evident not only in Japan's large enterprises today, but it is also strongly in evidence in the history of the great Edo merchant class that formulated Japan's huge financial combines (zaibatsu), including Mitsui and Sumitomo.

The second major characteristic of Confusian culture is its studyism, which could just as well be called study groupism or study nationalism.

Japanese learning has been greatly influenced by Confucianism. And the great significance of such Confucian factions as the new doctrinal interpretations of Chu-tsu

in the modernization of Japan is well known. Even in China, beginning with the classical government service examination system of ancient times, Confucian culture has always been studied thoroughly. And in this context, it is not possible to place too much stress on the importance of the educational and social effect produced by the study of the written Chinese characters (kanji) which is common to all the Confucian culture block nations.

The tendencies toward study-ism, study groupism, or study nationalism can be said to originate directly from the "Learning Method Chapter" introduction of the Analects of Confucius -- the Confucian scriptures -- which begins with, "When you study, lean thusly". And the direct result of this admonition is seen in the high educational standards and the low illiteracy ratio of all nations of the Asian "Confucian culture block" except the Chinese continent. It goes without saying that this has thoroughgoing significance in the development of know-how for industrialization and the creation of infra-structures and information networks.

The third unique characteristic of Confucian culture is what might best be called a sort of ethical activity standard. Any of the virtues, such as "benevolence", "justice", or "trust" could be utilized to illustrate this characteristic, but it seems to me that "trust" activity standard.

Practical results of this standard can be seen in the high level of service and after care found in all fields of Japanese society.

It must be noted here that these were not originally matters of belief in Confucianism, but rather they were a part of the ethical standards. Since Confucianism is not, strictly speaking, a religion, it is possible, for instance, for it to coexist with Shintoism in Japan, or with Taoism in China. In other words, Confucianism is an extremely tolerant doctrine. And rather than a set of beliefs, it is a set of social standards, an ethical code. These are its special characteristics.

I feel certain that this lenient ethical activities standard of Confucianism has linked up with the various characteristics of Confucian culture, that we have discussed above, to lead the way into a spirit of realism and an experientialism which have played an important role in the establishment of the foundation for industrialization and an industrialized society. As is seen in the slogan

(families ruled by proper ethics formulate an eternally peaceful nation), or the phrase good administration helps

the citizenry), the doctrines of Confucianism have provided important spiritual support toward the achievement of modernization and economic development.

Of course, it is not always possible to explain social and economic development exclusively as a product of Confucian culture or as being under the umbrella of the "Confucian culture block". In order to carry out a thorough discussion of all the elements that lead to success in industrialization and modernization, it is necessary to approach the subject from many different angles. For example, in the case of Japan, the Confusion culture has been maintained as a "negative" against modernization, on the other hand, this country has totally accepted western ethos spiritual culture, science and technology of the modern European Society and has been influenced by American industrial culture as a "positive" toward its modernization. For the next three years, I am to act as a research representative in a large scale project that has been set up for this very purpose. It is called the "Project for Comparative Research Concerning Economic and Social Development and Modernization in East Asia", and it is sponsored by the Education Ministry Priority Area Studies of the Scientific Research Fund, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science of Japan. It is necessary for individual analysis and consideration of East Asia industrialization and modernization to be carried out from various angles. But the very fact that the "Confucian culture block" has begun to attract attention as a common element of the historical subject of economic development must be considered as and entirely new approach in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences.

## P14-15 The Organization and the Individual AKINORI SAKASHITA

l. Exchange between The Organization and The Individual

The organization has become the fundamental and universal structural unit of modern society, as is pointed up by the fact that organizations such as political parties, industries, schools, military forces and social circles are all essential. In this way, when the government, economics, education, military aspects of culture of modern society are considerd, it is impossible to segregate those organizations as disparate functional units.

The organization is a collection of individuals, but at the same time it is greater than the sum of its parts, and possesses three cre-