PSYCHOANALYSIS IN JAPAN

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Psychoanalysis in Japan has a history of almost fifty years. To get a general picture and understand its development it is convenient to divide it into pre-war and post-war days with the last World War in between.

PSYCHOANALYSIS IN PRE-WAR JAPAN

Although it is difficult to give an exact date when Freud's original idea of psychoanalysis became known in Japan, some articles concerning psychoanalysis were written by Kaison Otsuki²⁰⁾ in 1912, that is, the year when "Totem und Tabu" was published in the "Imago" by the father of psychoanalysis, Freud. They are papers discussing the psychology of forgetfulness and misplacing, basing their arguments on Freud's "Die Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens" (1904) and other thoughts. At this time articles on the outline of psychoanalytic thought concerning dreams etc. were also written by K. Kimura¹⁰⁾ and Y. Ueno²⁶⁾. Thus we can say that psychoanalysis was introduced to Japan by psychologists and not by psychiatrists who are involved in the clinical work of neurosis and psychosis. The effect was that the impressions given of these thoughts were not taken up as clinical methods but as interesting ideas, and these ideas were received rather a form of popular psychology and can be said to have had a long controlling effect on the non-clinical tendency of psychoanalysis in Japan thereafter.

In 1919 "Study of sex and psychoanalysis" was written by Y. Sakaki, the late Professor of Psychiatry, Kyushu University, and following it many books on psychoanalysis were written by S. Ibera⁴⁾, R. Kubo⁵⁾, K. Maeno⁶⁾, Kenji Otsuki⁷⁾ and Y. Yabe⁸⁾ to give a somewhat detailed bird's-eye view of psychoanalysis. "Psychoanalytic therapy" 2 vols (1928) by K. Marui was the first introduction as a therapeutic technique for neurosis in Japan. This Marui's book was the first well presented work on general theory and theory of neurosis in Japan. In the field of literature, too, some papers were written by K. Tsushima⁹⁾ and S. Hasegawa¹⁰⁾, but these publications ended without leaving any lasting influence.

TRANSLATION OF FREUD'S WORK INTO JAPANESE

With the purpose of studying psychoanalysis through direct study of Freud's original papers, translation into Japanese language was also carried out. In pre-war stage we already had two Japanese version of Freud's work^{3) 4)}. The first was the work of Tokyo Psychoanalytical Institute. This institute group was formed with Otsuki and with Yabe who had studied with Jones and returned to Japan in 1931 as central figures. The other was a translation by many medical men and German literature figures in Japan. These two collected papers with "Studien über die Hysterie" as a start were the translated form of Freud's main papers into Japanese.

From 1938 Ken. Otsuki had started the publication of a monthly journal "Seishin-bunseki" (The J. of Psychoanalysis). In contrast to this journal which had chiefly dealt with non-medical aspects of the application of psychoanalysis, Marui in 1932 started "Seishin-byogaku-Kyoshitsu-Gyoho" (The Bulletin of Psychiatric Institute, Medical School of Tohoku

University) dealing mostly with clinical articles but was terminated with volume IX. Both publications ended because of the war.

If the history of psychoanalysis in Japan is considered as a whole the most significant and the greatest influence was brought about when Marui returned from America to Sendai in 1919 after studying in America under A. Meyer and became the professor of psychiatry at Tohoku Imperial University. His attitude differed from Sakaki, Yabe and others in that he himself tried to establish clinical psychiatry on actual patients based on psychoanalysis. Even while bearing the cold critical attitude of almost all academic psychiatrists and psychologists of Japan at that time his studies were carried out not as a disinterested person but as a passionate firm believer of Freudism. At this time all students of that school attended his first series of formal lectures on the theory of psychoanalysis as a compulsory course. It was then that his disciples and even those who did not become psychoanalysts were trained to hold sympathy and a certain degree of understanding of psychoanalysis. As it is so with all research Prof. Marui and his disciples carried out extensive study of neurosis in Japan from the viewpoint of Freud's theory of neurosis and emphasized that it was evident that Freudian theory was in agreement in principle with the neurosis in Japan. However since the standpoint was from what may be called an orthodox Freudism the criticism to his views was quite strong. The criticism was especially strong from Prof. S. Morita of Jikeikai Medical School and his school whose standpoint was a "Shinkeishitsu" (nervosity) theory built on the background of Zen-buddhism ideology. As a psychologist Prof. K. Sato became a severe critic and questioned scientific basis of psychoanalytical theories. The debate on neurosis and nervosity between Morita theory and psychoanalytic theory became a repeated theme.

Another trend which must be noted is that since 1928 under the influence of A.S. Neil a study on child psychoanalysis is being carried out with educational counseling by S. Shimoda and his associates.

PSYCHOANALYSIS IN POST-WAR JAPAN

During the last World War the study of psychoanalysis in Japan appeared as if it had been doomed. However, with the termination of the war, particularly due to the great influence of American psychoanalysis, a tendency to reexamine this subject grew increasingly stronger in Japan.

