

日本的政治發展

1. 政治發展

日本於 1945-99 年間的政治發展主要可分為四個階段:

▶ 第一階段: 盟總時期(1945-52)

▶ 第二階段:政黨林立的自治時期(1952-55)

▶ 第三階段:「五五體制」時期(1955-93)

➤ 第四階段:「政界重組」時期(1993-99)

A. 第一階段

AI. 1945-52 年: 盟總時期

戰敗後的日本由美國為首的盟總政府接管,最高司令為麥克阿瑟將軍。此時期內, 盟總政府對日本有全權的控制,日本政府的功能只是執行相關決議。例如盟總政 府為日本實行非軍事化及民主化。非軍事化方面包括整肅了國內 20 萬軍國主義 的相關分子,並在遠東軍事國際法庭中審判了約 6000 名戰爭罪犯,包括戰時首 相東條英機。另一方面,民主化方面就頒布的《昭和憲法》作為日本的新憲法, 實行「象徵天皇制」,廢除天皇的權力,又加強國會的權力及放寬投票權,徹底 革新日本的舊有政治。此外,盟總政府致力協助日本復甦經濟,包括頒布《土地 改革法》(1946)及《禁止壟斷法》(1947)以解放農地及解散財閥。可見,此時期 盟總政府支配著日本政治。

AII. 原因:日本的戰敗

自 1944 年起,日本在太平洋的戰役中節節敗退,美國在 1945 年投下兩枚原子彈到日本的廣島及長崎更成為致命一擊,迫使日本無條件投降。由於日本在二次大戰中戰敗,為避免日本的軍國主義死灰復燃,並再次發動侵略,以美國上將麥克阿瑟為首的遠東軍佔領日本,並且進行一系列的非軍事化及民主化措施。直至1952 年,盟總政府安排日本與東南亞國家簽訂《三藩市條約》作為戰敗條約,大抵上協議了賠償安排後,盟總政府才撤出日本。

第一 階段



Political Development in Japan

1. Political development

The political development of Japan in 1945-99 can be divided into 4 stages:

- > Stage 1: The SCAP period (1945-52)
- Stage 2: Independence and political parties flourished (1952-55)
- Stage 3: The '1955 System' period (1955-93)
- Stage 4: Politicians Regroup (1993-99)

A. Stage 1

AI. 1945-52: The SCAP period

The US-led SCAP took over the post-war Japan. The supreme ruler was the US General Douglas Macarthur. In this period, the SCAP had exclusive control over Japan while the Japanese government could only carry out related decisions. For example, the SCAP helped Japan realise demilitarisation and democratisation. Demilitarisation included purging 200 thousand people who supported Japan's expansionist policy and in the Military Tribunal sentencing about 6000 war criminals such as wartime Prime Minister Tojo Hideki. As to democratisation, the SCAP promulgated the Showa Constitution as the new one, adopted symbolic Mikado system to abolish the real power of the Emperor, strengthened the power of the Diet and extended voting rights, which completely reformed the politics in Japan. Besides, the SCAP endeavoured to help Japan recover its economy. It passed the Land Reform Act (1946) and Anti-Monopoly Act (1947) to release agricultural land and dissolve zaibatsu. In this stage, the SCAP took full control of the politics in Japan.

All. Reason: Defeat of Japan

Since 1944, Japan had been losing its ground in the Pacific War; when the US dropped two atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally. Japan defeated in WWII. To prevent the revival of militarism and invasion, the US General Macarthur, leader of the US Army Force Far East, occupied Japan and carried out a series of measures to demilitarise and democratise Japan. In 1952, the SCAP arranged the signing of Treaty of San Francisco (1952) as a peace treaty between Japan and Southeast countries. It ended the occupation after reparation issues were almost settled.