This tendency found concrete form in the birth of research groups in psychoanalysis in the major universities in this country located principally in such cities as Tokyo, Osaka, Sendai, Hirosaki, Hiroshima, Kyushu etc. and in the publishing of new translation of almost all important Freud's works and many papers on elementary psychoanalysis. In 1951 the Sendai Branch of the International Psychoanalytical Association was reorganized under the leadership of Prof. K. Marui. Two prewar branches in Tokyo and Sendai were unified under the Sendai Branch. It was from this year (1951) that annual meetings and conferences were held regularly and scholars in Japanese universities and colleges were given an opportunity to report their studies in this field.

When Dr. H. Kosawa, who was one of Prof. Marui's early disciples and studied directly under Freud, succeeded him as president of the Japan Branch in Sendai in 1953, he established the Japan Psychoanalytical Association. This association is composed of members of the Japan Branch of the International Psychoanalytical Association as well as various researchers in Japanese universities. Ever since the inception of this association including many psychiatrists and psychologists, who are not psychoanalyst, Japanese psychoanalysts

were able for the first time to cooperate with these men in adjoining scientific fields and further their studies on this subject.

In contrast with the study of psychoanalysis in pre-war Japan where researches of actual cases in the country were based on orthodox Freudism as well as the Freudian Theory studies on the subject in post-war Japan include researches based on a wider psychopathological viewpoint.

Although many papers are presented each year on psychoanalysis, these are mostly as yet confirmatory works, so reference is not made. I shall thereafter restrict my explanations and summaries to only several of the *themata* presented.

THEORETICAL STUDY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

What can be considered in the theoretical study of psychoanalysis are experimental researches and critiques on the Freudian Theory, for example, the theory of mental mechanism and dream work as well as the psychoanalytical clarification of the mentality of the Japanese people who have a particular and unique cultural background and the psychoanalytical study of Oriental religions such as Buddhism on which Freud was not able to delve into.

Concerning the hypnotic study of psychoanalysis H. Kurauchi^{14) 15) 16)} and others in Kyushu University have carried out researches in various types of dream work and mental mechanism by experimental hypnosis. The patients are as routine method led to an hypnotic state and after giving them various suggestions, they are awakened. Then the behavior of the patient in a state of amnesia were compared with the content of suggestions.

When the patient was given the suggestion to dream of matters which supposedly are to be repressed i.e. of having coitus with a woman under a hypnotic state, he dreamed that he was fixing a rubber hose to a faucet of a water pipe on the roadside. When another patient was given the suggestion that he desired having coitus, the man dreamed that he was riding up an elevator. This experiment follows the method of Schrotter or Roffenstein, but such suggestions as "to dream symbolically" or "to dream in a way that one does not know what one had dreamed," was not put to the patient. Yet, they were able to obtain a symbolic mechanism. Furthermore, when the suggestion, "I want to draw the picture of a phallus" was given to a patient, he dreamed about a phallus, but when the additional superego suggestion of "I am ashamed of drawing the picture of a phallus," was given, a symbolic phallus appeared in the dream and the more strongly this superego suggestion was given to the patient, a stronger symbolization was witnessed. Furthermore, the desire to become a "strong man" is reflected in a dream whereby the man is portrayed as a hero beating back the attacks of pirates. By this experiment, they believe that symbolic mechanism exists in dream work itself.

They have also explained that *lapsus linguae* is related to the frustrated need of the subconscious by utilizing a hypnotic state. Another point which they showed is that experimental subconscious conflicts influence so-called free actions.

They have also succeeded in many experiments on age regression. And they have succeeded in demonstrating the existence of oral frustration or sibling jealousy by inducing age regression to one year of age in a case of 27 years old afflicted with enuresis nocturna through hypnotic suggestion.

However, these studies in experimental hypnosis cannot be said to be the original works of these Japanese scholars. These researches are rather advanced studies on the experiments

of the above-mentioned scholars and others. Future development in this field is still to be anticipated.

Concerning study of dreams Y. Kitami¹⁷⁾ has carried out investigations for several years on typical dreams of children and students in primary, middle, and high schools as well as colleges. By comparing these dreams, Kitami found out that the typical dream decreased in parallel with the increase in the ages of the children and that dreams differ according to the sex as well as age class of the children and students. Thus, we can say that Kitami has provided a certain typological explanation to Freud's symbolism of dream. K. Kaketa¹⁸⁾ is of opinion that since it cannot be considered that the brain mechanism is the same in a conscious and sleeping state, it is impossible to consider the existence of so-called latent dream content in sleeping state. It is not latent content, but rather secondary elaboration of the conscious state which has the biggest power in creating manifest content of dreams and it is because of this that the interpretation of dreams is possible under the same principle as that in the behavior in a conscious state. However, the experimental clarification of it is still not sufficient, and this argument is based on the presumption that it is difficult to analogize, the mechanism in sleeping state with the same mental dynamism as seen in conscious state.