Stage 1



B. 第二階段

BI. 1952-55 年: 政黨林立的自治時期

自 1952 年盟總政府撤出日本後,日本恢復自治。在《昭和憲法》之下,日本確立了民主體制,政黨如兩後春筍般成立或重組,數目更一度高達 300 多個,形成百花齊放、多黨林立的局面。主要的政黨包括民主黨、自由黨、社會黨、共產黨等等。值得留意的是,這些政黨經過不斷的淘汰及合併後,最終演變成社會黨、自由黨及民主黨的分立局面。上述的三大政黨相繼執政,例如自由黨領袖吉田茂就於 1946-54 年間 5 度出任首相,但卻無一政黨能於國會中取得多數議席,結果只能聯合其他政黨組成聯合內閣。可見,此時期日本政府恢復自治,政黨政治發展十分蓬勃,多黨林立。

BII. 原因:盟總時期的民主化改革及撤出

早於盟總政府佔領時期,盟總政府已為日本推行了非軍事化及民主化的改革,包括頒布了《昭和憲法》作為日本的新憲法,加強了國會的權力,並且賦予成年男女有投票權,以及恢復了政治結社的自由,結果使各種政黨紛紛成立,希望以選舉方式進入政府。在 1952 年盟總政府撤出後,日本獲得自治,這些政黨便更趨活躍,形成了政黨林立、百花齊放的時期。



Stage 2

B. Stage 2

BI. 1952-55: Independence and political parties flourished

After the withdrawal of the SCAP in 1952, Japan regained independence. Under the Showa Constitution, Japan established a democratic system and many political parties founded or reorganised. The number of parties once reached 300, which was like in blossom. Major parties included Democratic Party, Liberal Party, Socialist Party and Communist Party. It was noted that after elimination and combination, the Socialist Party, Liberal Party and Democratic Party dominated the politics. These 3 parties took turns in power. For example, leader of the Liberal Party Yoshida became the Prime Minister 5 times in 1946-54. No party could gain majority votes in the Diet; they could only merge with others to form the Cabinet. Thus, in this period, the Japanese government regained independence and party politics flourished.

BII. Reason: Democratisation in the SCAP period and the withdrawal of SCAP

Early in the occupation period, the SCAP had already carried out demilitarisation and democratisation in Japan. It promulgated the Showa Constitution, strengthened the power of the Diet, granted voting rights to both adult man and women and gave the freedom of political association so that many political parties were formed with the hope to enter the government under election. After the withdrawal of SCAP in 1952, Japan gained autonomy and political parties became more active and created a period of flourishing party politics.



第三 階段

C. 第三階段

CI. 1955-93 年:「五五體制」時期

在 1955 年,同屬保守主義陣營的民主黨與自由黨合併成為自由民主黨(簡稱自民黨),勢力及支持度大增,成為了國內第一大黨,更在直至 1993 年前壟斷了日本政壇,維持了 38 年的執政局面。此時,雖然社會黨是國內第二大黨,與自民黨形成兩黨政治的格局,但卻一直只能作為在野黨,而未能成為執政黨。由 1955 年開始,兩黨政治及自民黨維持長期執政的局面就被稱為「五五體制」,此一體制一直維持至 1993 年。

CII. 原因:政黨整合以加強政治優勢

由於政黨間為爭取得更大的勢力優勢,目標、背景相似的政黨會合併,例如原本屬於革新陣營的社會黨於 1951 年分裂成左、右兩派,但由於需要阻止民主黨修改憲法,因此於 1955 年重新統一,結果成功於同年的眾議院選舉中取得 1/3 議席,阻擋了憲法的修正。與此同時,同屬於保守陣營的自由黨及民主黨眼見社會黨的壯大,結果也於 1955 年合併為自民黨,並且成功一直維持優勢至 1993 年。由此,形成了保守的自民黨與革新的社會黨兩大陣營君臨國會的格局,形成五五體制。



C. Stage 3

CI. <u>1955-93: the 1955 System period</u>

Stage 3

In 1955, the conservative Democratic Party merged with the Liberal Party to form the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). It gained great influence and support thus became the largest party in Japan and dominated the politics until 1993 and ruled Japan for 38 years. Although the Socialist Party was only second to LDP, it had been an opposition party but not the ruling party. From 1995 to 1993, the two-party politics and the continual dominance of LDP were known as "the 1955 System".

CII. Reason: Used political integration to gain a political edge

To gain more influence, parties with similar objectives and background would merge. For example, the reformist Socialist Party divided into left and right wings in 1951. But in order to stop Democratic Party from amending the constitution, they reunited in 1955 and succeeded to get 1/3 of the seats in the House of Representatives in the same year. Meanwhile, seeing the Socialist Party grew in strength, the Democratic Party merged with the Liberal Party, also favouring conservatism, to form the LDP and maintained its dominance until 1993. Thus, this shaped the situation of two-party rule of the conservative LDP and the reformist Socialist Party, known as the 1955 System.