The psychoanalytical interpretation of Rorschach testing which was carried out by Rorschach himself and further developed by R. Schafer is now being carried out by researchers in Osaka University and Keio University. Although plenty of successful results have not yet been obtained, future results of their studies in this field are anticipated.

In respect to Buddhist psychology J. Oyama²²⁾, Buddhist priest is trying to interpret psychoanalytically the experience of "Gedatsu" (religious deliverance) and "Hoetsu" (experience of Gedatsu) by comparing the three instances of mental apparatus with the "San-shiki" (three vijñāna).

CLINICAL STUDY AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

One of the biggest problem confronting the psychotherapy in Japan was how Morita-therapy should be interpreted from psychoanalytical viewpoint or vice versa. The Morita therapy named after Prof. S. Morita¹⁸⁾ had existed in Japan for a long time and practically almost all Japanese psychiatrists had been under the influence of the theory of Morita.

Morita started out by criticizing Beard's concept of neurasthenia and advanced his own theory about "Shinkeishitsu" (nervosity) which includes Freudian actual neurosis as well as psychoneurosis (except hysteria).

His therapy is characterized by attitude change through experience of separation, voluntary occupation and persuasion by therapist. His fundamental thought is affirmation of all that is natural and has its starting point in the affirmation of actuality which includes contradictions (paradoxes) themselves, too.

He presupposed a peculiar disposition or character for the establishment of this nervosity and calls this "Shinkeishitsu-disposition" and in regard to the principal mental mechanism which this type of persons react to, he has thought up the idea of "Paradox of thought" or of "Toraware" (to be bound, to be compelled to pay attention) and advocates that the occurrence of a symptom lies in the change of attitude of "I want to be thus" to that of "It should be thus." Morita calls this the paradox of thought, but he has not given any explanation why this "Toraware" is created. On this point K. Doi²⁾ has attempted to give some psychoanalytical explanations. And he presents his own theory

claiming that the driving force of Morita's "*Toraware*" is "*Amaeru*" (to depend and presume upon another's love or indulge in another's kindness), which is an attitude or desire of the Japanese people stemming from the peculiarities of the Japanese social climate. He also explains the process that leads from "*Amaeru*" to "*Toraware*" psychoanalytically in the following way. "One is prevented from '*Amaeru*' yet this desire to '*Amaeru*' persists and leads to development of distorted impersonal relationships, the feelings of which are then displaced onto or reflected back on one's self or one's own body, thus producing the end result of '*Toraware*.'"

On the other hand A. Kondo¹²⁾ who studied under Morita and K. Horney has tried to develop Morita's theory by identifying Morita's anthropology which is exemplified by his ever developing and evolving "will to live" with Horney's idea of real self and self-realization. Their anthropology is characterized with optimism, when compared with Freud's pessimism.

Furthermore, M. Abe¹⁾ explains that repression in Freud's theory consists primarily in the effort to be unconscious toward unpleasure while "*Toraware*" in Morita's hypochondriasis is composed of the chief function of the will to be conscious. He concluded that obsessive compulsive neurosis is the result of the simultaneous actions of the two above-mentioned conflicting efforts.

STUDIES IN FREE ASSOCIATION

Studies in free association as a technical problem of psychoanalysis are becoming increasingly important recently as they include central problems necessary to be clarified for the development of psychoanalysis as a science. Among these studies which are most noteworthy is that concerning the so-called primary operational reactions against the basic rules of free associations. K. Okonogi and others¹⁹⁾ of Keio University as well as K. Ikeda and his colleagues⁸⁾ of Kyushu University, in their explanations of the principle of free association, have divided the reaction types of the patients or clients into several types such as impossible type, refusing and aggressive type, active type, obedient type, silent type and anxious type, etc. These are largely connected with the types of neurosis and the types of association in following sessions.

Although opinions of the two schools are not completely in agreement concerning this subject, they agree on some points such as the fact that the obedient type is more numerous among erythrophobic patients. At any rate, the results of future researches in this field by these groups of scholars are greatly anticipated.

Concerning the problem of free association Kurauchi and I. Shibata²³⁾ have succeeded too in strengthening the theory of Freud on his dream work by comparing the relationship between free association and hypnotic dream during the patient's conscious and hypnotic state in the same session.

In spite of such prosperity of psychoanalytic studies and the booming of psychoanalysis in journalism, it must be said that the main current of psychiatry in Japan still indicates non dynamic and biological orientation. This tendency is expected to get stronger in the future. Parallel with this tendency, it is a fact that critiques on psychoanalysis in Japan are gradually again becoming frequent just as it had been in the past pre-war days.

However, as mentioned previously, the fact that psychiatric institutes with various different academic backgrounds are now separating the living and the dead aspects in psycho-

analysis and trying to solve the many problems involved, is an indication that seeds are now being sown deeply and widely for the future development of this field in Japan even if the study of Freudism should not be as popular as it is at present.

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