第四 階段

D. 第四階段

DI. 1993-99 年:「政界重組」時期

1993 年開始,自民黨對日本政壇的支配受到動搖,黨內不但出現內部分裂,其 他黨政的發展亦十分活躍,眾多政黨反覆出現聚散離合,形成了「政界重組」的 時期。自民黨在 1993 年眾議院選舉前出現內部分裂,部分黨員離巢而另組「先 驅新黨」及「新生黨」,削弱了自民黨的勢力及聲勢。及後,自民黨於眾議院選 舉中落敗,未能取得過半數議席,只能與選前成立的「在野聯盟」平分秋色。最 終,「在野聯盟」與「新黨集團」組成一個由八黨合組的「非自民聯盟」內閣, 結束了自民黨長達 38 年的長期執政局面。往後,自民黨與過往的仇敵社會黨合 作,重新於次年奪回政權。在此之後,政黨的重組持續,新進黨雖然一度成為最 大在野黨,但也於 1997 年底宣布解散,民主黨繼其之後成為最大在野黨。可見, 此時期自民黨的地位也受到動搖,日本政黨的變動頻繁,是政界重組的時期。

DII. 原因:政治醜聞、經濟下滑及自民黨的分裂

在 1980 年代末至 1990 年代初,自民黨先後爆出一連串的政治醜聞,包括「里庫路特事件」(1989)及「佐川急便事件」(1992),這些貪污瀆職的醜陋使自民黨的形象下跌。加上,由於日本經濟泡沫於 1990 年代初爆破,經濟陷入低迷,大大削弱了日人對自民黨的支持度。在政治醜陋不斷及經濟下滑的情況底下,自民黨更出現內部分裂,部分黨員另起爐灶,令自民黨勢力每況愈下,結果更於 1993 年的選舉中失勢。反之,其他黨政則乘勢而起,希望透過合併及收納新黨員的方式以擴大在眾議院的勢力,結果導致政界重組的現象出現。



Stage 4

D. Stage 4

DI. 1993-99: Politicians Regroup

Since 1993, the dominance of LDP was at stake. There were internal splits and other parties also merged and split frequently, shaping the period of politicians regroup. There were internal splits in LDP in 1993 before the election for the House of Representatives. Some members left and formed the New Party Sakigake and Japan Renewal Party, weakening the influence and momentum of the LDP. The LDP lost in the election and failed to secure a majority of seats and could only have equal seats as the "Opposition Coalition" that formed just before the election. At last, the "Opposition Coalition" and "New Party Federation" formed the "Anti-Liberal Democratic Part Coalition", a Cabinet of 8 parties. This ended the 38-year political dominance of the LDP. Later, the LDP had been hostile to the Socialist Party but cooperated with it to regain the power in the next year. After that, politicians regroup continued. The New Frontier Party once became the largest opposition party but still dissolved in 1997 and was then succeeded by the Democratic Party. In this period, the status of LDP was at stake and there were frequent changes in political parties. This was a period of politicians regroup.

DII. Reasons: Political scandals, decline in economy and the split of LDP

From the late 1980s to early 1990s, the LDP was embroiled in a series of political scandals including the Recruit Scandal (1989) and Sagawa Express Scandal (1992). These revealed the corruption in LDP and tarnished its image. Also, the economic bubble burst in the early 1990s. With depressed economy, the LDP lost public support. Worse still, there were internal splits in the LDP and some members left and formed new parties. The influence of the LDP further weakened and it lost the 1933 election. But other parties seized the chance to gain momentum and hoped to extend their influence in the House of Representatives through combination and recruiting new party members, resulting in the phenomenon of politicians regroup.



2. 特徵

A. 民主制度的確立

在盟軍佔領日本後,隨即著手為日本實行了非軍事化及民主化的改革,包括審判了約6000名戰爭罪犯及整肅了約20萬軍國主義的相關分子,並且又為日本頒布了的《昭和憲法》以取代《明治憲法》。在《昭和憲法》之下,天皇的權力被廢除,只是象徵性的國家元首。此外,國會成為了國家的最高權力機構及唯一立法機關,國會內的眾議院及參議院均由選舉產生。同時,內閣的權力也受到限制,向國會而非天皇負責,國會更能在必要時透過不信任案或否決信任案以迫使內閣總辭。《昭和憲法》成功實現了三權分立,立法、行政及司法的權力分別由國會、內閣及法院掌握,加上憲法中規定日本放棄戰爭手段及保障了國民的權利,日本的民主正式得確立。

B. 政黨政治的復興

在 1940 年大政翼贊會成立後,所有政黨被解散,並且限制了政治結社的自由,日本正式成為一個一黨專政的國家。但在盟總政府佔領日本後,隨即積極推行民主化改革,加強了國會的權力,並且重新允許人民擁有政治結社的自由。因此,政黨猶如兩後春筍般成立或重組,數目更一度高達 300 多個,形成百家爭鳴、政黨林立的局面。其中,主要的政黨包括日本社會黨、日本共產黨,以及保守勢力的民主黨、自由黨、進步黨等。及後,這些政黨經過不斷的重組、合併及解散後,最終形成了自民黨與社會黨之間的兩黨政治。

C. 一黨獨大的兩黨政治

自 1955 年原本分裂成為左、右兩派的社會黨重新統一,以及自由黨和民主黨合併成為自民黨,日本政治形成了革新派社會黨與保守黨自民黨君臨國會的兩黨政治。在兩黨較量之中,自民黨一直取得優勢,壟斷了日本的政壇,而社會黨則只能長期作為在野黨,形成了「五五體制」的格局。直至 1993 年自民黨因政治醜聞、經濟下滑及內部分裂等問題而於眾議院選舉中失勢,維持了 38 年的「五五體制」才宣告結束。



2. Features

A. Establishment of a democratic system

Under the SCAP occupation, it helped Japan realise demilitarisation and democratisation, which included sentencing about 6000 war criminals purging 200 thousand people who supported Japan's expansionist policy, promulgating the Showa Constitution to replace the Meiji one, and abolishing the real power of the Emperor and rendering him a symbolic leader. Besides, the Diet became the highest authority and the only legislature in which members of the two houses were elected. Also, the power of the Cabinet was restricted; it was responsible to the Diet but not the Emperor. When necessary, the Diet could force resignation of the Cabinet through a motion of no confidence. The Showa Constitution actualised separation of three powers, the legislative, executive and judicial powers rested with the Diet, Cabinet and Courts respectively. Together with the stipulation to abandon war and protect people's rights, democracy was established in Japan.

B. Revival of party politics

After the establishment of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in 1940, all parties were dismissed and the freedom of political association was restricted. Japan had become a country under one-party dictatorship. But after the SCAP occupation, it carried out democratic reforms and strengthened the power of the Diet and allowed the freedom of political association. Thus, parties mushroomed through formation and reorganisation. The number of parties once reached 300, which was like in blossom. Major parties included Democratic Party, Liberal Party, Socialist Party and Communist Party. After reorganisation, combination and disbandment, the Japanese politics involved only the LDP and Socialist Party.

C. Two-party politics with the domination of LDP

Since 1955, the Socialist Party divided into left and right wings had reunited while the Democratic Party merged with the Liberal Party to form the LDP. This shaped the two-party politics between the reformist Socialist Party and the conservative LDP. The LDP had been dominating the politics and the Socialist Party could only be an opposition party, shaping "the 1955 System". The system continued for 38 years until the LDP lost its influence in the elections for the Upper House due to political scandals, decline in economy and internal splits.



D. 貪污舞弊醜聞不斷

雖然盟總政府在佔領期間透過一系列的措施解散財閥,但隨著 1950 年代日本的經濟起飛,商界的影響力愈來愈大,不但積極地對政局提出意見,更透過「政治獻金」實際介入政治。商界與政界的勾結使政府醜聞不斷,例如 1974 年首相田中角榮因貪污醜聞而辭職,兩年後又捲入「洛歇事件」(1976)。此外,1980 年代末及 1990 年代初也出現了「里庫路特事件」(1989)及「佐川急便事件」(1992)等貪污醜聞,成為了 1993 年自民黨在選舉中失勢的其中原因。





D. A series of corruption scandals

Although the SCAP dissolved zaibatsu with a series of measures during its occupation period, the business sector had greater influence due to economy take-off in the 1950s and started to raise opinions about the political situation. It even interfered in politics through campaign finance. Collusion between the business sector and political circles created many scandals involving government officials. For example, Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka resigned in 1974 due to corruption scandal, and was embroiled in the Lockheed bribery scandals (1976). Besides, there were scandals in the late 1980s and early 1990s such as the Recruit Scandal (1989) and Sagawa Express Scandal (1992), which was one of the reasons the LDP lost influence in elections.





日本的社會發展

1. 社會發展的特徵

A. 自由平等化的社會

受著盟總政府的非軍事及民主化政策,日本社會變得更趨自由及平等。《昭和憲法》以「主權在民」為立憲的原則,日人的身份由過往的「臣民」轉變為「國民」,不再臣服於天皇,天皇也不能剝奪人民的任何權益,使日本的人權發展得到大大的改進。此外,皇族和華族的貴族制度被廢止,結束了社會階級劃分。加上,國家法律強調人人平等,憲法也賦予人民擁有思想、學術、言論等各方面的自由,使自由、平等的思想得以真正在日本落地生根。

B. 物質生活的改善

隨著戰後日本經濟的高速發展,日人收入大幅上升,貧富的差距得以收窄,物質生活也得以大大得到改善。例如,在 1950 年代,富裕的家庭擁有的「三大件」是單車、衣車及收音機。但至 1960 年代初,「三大件」就被重新定義為黑白電視機、洗衣機及雪櫃,並且已經是很多家庭均已擁有。及至 1966 年,「三大件」已變為「3C 電器熱」,即包括私家車(Car)、冷氣機(Cooler)及彩色電視機(Colour),可見日人的物質生活已經到達富裕的程度。此外,旅遊方面也能反映日人物質生活的提高,外遊人數由 1965 年的 30 萬人劇增至 1990 年的 5400 萬人,顯示了日人的經濟條件大幅提高,已經成為一個以中產階級為主的富裕國家。

C. 工農生活的改善

為改善戰前嚴重的工農問題,盟總及日本政府推出了一系列的改革及法規。在農民方面,盟總政府在 1946 年頒布《土地改革法》,將土地由地主手中解放出來,使佃農承耕的土地由 1945 年時的 600 萬英畝減少至 1955 年時的 120 萬英畝,令自耕地的比例大幅提高。在工人方面,盟總政府在 1946-49 年間先後頒布了《勞動關係調整法》、《勞動基準法》及《勞動組合法》以規範勞資關係,保障勞動者的合法權益。往後,隨著經濟的高速發展,日本企業為工人提供愈來愈多的福利,包括房屋、醫療及旅遊等,避免工人轉職,使工人福利漸見完善。

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Social Development in Japan

1. Features of social development

A. A society of freedom and equality

Influenced by the demilitarisation and democratisation policy of the SCAP, the Japanese society became more liberal and equal. The Showa Constitution stated the popular sovereignty as its main principle. Japanese were not called "subjects" but "people". They no longer submitted to the Emperor and the Emperor could not deprive his people of any rights. Human rights were improved a lot. Besides, royalty and Kazoku systems were abolished, ending the social class divisions. Also, the law emphasised that all people are equal and the constitution granted academic freedom, freedom of thoughts and speech and so on. Thus, idea of freedom and equality could take root in Japan.

B. Material life improved

After war, the Japanese economy developed rapidly and income increased significantly. Wealth disparity narrowed and material life improved greatly. For example, in the 1950s, the "three treasures" were a bicycle, sewing machine and radio for wealthy families. But the "three treasures" were redefined in the early 1960s as a black-and-white TV, washing machine and refrigerator and in 1966 as the "3C electric appliance" including Car, Cooler and Colour TV. It can be seen that the material life of Japanese was wealthy. Besides, the number of Japanese travelled aboard increased from 300 thousand in 1965 to 54 million in 1990. This reflected that the economic condition of Japanese enhanced and Japan became a wealthy country with most in the middle class.

C. Livelihood of tenants and workers improved

To improve the situation of tenants and workers before war, the SCAP and Japanese government carried out reforms and passed laws. For tenants, the SCAP passed the Land Reform Act in 1946 to release agricultural land from landlords. Land under tenancy agreement reduced from 6 million yards in 1945 to 1.2 million yards in 1955. The proportion of self-owned land increased. As for workers, the SCAP passed the Labour Relation Adjustment Act, Labour Standards Act and Labour Union Act to regulate labour relations and protect the legal rights of workers. Later, as economy developed fast, Japanese enterprises provided a wider range of welfare including housing allowance, medical services and tours to keep the talents. Labour welfare became comprehensive.

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D. 女性地位的提高

二次大戰後,女性地位因盟總政府的改革而不斷提高,例如在 1945 年首次國會選舉中,便有 39 名女性當選,成為日本歷史上的新批女性議員。及後,至 1947 年《昭和憲法》的頒布,更列明了女性擁有選舉權和被選舉權,同時也保障了女性在教育、婚姻、財產繼承等方面享有與男性同等的權利。雖然男尊女卑的現象仍未完全因憲法的頒布而完全得到改善,但隨著女權運動的不斷發展,日本女性在教育及工作等方面獲得了更多的平等待遇,包括《男女就業機會均等法》(1985)中消除就業中的性別歧視;《育兒休假法》(1992)規定女性員工可享有一年的育兒休假期,令到女性可以在社會中爭得更公平及合理的待遇。

E. 多元文化共存

大和民族是一個樂於接受外來文化的民族,其兼收並蓄的民族習性使外來文化和本地文化得以同時在日本發展。在二次大戰後,外來文化藉著盟總政府的短暫管治,以及與歐美和東南亞國家的貿易愈趨頻繁,得以在日本進一步繁衍。與此同時,日本不少的傳統價值與文化也同時得到保留,因此形成了多元文化共存的現象。例如在服飾方面,日人以西服及便服為日常服飾,但在傳統節日則穿回傳統的和服。在飲食方面,美式快餐、東南亞美食等相當流行,但傳統的拉麵和壽司的食店等亦隨處可見。更甚,部分本地文化更得以發揚光大,例如日本的漫畫、動畫及電子遊戲等就風靡國際。

F. 教育的民主化及普及化

為消除軍國主義思想,盟總政府在 1947 年廢止了《教育敕語》及「國家教科書制度」,取而代之的是《教育基本法》及《學校教育法》。《教育基本法》將日本的義務教育由 6 年增加至 9 年,並且標榜全人發展及批評思想,而非過往的思想灌輸。此外,《學校教育法》則確立了 6 年小學、3 年初中、3 年高中和 4 年大學的「六、三、三、四制」。這些改革不但延長了義務教育,而且更加是實現了思想的自由化,再加上日本政府持續投放更高的開支在教育方面,日本的高中升學率在 1999 年已經高達 97%,大學升學率也於 2000 年達到 49.1%,名列世界前茅。



D. Rise of women status

After WWII, the status of women rose due to the SCAP reforms. For example, in the first election for the Diet of 1945, 39 women were unprecedentedly elected as members. Later, the Showa Constitution (1947) stipulated women's right to vote and stand for election, and also guaranteed women had the same rights as men on the matter of education, marriage and heritage. Although male superiority was not completely improved due to the Constitution, Japanese women were treated more equally in education and at work as feminist movement progressed. For example, the Act of Equal Employment Opportunity for Both Sexes (1985) removed gender discrimination at work; the Childcare Leave Act (1992) stated that women were entitled to be on leave for a year. Thus, women could be treated more fairly and reasonably in society.

E. Pluralistic culture

The Yamato people were willing to accept foreign cultures and their eclectic character enabled the co-existence of foreign and local culture. After WWII, foreign cultures spread in Japan due to the short occupation of the SCAP and increasingly frequent trade with the West and Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, some traditional values and cultures were retained and shaped the co-existence of pluralistic culture. For example, Japanese wore Western-style clothing as casual wear but would wear Kimonos in traditional festivals; American fast food and Southeast food were popular but restaurants selling traditional Ramen and sushi were everywhere. Moreover, part of the local culture swept through the international world, such as manga, anime and electronic games.

F. Democratic and universal education

To eradicate militarist thoughts, the SCAP abolished the Imperial Rescript on Education and the National Textbook System in 1947, which were replaced by the Basic Education Law and School Education Law. The Basic Education Law extended compulsory education from 6 years to 9 years and emphasised whole person development and critical thinking but not indoctrination. Besides, the School Education Law established the system of 6-year primary education, 3-year junior secondary education, 3-year senior secondary education and 4-year undergraduate education. These reforms extended compulsory education and realised thought liberalisation. Also, the Japanese government allocated more and more budget for education. The enrolment rate in senior secondary school reached 97% as early as 1999 and that of university reached 49.1% in 2000, among the best in the world.